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STANISŁAW ROSIK (ED.)

Europe reaches the Baltic

Poland and Pomerania in the Shaping of European Civilization (10th-12th Centuries)



Uniwersytet Wrocławski

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Laboratory for Research into the Early History of Central Europe

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The Cathedral in Kamień – the northern arm of the transept
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Introduction

The events from the second and third decades of the 12th century were decisive for the permanent inclusion of Pomorze/Pomerania within medieval European civilization. At that time Pomerania's western boundary extended to the lands on the lower Odra, and its eastern one – to the areas on the lower Vistula. In the wake of Bolesław III the Wrymouth's conquests, local communities decided to accept Polish suzerainty and join Christendom. The foundations for this pivotal moment had been meaningfully laid by the aspirations of local elites to join the political constellation of the neighbouring Christian monarchies.

Ultimately, St. Otto of Bamberg's missions in the 1120s brought about the conversion of the most important centres in western Pomerania, along with the emergence of the network of churches that became the core of the Pomeranian diocese established in 1140, having its seat in Wolin. At the same time the eastern part of Pomerania was also incorporated into ecclesiastical structures – namely, into the Kuyavian diocese with its seat in Włocławek, subordinated to the archdiocese of Gniezno. Over the 12th century Christianization was completed at least at the level of local elites, which accompanied the process of the area's incorporation into the structures of Polish statehood. Thus materialized the plans of the Piasts' for expansion towards the Baltic – a bid first undertaken by the dynasty's founder, Mieszko I.

Economic contacts with the centres on the Baltic coast were a significant factor contributing to the consolidation of Mieszko's domain, which in the 960s he introduced into the political sphere focused on Otto the Great's Roman Empire. Already in the first part of the 10th century the elites laying the foundations of the Piasts' monarchy

reaped considerable profit from their participation in long-distance trade conducted by the emporia on the Baltic. Mieszko I himself and his successor, Bolesław I the Brave, successfully extended their rule as far as the Baltic coast. However, they failed to consolidate the structures of the Polish state in this area, which was ultimately lost (at the latest) during the crisis in the 1030s. With the restitution of Polish state power by Kazimierz (Casimir) I the Restorer, the Pomeranians entered the arena of written history, although – interestingly – they were still seen as a community belonging to the *Barbaricum*. This was the beginning of a difficult stage in Polish-Pomeranian coexistence, characterized as it was by mutual raids and plunder – but also by episodes of political co-operation and even family ties between elite members.

Once Bolesław III the Wrymouth had re-established Piast rule in the lands on the Baltic, he left a separate albeit subordinated duchy ruled by Wartislaw I, who expanded the duchy by occupying the lands situated west of the Odra. This progenitor of the Griffin dynasty and his successors strove to join the political system focused on the Roman empire in Germany in an attempt to throw off Polish suzerainty. And thus already in the second part of the 12th century the western Pomeranian duchy became an important player in the political games of its neighbours, including Scandinavia. Polish influence weakened in the west, but it consolidated in eastern Pomerania – in the land later called Pomerelia[1].

In these political conditions developed the processes of integrating societies, ones first ruled by the Piasts and later led by the Griffins, with the cultural and religious community that historical science and tradition identify with the idea of Europe. Its continental unity formed on the basis of the system of monarchies comprising some of the lands of old Rome and extensive areas of the old *Barbaricum*, whereby it replaced the local order from tribal times. This entity is sometimes called "cultural Europe"[2] and more frequently simply "Europe"[3]. These succinct notions represent various research strategies; in the case of this study, the idea of Europe denotes a civilizational community which at the turn of the millennia had emerged over most of the continent and eventually expanded into Slavic lands on the Baltic in the 12th century. This "new shape of the world"[4] was characterized by the post-tribal structures of monarchies, the rudiments of urbanization in areas hitherto considered the *Barbaricum*, and the expansion of written culture – with the tradition of universalism and Roman law going hand in hand with Christianization.

The first part of this volume, devoted to these methodological aspects, presents the thematic range of this study; significantly, it focuses on following the paths along which this medieval European civilization expanded into Pomeranian lands in the 10th–12th centuries[5]. The relations between Poland and Pomerania, as well as their interactions with the wider circle of their neighbours, acquire key significance in the transformations mentioned above. The description in the introductory part of this study of this subject's place in the earliest historical accounts – and primarily in the historical science of the 19th–21st centuries – sets a convenient background for presenting the relevant research in the context of the historiographical tradition to date.

The impact of archaeological research and the allowance of various methodological inspirations were instrumental in the considerable re-evaluation of the research trends regarding the theme indicated in this volume's title, as they were consolidated in the previous century. The discussion from the second part shows the world of tribes living between the Baltic and the crescent of the Carpathian and Sudeten mountains in the context of the phenomena heralding the above civilizational transformation, and reflects on the impact "aliens" (Scandinavians) had in this area, both at the tribal stage and the beginnings of the Piasts' monarchy. This part's chapters are devoted to the complex view of the state's formation, together with the accom-

[1] The above outline of the process of including Pomerania among the Christian monarchies is given a broader presentation in: S. Rosik, *Pomerania and Poland in the 10th to 12th Centuries: The expansion of the Piast and shaping political, social and state relations in the seaside Slav communities*, [in:] *The Expansion of Central Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. N. Berend (= The Expansion of Latin Europe, 1000–1500 5), [Ashgate] 2012, p. 451–489.

[2] See e.g., J. Strzelczyk, *Historia powszechna. Średniowiecze*, Poznań 2001, p. 32–50.

[3] See e.g., J. Le Goff, *The Birth of Europe*, Oxford 2005.

[4] This is how this compass of medieval European civilization emerging at the turn of millennia was described by L. Leciejewicz, *Nowa postać świata. Narodziny średniowiecznej cywilizacji europejskiej*, Wrocław 2000 (cf. transl.: *La nuova forma del mondo. La nascita della civiltà europea Medievale*, transl. C. Madonia, Bologna 2004).

[5] Pomerania in the 10th and the beginning of the 11th centuries is seen here from a retrogressive point of view as at that time this historical land was still forming. See J.M. Piskorski, *Pomorze plemienne. Historia – Archeologia – Językoznawstwo*, Poznań–Szczecin 2002, p. 18 ff. For further discussion, see p. 281.

panying ecclesiastical structure – which allows a detailed analysis of the expansion to the Baltic. It ends with a discussion of the emergence of Pomerania on the stage of history.

The third part of this study focuses more closely on the land along the Baltic, opening with reflection on its position in the space of long-distance communication (*Intermarium*). Further, it discusses Polish expansion to the Baltic in the era of Bolesław III the Wrymouth and the Christianization of the subdued communities. The issue is further continued in the studies of the development of ecclesiastical structures in Pomerania and – especially in the context of western Pomerania – how the region formed its position within the political scope of the neighbouring countries in the 12th century, complemented by the discussion of the political system and the Polish-Pomeranian border. This part is completed by a review of the phenomenon of "discovering" the area of Pomerania and the country itself by learned medieval thought with special emphasis on the beginnings of its adoption into the common memory of the communities of Latin *Christianitas*.

This treatment of the many aspects of the eponymous "Europe reaching the Baltic" enables a re-assessment – in the study's conclusions – of the not new thesis of Piast Poland's contribution to the processes of expanding the sphere of European civilization in this direction[6], and thus decidedly greater – as compared with older historiography – appreciation of the role of Pomeranian communities in this process. It is important to emphasize the differences between Poland and Pomerania in the process of the "making of Europe" as a cultural entity based on the heritage of Antiquity, Christianity, and the local traditions of the communities of the *Barbaricum*.

With its synthetic view, this volume crowns the research undertaken in 2014–2020 as part of the international research project "Poland and Pomerania in Shaping European Civilisation (from the Era of Slavic Tribes to the Turn of the 13th Century)" conducted by the Institute of History at the Faculty of Historical and Pedagogical Sciences, University of Wrocław, as part of the National Programme of Development of Humanities financed by the Ministry of Science

[6] See G. Labuda, *Wpływ powstania państwa polskiego na rozwój dziejowy Pomorza*, [in:] *Początki państwa polskiego. Księga Tysiąclecia*, ed. K. Tymieniecki, vol. 2, Poznań 1962, p. 269–279.

and Higher Education in Poland[7]. The project was conducted in co-operation with the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences, a number of research institutions in Germany[8], the Faculty of Philosophy of the Charles University in Prague, and the Institute of History of the University of Pécs. I would like to express my sincere thanks to all the people and institutions involved in the project for their substantive contribution and support.

Stanisław Rosik

[7] The results of their analyses were presented in nearly thirty articles published in two volumes – see: *Poland, Pomerania and Their Neighbours' Shaping of Medieval European Civilisation (10th–12th Centuries)*, ed. S. Rosik, Wrocław 2020 (= Scripta Historica Europaea 1); *Polska – Pomorze – sąsiedzi (X–XII w.). W kręgu studiów nad początkami średniowiecznej cywilizacji europejskiej*, ed. S. Rosik, Wrocław 2020 (= Scripta Historica Europaea 4) – and two archaeological studies devoted to the strongholds in the Rega river basin – see A. Janowski, *Grodziska wczesnośredniowieczne w dorzeczu Regi*, Wrocław 2020 (= Scripta Historica Europaea 3) – and the cemetery in Stolpe on the Odra in Germany, see *Das slawische Gräberfeld von Stolpe und die früh- bis hochmittelalterlichen Bestattungssitten zwischen Ucker und Oder*, ed. F. Biermann, T. Kersting, Ph. Roskoschinski, Wrocław 2020 (= Scripta Historica Europaea 2).

[8] The Universities in Göttingen, Greifswald, and Potsdam. The co-operation between these institutions was supervised and coordinated within the scope of archaeological research by Prof. Dr. Felix Biermann.

1

EUROPE – POLAND – POMERANIA. RESEARCH STRATEGIES AND HISTORIOGRAPHICAL TRADITION

I

The scope of research in the context of the strategies implemented to date

Stanisław Rosik and Tomasz Wiślicz

The emergence of the monarchy of the early Piasts in Poland in the 10^{th} c., along with the development of political entities in Pomerania in the 11^{th}–12^{th} c. (with the western-Pomeranian duchy of the Griffins leading the way), happened within the broad context of the processes which were transforming Europe. These processes, drawing on the heritage of the former empire of the Romans – still lasting in Byzantium and in the Carolingian West – as well as the social and cultural contribution of the so-called Barbarians, brought about a new quality on a continental scale, one marked by the universality of written culture, the transition from tribal forms of social and political life to Christian monarchies – and thus the introduction of Christianity as a universal religion. These changes meet the standard criteria of a breakthrough on a civilizational scale, one seen in the European context as the transformation from "a tribe to a state".

From the perspective of the contemporary, i.e., medieval sources, the introduction of consecutive peoples into this unified realm meant that they went over to *Christianitas* and abandoned the pagan world (*Barbaricum*). From the perspective of consecutive generations, the spectrum of these transformations proved to be sufficiently extensive to form a new community in its social and cultural (civilizational) dimensions, one that constituted a concrete historical phenomenon comprising particular geographical regions and social areas that con-

temporary scholarship equates with European identity. The phenomenon became known as "cultural Europe"[9], which today – allowing for a certain degree of simplification – is often referred to as simply "Europe"[10].

The title of this study also invokes the notion of European civilization, which channels reflection towards the processes mentioned above that led to the emergence of the continental community's foundations in their cultural and social scope in most of the geographically defined Europe[11] of the 10th–11th c., and embraced the whole of the continent in the subsequent centuries. In the key context of Polish and Pomeranian history, entering this civilizational realm was tantamount to becoming role players in the scope of the Christian monarchies, which focused primarily on the Roman Empire revived in the Ottonian era in the second half of the 10th c.

In this study the research of the role of Poland and Pomerania in forming this European civilizational extent focuses on the axis determined by the interactions between the two countries. The issue of these interrelations during this period, i.e., when both countries entered the stage of history, is relatively well documented in medieval sources, and is additionally supported by the results of archaeological excavations carried out in recent decades. In the last fifty years the scope of research has expanded, especially concerning the issue of foreign contacts[12]. These issues were also discussed in the past, albeit with a focus on political and ecclesiastical matters, which is

[9] See e.g., J. Strzelczyk, *Historia…*, p. 32–50.

[10] See J. Le Goff, *The Birth of Europe…*, *passim*. See also B. Geremek, *Więź i poczucie wspólnoty w średniowiecznej Europie*, [in:] *Dziesięć wieków Europy. Studia z dziejów kontynentu*, ed. J. Żarnowski, Warszawa 1983, p. 19–81.

[11] Europe is understood here as a continental entity reaching the Urals as a conventional boundary that divides Eurasia into separate continents; however, analyses in this book will also refer to the relevant medieval cosmographic notions (especially the concept popularized by St. Isidore of Seville locating the symbolic border between the continents on the Don; cf. below, p. 33).

[12] Strong impetus for the development of the research was provided by extensive archaeological excavations carried out in the 1950s and 1960s on the initiative of the government authorities as part of the preparation for the celebration of the millennium of the Polish state (see e.g., H. Kóčka-Krenz, *Badania milenijne w perspektywie archeologicznej*, [in:] *Tradycje i nowoczesność – początki państwa polskiego na tle środkowoeuropejskim w badaniach interdyscyplinarnych*, ed. M. Danielewski, H. Kóčka-Krenz, M. Matla, Poznań 2016, p. 163–168; M. Rębkowski, *Badania milenijne na Pomorzu Zachodnim. Przebieg, znaczenie, skutki*, "Przegląd Archeologiczny" 65, 2017, p. 117–131); the ecclesiastical authorities were involved in rival celebrations of the millennium of the "Baptism of Poland".

clearly illustrated by the state of the research presented below[13] on Polish-Pomeranian mutual relations in the early Middle Ages.

In the 19th and 20th c. the research focused on the expansion of the Piast monarchy in the Baltic region and the Polish contribution to the Christianization of Pomerania. Both phenomena, varying in intensity over the generations, were the driving force behind the civilizational changes in both countries. The issue of these transformations was not given priority in older research, even though it was an implicit aspect of the studies on the religious changes resulting from the spread of Christianity and the shaping of the Piast monarchy and Pomeranian political entities in mutual, frequently hostile, contacts. Reference to these multigenerational scholarly achievements gains a prominent place in this study, even though from the methodological perspective it would probably be more sensible to take into consideration the research strategies focusing on broader geographical, political, and cultural contexts comprising the issue of the Polish-Pomeranian contribution to the foundations of European civilization in the 10th–12th c.

And thus the fact of the hegemony of the Kingdom of Germany (*Regnum Teutonicorum*), rooted in the East Frankish monarchy, as the foundation of the imperial Roman order in the West[14], had its concrete impact on 19th- and 20th-century historiography, which interpreted the widening of the circle of Christian monarchies to include Poland and especially Pomerania as the implementation of the German civilizational mission in the East. This perspective was developed mainly by scholarship in Germany; however, it was heavily influenced by studies on the phenomena developing after the emergence of Christian monarchies themselves, i.e., during the so-called long 13th century, with its German colonization (*Ostsiedlung*) and settlement under German law.

This ideologically biased historical reflection, resorting to the notorious "Drive to the East" ("Drang nach Osten")[15], coincided with

[13] See above, p. 71 ff.

[14] However, the political and ideological role of Byzantium should not be ignored. See W. Brandes, *Die Bedeutung von Byzanz*, [in:] *Europasmitte um 1000. Beiträge zur Geschichte, Kunst und Archäologie*, vol. 1, ed. A. Wieczorek, H.-M. Hinz, Stuttgart 2000, p. 50–54; F.-R. Erkens, *Grecisca sublimitas: Byzanz' Attraktivität und der abendländische Westen*, [in:] *ibidem*, vol. 2, ed. A. Wieczorek, H.-M. Hinz, Stuttgart 2000, p. 749–753.

[15] Recently about the history of the notion see L. Belzyt, *Drang nach Osten: cywilizacja z Zachodu?*, [in:] *Polsko-niemieckie miejsca pamięci: wspólne / oddzielne*, ed. R. Traba, H.H. Hahn, M. Górny, K. Kończal, vol. 2, Warszawa 2015, p. 207–224; German version: L. Belzyt, *Ostkolonisation. Zivilisation aus dem Westen?*, [in:] *Deutsch-Polnische Errinerungsorte*, vol. 2: *Geteilt / Gemeinsam*, ed. H.H. Hahn, R. Traba, Paderborn 2014, p. 225–245.

the contemptuous stereotype of Slavic peoples among their neighbours. It was, as a matter of fact, condemned by clerical litterati, especially as regards the insulting epithet of "dogs" particularly popular in the early Middle Ages (from the so-called Fredegar in the 8th c. to Helmold of Bosau in the 12th c.)[16]. A classic example from later centuries of the conviction of the civilizational inferiority of Slavs is a short Latin chronicle in verse – namely, the *Versus Lubenses* (14th c.), where Silesian lands before the arrival of the Cistercians are presented as a pagan wilderness, *Barbaria*, which the monks transformed into a fertile and populated land[17].

Ideological and political entanglements in the interpretation of how central or central-eastern Europe formed, similarly as the persistence of the resulting stereotypes, should not obscure the fact that the paradigm responsible for the emergence of the discussed interpretational model still affects the perception of the processes of key significance for this volume's investigations. The stereotypical nature of the opinions functioning in the Middle Ages fits the broader context of the narratives then characterizing the social and economic transformations, as well as the mentality of certain circles – ones which also had an influence on the development of the changes in question – whose views and attitudes echo the old opinions[18]. This issue acquires new significance within the context of the postcolonial approach to historical research, which with a certain degree of caution may be implemented in the case of the history of the Middle Ages.

A different attitude, one contributing a new quality to the discussion of Germanic-Slavic relations in the Middle Ages, was represented by the West German research group *Germania Slavica* (Wolfgang Fritze, Herbert Ludat, Christian Lübke) active from the 1970s till the 1990s.

[16] See above, p. 125.

[17] W. Könighaus, *Die Zisterzienserabtei Leubus in Schlesien von ihrer Gründung bis zum Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden 2004, p. 27; M. Cetwiński, *Metafory śląskie. Studia źrodłoznawcze i historiograficzne*, Częstochowa 2002, p. 187–194. The biased judgment was reinforced by the spirituality of the Cistercians, who – two generations after founding the order – saw the idea of *melioratio terrae* as one of the reasons of their existence.

[18] Thus even "biased" (written *cum studio*) old sources may become useful in historical research, even though it is the tip of the iceberg compared with the extent of the scope of research taken into account when analyzing the influence of Western demographic, economic, political, and widely understood cultural (mentality, religion, patterns of everyday life, etc.) factors on the development of social and cultural reality of Slavic lands in the Middle Ages.

Their projects focused primarily on the areas belonging to the German Reich at various stages of its history, including Pomorze/Pomerania, Polabia, Śląsk/Silesia, Wielkopolska/Greater Poland and the areas in Germany penetrated by Slavic settlement[19]. Covering the ethnic issues, they emphasized the contribution of Slavdom in the history of Germany[20]. Contrary to the older theories, they emphasized (with the considerable contribution of the results of archaeological excavations)[21] the significance of the settlement and founding of towns in Slavic lands before the arrival of the wave of colonization in the 12th–13th c. The development of this concept owes much to the dialogue with the researchers from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany. From the point of view of this study, the turn towards the civilizational foundations for the functioning of Slavic communities until German colonization is of key significance as it focuses on exactly this stage of forming the countries in central Europe.

At least since the 1980s attempts had been made to reinterpret – to a great extent in its axiological scope – the research employing the Europeanization strategy[22], similar to the "Europeanization of Europe" after World War II[23]. The research of *Germania Slavica* corresponds especially well with this model of interpreting the processes of homogenizing European societies, affecting not only their upper strata – the court, knights, and clergy – but also the lower classes, which intensified with the progress of Christianization, and the development of rural and urban self-government as a result of locations on German Law. Additionally, common ways of communication (writing culture, especially in Latin), a common trading space (the important role of coins), common cultural standards of everyday

[19] This research is continued by the Das Leibniz-Institut für Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Europa (GWZO) in Leipzig.

[20] An obvious response was the complementary concept of *Slavia Germanica*, stressing the opposite direction of Slavic influence on the Germanic element, e.g., the settlers in Slavic lands. See J. Hackmann, *From Germania Slavica to Slavia Germanica?*, "Studia Slavica et Balcanica Petropolitana" 22, 2017, 2, p. 122–139.

[21] The results of the East-German research were especially helpful here (see e.g., *Die Slawen in Deutschland: Geschichte und Kultur der Slawischen Stämme westlich von Oder und Neisse vom 6. bis 12. Jahrhundert. Ein Handbuch*, ed. J. Herrmann, Berlin 1970).

[22] H.-D. Heimann, *Wprowadzenie do historii średniowiecznej*, transl. S. Kwiatkowski, Toruń 1999, p. 61–65. Cf. L.E. von Padberg, *Christianisierung Europas im Mittelalter*, Stuttgart 1998, p. 162.

[23] Cf. *Europeanization in the Twentieth Century. Historical Approaches*, ed. M. Conway, K.K. Patel, Basingstoke 2010.

life, unity of intellectual culture (e.g., common memory, frequently legendary) as well as schools and scholarship (from parish or town schools to universities) emerged within the system of Christian monarchies and ecclesiastical organization unifying these social areas on political and religious planes.

The classic synthesis of medieval "Europeanization" written by Robert Bartlett[24] sets the completion of the process in its qualitative scope in Europe for the 14th c.; however, reaching rather the eastern borders of the Kingdom of Poland in the final years of the rule of Kazimierz (Casimir) III the Great, and not the Urals. The "Europeanized Europe" was to spread further to consecutive European countries, e.g., Lithuania, and reach the New World in the period of great geographical discoveries. On the other hand, not all countries geographically situated in Europe underwent the process, having failed to become part of this cultural entity – the obvious case being Muscovy. Another subject of discussion is the issue of the "Europeanization" of the medieval Scandinavian world[25]. However, these doubts do not concern medieval Poland and Pomerania, which renders the Europeanization strategy an inspiration in the analysis of the processes integrating the societies of both countries in creating a Western cultural entity.

From the very beginning of its existence Poland was not only a recipient but also an exporter of "Europeanization" to the zone comprising neighbouring lands – above all the Pomeranians, but also Polabians and the Baltic peoples (Prussians, Yotvingians)[26]. This view is justified by the role played by external factors influencing the changes, i.e., political and military expansion and the promotion of Christianity in the 10th–12th c.[27] The phenomena constituting a response of the so-called Barbarians to these contacts with Christian neighbours (and not solely to Christian expansion) also deserve attention, especially as regards the social consolidation caused by the evolution of the structure of power, religious transformation, and dynamics of economic life.

A number of phenomena on the "indigenous" side paved the way for the "Europeanizing" changes; yet in practice some of them may have hindered the process even though they were not tantamount to stagnation in the development of social and economic life[28]. However, in the Europeanization strategy of research, these aspects of the existence of the societies contributing to the forming of civilization in Europe have largely been ignored.

The emergence of "Europe" in this context[29] collides with the proposals of cultural and axiological appropriation of Europeanism by the strategies presenting the "birth of Europe" as the spread of post-Barbarian cultural patterns, radiating particularly from the post-Carolingian West, as seen especially well in J. Le Goff's synthesis (*The Birth of Europe*, 2005), strongly corresponding with the Europeanization methodology, promoting the view, rooted in the tradition of the Annales school, of the emergence of medieval society and culture in relation to the idea of Europe as a community[30]. Le Goff saw its beginnings in Charlemagne's monarchy, however unaccomplished, then he pointed to the "Europe of dreams" from the times of Otto III, and finally announced the emergence of Europe as a community of culture and values at the end of the Middle Ages in accord with the Europeanization concept.

The vision of medieval Europeanization as civilizational expansion may be recognized – in structural terms – as a certain continu-

[24] R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization, and Cultural Change, 950-1350*, Princeton 1993; Polish transl.: *Tworzenie Europy. Podbój, kolonizacja i przemiany kulturowe 950-1350*, transl. G. Waluga, Poznań 2003.

[25] See N. Blomkvist, *The Discovery of the Baltic: The Reception of a Catholic World-System in the European North (AD. 1075-1225)*, Boston 2005.

[26] Robert Bartlett mentioned this fact in the introduction to the Polish edition of his synthesis. See above, footnote 24.

[27] The issue of incorporating Lithuania into the compass of *Christianitas* in the 14th–15th c. should be viewed differently due to its union with Poland and the fact that the missions were led by the Lithuanians' own ruler.

[28] The examples may be seen in various aspects of social and economic life in Pomerania, e.g., the forming of "town republics" in Wolin and Szczecin on the one hand stimulated the development of contacts (especially trade) with Christian neighbours, i.e., the transfer of religious ideas and patterns of social life, but on the other it hindered the emergence of strong ducal power, which would have been able to integrate politically and religiously with Christian monarchies. Similarly as the phenomenon of dual faith on the one hand outwardly accepted Christianity, but on the other thwarted the success of the mission – as was the case of the so-called pagan reaction in e.g., Szczecin after the first mission of St. Otto.

[29] A classic example is the »Barbarian Europe« as seen by Karol Modzelewski, see below.

[30] This approach corresponds with the model of examining the forming of European culture, employed by the *Annales* school, e.g., J. Le Goff's classic vision presented in *La civilisation de l'Occident médiéval*, Paris 1964 (i.e., the school's third generation – see T. Wiślicz, *Krótkie trwanie. Problemy historiografii francuskiej lat dziewięćdziesiątych XX wieku*, Warszawa 2004).

ation of the concept of conquest and "civilizational mission" elaborated by the 19th c. national historiographies, except that they were cleansed of nationalistic, racial, and militaristic elements. Yet the core of the interpretational apparatus was rooted in the evolutionist approach to the history of religion, according to which Christianity was supposed to be "better" than pagan religions in intellectual and pragmatic terms[31], and fundamentally understood progress, mainly in its technological scope and in terms of social organization. Interestingly, the formulation of the concept of an "internal" Europeanization of Europe coincided with the increasing negation of the role of European civilization for the rest of the world and the criticism of Eurocentrism in historiography.

These phenomena reflected the consolidation of postcolonial approaches in the humanities and social sciences. It was rooted in the attempt undertaken by researchers and thinkers from outside Europe to re-evaluate still existing, despite formal decolonization, European hegemony over former colonies in political and cultural terms. Postcolonial reflection found its place at European universities, where it inspired rethinking and reformulating the relations between European culture and the rest of the world, as well re-evaluating Europe's own history. In their historiographical scope, postcolonial analyses focus primarily on the peak period of the colonial system's functioning at the end of the 19th c., yet reaching back to the beginnings of European colonial expansion at the end of the Middle Ages.

Postcolonial studies inspired medievalists not until the turn of the millennia. Jerome Cohen, a pioneer in introducing postcolonial critique in medieval research, realized that implementing this concept in the study of the Middle Ages may provoke the accusation of anachronism and promoted the notion of midcolonial as better suited to the research of the Middle Ages[32]. The gradually developing concept of "postcolonial medieval studies" recognized the role of two intrinsically "inter-European" phenomena: "internal colonization", i.e., colonization of Europe's peripheral regions and various "internal

[31] This judgemental understanding of religion was adopted even by Marxist historians in the second half of the 20th century, who recognized Christianization as a necessary step in the social and economic development of medieval societies.

[32] J.J. Cohen, *Introduction: Midcolonial*, [in:] *The postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. J.J. Cohen, Basingstoke 2000, p. 1–17.

aliens" – as well as general colonization of the history of the Middle Ages by the imperial historiography of the 19th–20th c.[33]

In practice postcolonial reflection on the Middle Ages faces numerous challenges, including tracing colonial stereotypes in the already existing historical narrations, which may be directly applied in researching the history of Poland and Pomerania in the 10th–12th c. and contribute to critical re-evaluation of historiographic concepts functioning in science.

The second task of the postcolonial critique of medieval studies is the decentralization of medieval Europe to reorient historiographic focus not only on the countries outside Europe, but also on relatively poorly known regions inside Europe. This condition is perfectly well met by Pomerania, which – contrary to Germany or Poland – has never had a "national historiography"[34] and which, despite its central location on the map of Europe, usually occupied a peripheral position vis-à-vis other political entities.

The third concept of post-colonial theory that seems applicable for the subject of this study is a historical analysis in the overlapping categories of subordination and hybridization, which may present in a more precise way the cultural and social effects of Christianization, especially when it was implemented as a result of military conquest.

It is noteworthy, however, that despite gradual improvement of the tools of postcolonial critique in medieval studies, only some of its concepts are implemented. They obviously constitute only a fragment of the general theory, selected with a view to their possible applicability in the interpretation of the results of research into the history of Poland and Pomerania and their role in forming European civilization. Their greatest advantage is contesting the Europeanization concept understood as the civilizational expansion covering consecutive parts of the continent.

However, this is not the only way of making the Europeanization vision aware of local contexts and values created outside the scope

[33] More about postcolonial methods in medieval studies, see N.R. Altschul, *Postcolonialism and the Study of the Middle Ages*, "History Compass" 6, 2008, p. 588–606; B.W. Holsinger, *Medieval Studies, Postcolonial Studies, and the Genealogies of Critique*, "Speculum" 77, 2002, p. 195–122; *Postcolonial Approaches to the European Middle Ages*, ed. A.J. Kabir, Deanne Williams, Cambridge 2005.

[34] But it had its regional historiography rooted in the late-medieval and early-modern historiography (Augustine of Stargard, Bugenhagen, Kantzow), see above, p. 45 f.

of Christianity and Roman culture in its western or eastern (i.e., Byzantine) variants. In this context the more detailed research of the disparate world of the *Barbaricum*, its waning and heritage in the European domain, is worth emphasizing. A major synthetic analysis was presented by Karol Modzelewski more than ten years ago, where the very title of his work promoted the metaphor of »Barbarian Europe« understood as the opposite to the model of Latin Europe[35].

In this view the concept of »Barbarian Europe«, formulated by Modzelewski not within the postcolonial paradigm but inspired by the Annales school and especially its anthropological trends, seems an intellectually provoking proposal for enhancing the significance of the tribal era in the process of forming European cultures and societies. The author stresses that the perception of the so-called Barbarians – especially the Germans and Slavs – by the ancient and medieval intellectuals (from Tacitus to Adam of Bremen and Helmold of Bosau) constitutes a sufficient source base for the general description of the existence of tribal communities, despite the permanence of stereotypes seen in approaching the aliens[36]. The legal order, assemblies, and religious institutions binding the community, along with customs providing security on the scale of the whole community and its individual members, unanimity of the assembly in general matters – to name but a few – these constitute common elements in the forming and functioning of tribal ecumenes contributing to the creation of post-Roman order in Europe.

Interestingly, even the end of the world of the Barbarians, spectacularly seen in the destruction of their shrines, did not negate their various influences on the shape of European civilization. On the one hand their social and cultural reality affected the way in which they joined it, on the other – certain phenomena from the tribal era survived in the sphere of the customs, social organization, etc. of the first generations living in the realm of Christian monarchies. This sphere was subsequently adapted and adjusted, such as vendetta or assembly customs still alive at the congresses from the era of medieval and

[35] K. Modzelewski, *Barbarzyńska Europa*, Warszawa 2004.

[36] *Ibidem*, p. 15 ff. *et passim*. An important factor affecting old historiographic accounts was their pragmatism (*causa scribendi*) in forming attitudes and views of their recipients, e.g., moralizing in indicating the patterns of behaviour, promoting certain systems of values by evaluating the protagonists' attitudes and behaviour or by theological interpretation of the sense of the described events, see e.g., E. Potkowski, *Problemy kultury piśmiennej łacińskiego średniowiecza*, "Przegląd Humanistyczny" 3, 1994, p. 21–40.

early modern states[37], as was a certain continuum in the sacred sphere (places of religious cult in the landscape, such as holy mountains). Similarly, old mythologies affected the identity of Christianized communities, while the names from tribal times persisted in certain areas (personal names, place names, etc.)

Thus, this matter, seen in light of the examples above, may be noted locally, where it emphasizes the internal diversity of continental unity, but it is also a manifestation of more general phenomena and trends that influenced its shape, affecting it at the very beginning of European civilization's formation, and as such they may be confronted with the heritage of classical Mediterranean civilization (»Europa Romana«?). Iunctim of both cultural substrates, *Barbaricum* and *Romanitas*[38] at the end of Antiquity and in the first centuries of the Middle Ages co-occurred with Christianity in its Arian version in the case of the Germanic peoples; the original character of Celtic Christianity, especially in its insular version, also had a significant impact on forming the Christian communities of the early Middle Ages[39].

In the case of Slavs, the formation of post-tribal states and Christianization took place in contact with Byzantium on the one hand, and the Carolingian world on the other. The latter synthesized Germanic and Roman cultural elements within a Christian monarchy and eventually the revived empire in the West. The old division into *Romani–Barbari* became obsolete and was replaced by the opposition of *Christiani–Barbari*. The first attempts to Christianize central European countries were made at the end of the 8th c., followed by Scandinavia and Rus', involving incorporation into the political system of the Carolingian world and its successors on the one hand, and Byzantium on the other. At the turn of millennia the compass of Christian monarchies expanded, while the fact that they participated in the heritage of Rome and Christianity later than their neighbours in the west and south resulted in the emergence of the notion of the "younger" or "third" Europe, which was used to refer to central-eastern Europe.

[37] E.g., *liberum veto* from the times of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is assumed to have had its origins in the tribal era (see e.g., K. Modzelewski, *Barbarzyńska Europa…*, p. 462).

[38] They both had a great deal in common on the civilizational plane, which is clearly presented by L. Leciejewicz in his *Prologue* to the synthesis *Nowa postać świata…*, p. 11 ff.

[39] See J. Strzelczyk, *Iroszkoci w kulturze średniowiecznej Europy*, Poznań 2008. The great role of Celtic Christian monasticism needs emphasizing here.

The first of these imaginative metaphors – popularized by Jerzy Kłoczowski in his synthesis entitled "Młodsza Europa" [The Younger Europe] – involves defining "older" Europe as the Carolingian and post-Carolingian spheres. The model which it implemented – even though it was not named so – became the main motif of F. Dvornik's *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe* (1949). The author emphasized military expansion, something that brought particular ways of organizing societies and the expansion of the religious community, considering it the essential driving force behind the cultural unification of the West with the centre and east of the continent[40].

The concept of the "third" Europe, promoted by Jenő Szűcs[41], involves Byzantium as the "first" Europe, while the Carolingian world and its successors have become the "second". This perspective helps determine the "basic" phenomena of the civilizational breakthrough (city/state, writing) in the central-eastern European sphere, as their emergence was substantially conditioned by the influence of Byzantium (Glagolitic script as a spectacular example). Yet "numbering" Europes, similarly as dividing them into "older" and "younger", suggests that Europe emerged as a cultural space before it was joined by the countries from central-eastern part of the continent. This is a paradox because if so, Europe as a cultural or civilizational entity is limited only to the Carolingian empire and possibly Byzantium, while the very fact of transgressing these "islands" is described in these strategies as the forming of "Europe". It is thus a clear example of how axiology in evaluation of phenomena considered as constitutive for Europeanism leads to disrupting the logic of the research process and thus scientific reflection enters the realm of historiosophical mythologization.

It would be difficult not to mention the title of *pater Europae* granted to Charlemagne by Einhard, especially that it caused a heated debate as to how justified it was in view of the protagonist's concrete actions and to what extent they reflected the values forming the social and political foundations of Europe[42]. Yet this type of debate shows

[40] This interpretational model is central to Robert Bartlett's synthesis, which is reflected in its title. See above footnote 24.

[41] J. Szűcs, *Trzy Europy*, transl. J.M. Kłoczowski, Lublin 1985.

[42] See J. Nelson, *Charlemagne: 'Father of Europe'?* "Quaestiones Medii Aevii Novae" 7, 2002, p. 3–20.

the power of anachronism when referring to the icons which today are supposed to embody particular systems of values. Far from questioning the socially significant usefulness of historical (and historiosophical) reflection, in the context of this study it is better to look at the intellectual horizon of the Carolingian era in order to present the notion of Europe functioning at that time, marked by axiological and symbolic interpretation, as a continent of the descendants of Biblical Japheth, enclosed by the Don in the east and south and the seas as far as Gibraltar (see: *mappa mundi* of Isidore of Seville)[43].

Einhard would indeed have exaggerated if he had referred to the extent of Carolingian power, though on the other hand he indicated the essential driving force behind the unification of the medieval peoples[44]: the extension of the sphere of influence and political contacts and the resulting Christianization. In the early Middle Ages the significant role was played by the vitality of the ideas of Roman universality in their imperial (both East and West) and papal aspects. In the context of the matters discussed in this study the consecutive concepts of reviving the empire of the Romans in the West, beginning with Charlemagne (800), Otto I (962), and Otto III at the turn of the millennia are of special significance. The concept of *Renovatio Imperii Romanorum* represented by Otto III co-operating with Pope Sylvester II became quite popular nearly twenty years ago when it was recognized as a symbol heralding the idea of European unity implemented at the beginning of the 21st c. by integrating the countries of central Europe with the European Union[45].

Otto III complemented the three pillars of the Roman-Carolingian order: *Roma/Italia*, *Gallia*, and *Germania* with the fourth one: *Sclavinia*

[43] E.g., B. English, *Ordo orbis terrae. Die Weltsicht in den Mappae mundi des frühen und hohen Mittelalters*, Berlin 2002, p. 37–46, 75–82; *Idee Europa. Entwürfe zum "Ewigen Frieden". Ordnungen und Utopien für die Gestaltung Europas von der pax romana zur Europäischen Union*, ed. M.-L. von Plessen, Berlin 2003, p. 61 f.; J. Strzelczyk, *Średniowieczny obraz świata*, Poznań 2004, p. 51.

[44] Therefore taken into account should be the inspiring role of this medieval vision for various research trends westernizing Europeanization; F. Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe*, London 1949; J. Kłoczowski, *Młodsza Europa. Europa Środkowo-Wschodnia w kręgu cywilizacji chrześcijańskiej średniowiecza*, Warszawa 1998, and above footnotes 3 and 23.

[45] A great role here was played by various modern scientific projects referring to the idea of Otto III, exemplified by the exhibition "Europasmitte um 1000" in 2000 (see *Europasmitte um 1000. Beiträge zur Geschichte, Kunst und Archäologie*, vol. 1–2 and *Katalog*, ed. A. Wieczorek, H.-M. Hinz, Stuttgart 2000).

(or *Sclavania*, *Sclavonia*), i.e., Slavdom, which was tantamount to recognizing the subjectivity of Central Europe. Otto's concept of the political role of *Sclavinia* proved to be an ephemeral idea – after his death in 1002 it was discontinued – but it may be seen as the touchstone of the emergence of a new civilizational sphere exceeding the boundaries of Otto's empire. Lech Leciejewicz summarized the phenomenon in his "Nowa postać świata. Narodziny średniowiecznej cywilizacji europejskiej" [A New Shape of the World. The Birth of Medieval European Civilization] (2000), indicating that until the turn of the millennia a system of Christian monarchies had formed, comprising the Byzantine sphere in the east, post-Carolingian in the West, as well as insular Anglo-Saxon and Celtic communities, Rus' and thus the countries of central Europe (where also nomads settled on the Danube, especially Magyars).

However culturally diversified, this area displayed distinctive, common features of the medieval European civilization, marking the passage from a tribal reality to statehood[46], laying the foundations for the birth of European nations[47]. Its distinctive features include the emergence of written culture and post-tribal monarchies – usually defined in terms of statehood[48] – whose economic organization accommodated gradually emerging urban centres[49].

At the turn of the 11th–12th c. the framework of thusly defined European civilization was cut by the western – Polabian-Pomeranian – tip of the Baltic wedge of the *Barbaricum*[50], also due to the success of the pagan reactions. This was by no means tantamount to stagnation in social, cultural, and religious changes in the area between the Elbe and Vistula, which took place in the context of intensive

[46] See above, footnote 4, and also: L. Leciejewicz, *Przełom cywilizacyjny w świecie słowiańskim we wczesnym średniowieczu,* [in:] *Słowiańszczyzna w tworzeniu Europy (X–XII/XIV w.)*, ed. S. Rosik, Wrocław 2008, p. 21–27.

[47] See classic synthesis by Benedykt Zientara (*Świt narodów europejskich. Powstawanie świadomości narodowej na obszarze Europy pokarolińskiej*, Warszawa 1985) or František Graus (*Die Nationenbildung der Westslawen im Mittelalter*, Sigmaringen 1980).

[48] The category of state is widely understood here, in accordance with the tradition of the research of the origins of Poland and Pomerania to date, but the analyses will also take into consideration the scholarly topos of "Herrschaft ohne Staat", exceeding the reflection on the origins of Germany. For further discussion, see p. 164 f.

[49] The town is understood as a wider entity than the town typical of the so-called long 13th century. For further discussion, see p. 136 ff.

[50] In the case of the Baltic peoples the "pagan wedge" survived till the 13th–15th centuries.

interactions with Christian neighbours. This study focuses on Polish-Pomeranian interrelationships in the 11th–12th c. and their impact on founding the civilizational transformations in both countries, comprising several basic issues resulting from the research strategies focusing on the emergence of cultural or civilizational face of Europe in the Middle Ages. The findings achieved *via* these strategies on the scale of continental history will be verified and the usefulness of these strategies in the research of concrete components of the European "jigsaw puzzle" will be determined.

The processes of integrating "Barbarian" countries with the political system focusing on the Empire were accompanied by the emergence of a new – in relation to the tribal era – form of the superior power. Political relations, including military expansion, at the stage of forming early states and in a wider context of references to the neighbours of Poland and Pomerania will be taken into account. In the case of Pomeranian communities the relatively strong position of the early urban centres – unknown in the Poland of the early Piasts – should also be taken into account at this stage of their history[51]. It is of paramount significance in the characteristics of civilizational changes and is closely related with another research area, i.e., various external contacts.

The discussion will focus on the circulation of people and goods along the trade routes and as a result of plundering raids in order to determine the significance of the links reaching from Scandinavia (*via* the Baltic), through the countries of the west and south of Europe on the one hand and through Rus', the populations of the steppes on the other to the world of Islam (Baghdad, Spain, North Africa). Another issue is the emergence of enclaves of "aliens" in Slavic domains of early-medieval Pomerania confirmed by written and archaeological sources; in this respect the Scandinavian context is of exceptional significance.

Yet the driving force behind the transformations discussed here is obviously Christianization, whose impact was decisive for the affiliation of a cultural and religious community, and which spread gradually over the whole continent in the public and – ultimately – every-day life of its inhabitants. At this early stage Chris-

[51] More on this subject, see below, p. 127 f. (about the category of *civitas*).

tianization is perceived in conjunction with political and military expansion as well as in the context of various external contacts with the compass of *Christianitas*. The transformation brought by the religious revolution was in many aspects felt before the moment of the official conversion of tribal communities, similarly as a number of syncretic phenomena in the sphere of religious life (e.g., inhumation in funerary rites).

All this happened within the broader context of social and cultural changes within the *Barbaricum*, which brought about the appropriate level of social and economic life enabling trade exchange, effective political and military rivalry with Christian neighbours, or even promoting a competitive alternative in terms of religion and customs. However, as they were ignorant of, e.g., the culture of writing, these "Barbarian" communities do not meet the criteria of belonging to the "initial" domain of European civilization at the turn of millennia, as outlined in Lech Leciejewicz's concept above.

The notion of civilization is ambiguous and thus its use when referring to pre-literate societies is justified (e.g., when talking about material culture). However, because the factors determining civilizational development discussed above are of key significance for this study, it focuses on these phenomena from the domain of the *Barbaricum* which functionally correspond to the ones from the civilizations defined as literate[52]. A distinct example is the functioning of law in tribal communities and the ways of recording knowledge in oral tradition or in the sphere of symbolic communication (e.g., idols).

Narrowing down the discussion to the stage of Polish-Pomeranian interactions in the 10th–12th c., it is worth noting that especially at the level of political elites there were strong contacts binding together this two-zone area politically and culturally, and that they happened in the wider context of relations with the empire and the dependent political entities. Another important integrating factor was trade and… kidnapping during plundering raids. Lastly, individual Christians or their communities (e.g., in Wolin) existed in Pomerania. Therefore, the perception of Pomeranians as explicitly Barbarian as seen in the sources from the times of the conquest of Pomerania and its Christianization (e.g., Gallus Anonymus, lives of St. Otto of Bamberg) is rooted solely in their authors' personal views.

[52] Therefore, using the category of civilization only in the characterization of literate societies is debatable, not only because the notion of civilization is expanded to cover material culture (e.g., civilization of the Palaeolithic or the Neolithic), but also because of the existence of the phenomena which are functional counterparts of the culture of writing in pre-literate societies, see e.g., F. Fernández-Armesto, *Cywilizacje. Kultura, ambicje i przekształcanie natury*, transl. M. Grabska-Ryńska, Warszawa 2008, p. 31 f.

It is important not to interpret the geographical and political divide stretching along the borderlands of the Noteć as a barrier impenetrable for some of the phenomena connected with European civilization or "cultural Europe" forming at that time. Thus, far from questioning the crucial nature of certain events – especially as spectacular as the success of the mission of St. Otto of Bamberg in western Pomerania – in the processes incorporating the communities from the compass of the *Barbaricum* into the system of Christian monarchies, a wider context of events and transformations influencing the development of these processes both before and after these crucial moments should be taken into account.

Their integral dimension was the unique "adoption" of given societies into the culture of *Christianitas*, which on the one hand meant overcoming the alienation after Christianization, but on the other – it enabled accommodation of the "aliens" in the target culture in which they ultimately were to participate even at the stage of preliminary contacts. Even such distinctly hostile linguistic measures as *barbari* or *pagani* ultimately testified to a way of discovering the peoples hitherto unknown within the horizon of own culture. Thus, an important element of the "adoption" of concrete communities was incorporating their history into the sphere of shared social and cultural memory (*memoria*) binding the societies, or in principle the elites, of Christian monarchies, which happened with the extensive contribution of historiography, hagiography, and iconography (e.g., unique monuments such as the Gniezno Doors).

Today these narratives and images are not only sources indispensable for establishing the course of events, as they (especially those contemporary to the researched processes) enable us to encounter the mental and ideological conditions prompting the choice of a particular action, missionary or military, resulting in the areas reaching the southern shores of the Baltic being embraced by the circle of Christianized – at least at the level of their elites – European communities. Focusing here on the Polish-Pomeranian iunctim

in observing the civilizational changes leading to the enlargement of "cultural" Europe was decisive for dividing the content of further discussion into two basic parts. The first is devoted to the emergence of the monarchy of the first Piasts as a crucial driving force behind the discussed changes, while the other focuses mainly on Pomerania, which in the 12th c. becomes the main stage of the transformations[53].

[53] See above in the introduction, p. 15 f.

II

Poland and Pomerania – from Slavic tribes to diverging roads: Tracing historiographic narratives

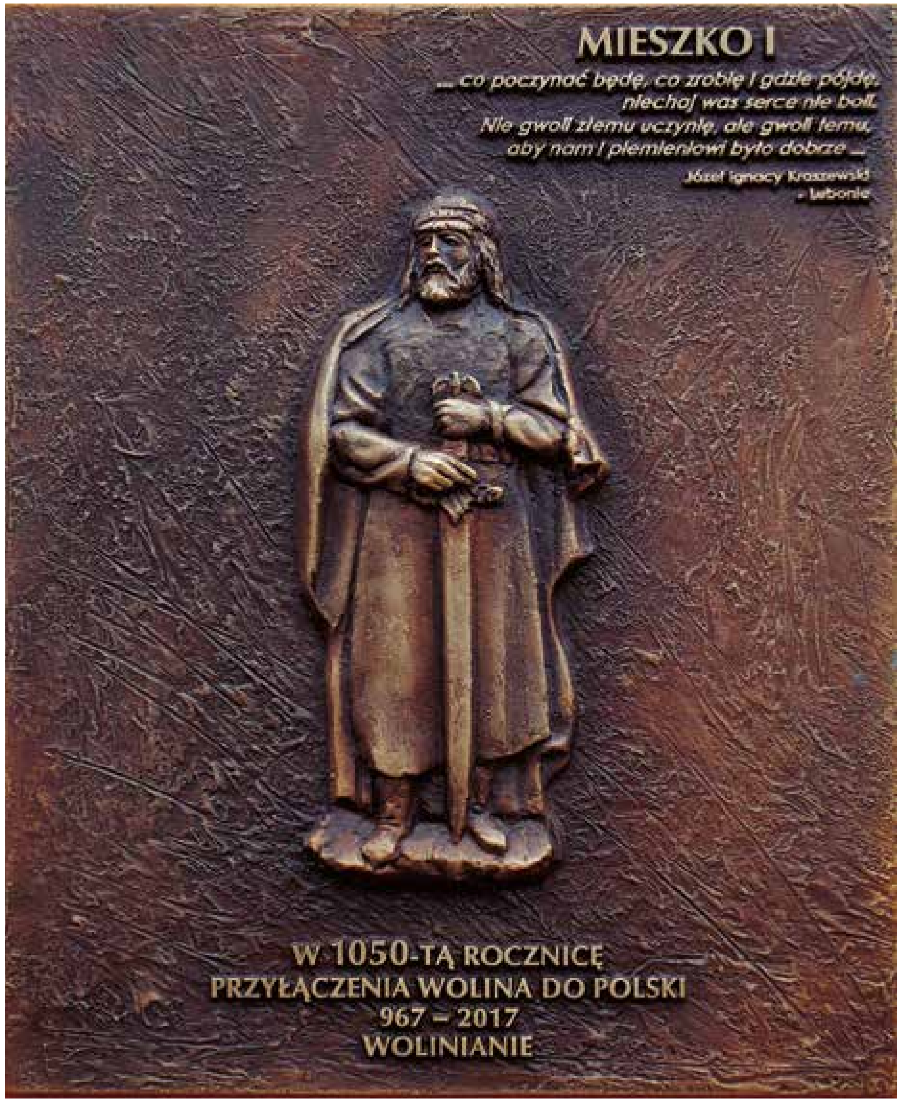
Paweł Migdalski

The view that the origins of Poland emerging from the mists of history are connected with Pomeranian lands has prevailed in Polish historiography for about 100 years, and was stressed by Stanisław Zakrzewski and Zygmunt Wojciechowski back in the interwar period[54]. This idea is expressed in numerous Polish works to this day; one of the latest monographs devoted to the reign of Mieszko I emphasizes the organic ties binding the two lands, hypothetically situating the centre of Polish rule in Pomerania even as far as in Polabian Szczecin (referred to as *Schinesghe*)[55]. *A priori* assumptions connecting the first mentions of Mieszko I with Pomerania and the neighbouring lands result in many oversimplifications and affect further research and its perception of Polish-Pomeranian relations[56].

[54] S. Zakrzewski, *Bolesław Chrobry Wielki*, Kraków ²2000, p. 160; Z. Wojciechowski, *Dwie tradycje*, "Slavia Occidentalis" 10, 1931, p. 5.

[55] P. Urbańczyk, *Mieszko Pierwszy Tajemniczy*, Toruń 2012.

[56] It is worth noting that this tendency also affects historical policy – during the celebrations of the 1050th anniversary in September 2017 of the incorporation of Wolin to Poland (based on Widukind's account of the battles of Mieszko I with Wichmann and the Wolinians) a memorial plaque was placed in the wall of a historic manor house – now a community centre.



Il. 1. Plaque commemorating Wolin's 1050 years in Poland (Wolin, Miejski Dom Kultury, 2017)

German historiography perceives the issue in a completely different way, practically ignoring the ties between Pomerania and Poland. It is noteworthy that contemporary German research of the history of that land is, generally speaking, in retreat and its scope of interest hardly ever crosses today's Polish-German boundary, which in 1945 divided

the historical duchy of Pomerania, leaving on the Polish side the original Pomeranian territory known from the oldest medieval sources[57]. Relaying the earliest information on Polish-Pomeranian relations, these sources laid the foundations for subsequent historiography and as such they should be the basis for the review of the various attitudes adopted by historians who focus on these relations at the time when both Polish and Pomeranian statehoods were emerging. Of lesser importance in this historical research were e.g., property, privilege or foundation documents, relatively rare in such an early period.

Interpretations intended to impart an ideological bias in presenting these events and the attempts to use them for current political needs first appeared in the late Middle Ages, when considerable time had already elapsed from the discussed events. Similarly, many events mentioned in the historical sources only in very general turns, e.g., the battle of *Cidini* (972) or the tribute paid by Mieszko I "for the lands as far as the river of Warta", were moved to Pomerania by later historiography which thus implicated them in Polish-Pomeranian relations and their broader geopolitical context. Determining the territorial range of Pomerania also poses a problem; in 1127/1128 it comprised the lands of the Lutici in the river basins of the Peene and Wkra on the other side of the Odra and thus the original affiliation of Wolin (Pomerania or Polabia?) remains an open question.

In setting about to discuss the main issues and trends in interpreting Polish-Pomeranian relations till the end of the 12th century in old historiography and subsequent historical research, it is necessary to stress at the outset that many of them have already been analyzed in more detail[58] and will thus be presented in general terms – as it were, in a bird's-eye view.

[57] Cf. P. Migdalski, *Pomorze Zachodnie (do 1945 r.) jako przedmiot badań regionalnych po roku 1989 w Polsce i Niemczech*, "Res Gestae. Czasopismo historyczne" 2, 2016, p. 119–144.

[58] J.M. Piskorski, *Pomorze…*, *passim*; P. Migdalski, *Bitwa pod Cidini w historiografii*, [in:] *Cedynia i okolice poprzez wieki*, ed. *idem*, Chojna–Szczecin 2013, p. 37–64; *idem*, *Biskup Otton z Bambergu i jego wyprawy misyjne na Pomorzu w polskim piśmiennictwie okresu Polski Ludowej*, [in:] *Biskup Otton z Bambergu i jego świat*, ed. M. Rębkowski, S. Rosik, Wrocław 2018 (= Wolińskie Spotkania Mediewistyczne 4), p. 337–355; *idem*, *Die Feldzüge des Bolesław Schiefmund nach Belgard und Kolberg und die Anfänge der symbolischen Inbesitznahme Pommerns durch Polen*, "Studia Maritima" 31, 2018, p. 87–107; *idem*, *Słowiańszczyzna północno-zachodnia w historiografii polskiej, niemieckiej i duńskiej*, Wodzisław Śląski 2019; *idem*, *When did the first Polish rulers take the Pomerania? The history of certain paradigm in the Polish historiography*, [in:] *Poland, Pomerania and Their Neighbours' Shaping…*, p. 349–364.

1. Medieval and early modern historiography on Polish-Pomeranian relations in the early Middle Ages

The territory and political entities which in their historical development are associated with Pomerania (whose name for the first time appeared not until the mid-11th century[59]) were mentioned by Einhard and on the pages of the Royal Frankish Annals in connection with Charlemagne's battles with the Veleti tribes, and then by Widukind of Corvey, who described the contemporary battles of Saxons and Polabian Slavs with Mieszko I[60]. Thietmar, who interpreted the information conveyed by another Saxon chronicler, presented the area as one of Piast expansion and mentioned further events, e.g., the battles of Mieszko I in Polabia, the battle of *Cidini*, the establishment of the bishopric in Kołobrzeg, the alliance between the Lutici and Henry II, and the letter from the inhabitants of *Livilni* – most probably Wolin – to Henry II[61]. Fifty years later Adam of Bremen wrote that Pomerania's western border lay on the Odra. His work also says that the Baltic's southern coast – Pomerania – lay in the sphere of Scandinavian expansion, especially Jumne, frequently identified as Wolin[62]

The events connected with the Christianization of Pomerania in the 12th century were presented by Ekkehard of Aura[63] and the authors of the lives of Otto of Bamberg (a monk of Prüfening)

[59] J.M. Piskorski, *Pomorze…*, p. 29, 40.

[60] *Widukindi, monachi Corbeiensis, Rerum gestarum Saxonicarum libri tres*, ed. A. Bauer, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 8, Darmstadt 1990 [further: Widukind], III, 66, 69.

[61] *Kronika Thietmara*, ed. and transl. M.Z. Jedlicki, Poznań 1953 [further: Thietmar], VI, 33.

[62] *Magistri Adam Bremensis Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae Pontificum*, [in:] *Quellen des 9. und 11. Jahrhunderts zur Geschichte der hamburgischen Kirche und des Reiches*, ed. R. Buchner, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 11, Darmstadt 1990, p. 160–499. About Slavdom in Adam's work see e.g., L. Koczy, *Sklawanja Adama Bremeńskiego*, "Slavia Occidentalis" 12, 1933, p. 208 ff., and about religion of the Slavs esp. S. Rosik, *Interpretacja chrześcijańska religii pogańskich Słowian w świetle kronik niemieckich XI–XII wieku (Thietmar, Adama z Bremy, Helmold)*, Wrocław 2000, p. 191 ff.; *idem*, *The Slavic Religion in the Light of 11th- and 12th-Century German Chronicles (Thietmar of Merseburg, Adam of Bremen, Helmold of Bosau). Studies on the Christian Interpretation of pre-Christian Cults and Beliefs in the Middle Ages*, Leiden–Boston 2020 (= East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450, 60), p. 197 ff.

[63] *Frutolfi et Ekkehardi Chronica necnon Anonymii Chronica Imperatorum*, ed. F.-J. Schmale, I. Schmale-Ott, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 15, Darmstadt 1972, p. 366–368, 370–372.

written a little later – namely, Ebo and Herbord[64]. The chronicler Otto of Freising, active at more or less the same time, reported that Bolesław III the Wrymouth had paid homage to King Lothair III for Pomerania and Rugia (Rügen) in Merseburg in 1135 and paid a tribute which he had owed for the previous 12 years[65]. It is also relevant here that the wars fought by Pomeranians with Henry the Lion and Denmark from the mid-12th century were described by Helmold, who also quoted the legends about the cult of St. Vitus in Rugia and Vineta[66].

The first Polish historiographic works known today were written in the 12th century. According to Gallus Anonymus, Pomerania, characterized by unity and tribal solidarity[67], was Poland's neighbour in the north, conquered by Bolesław I the Brave and later by Kazimierz the Restorer or Bolesław II the Generous[68]. Their policy was continued by Bolesław III the Wrymouth, who sought to totally subjugate the land. According to Gallus, this policy, enjoying God's legitimization, remained under the patronage of St. Adalbert of Prague. Other reasons of the battles of Pomerania mentioned by Gallus are the desire of Bolesław III the Wrymouth's warriors' to win riches and spoils as well as achieve knightly fame[69]. His chronicle does not say anything about the end of the conquest of Pomerania, which culminated in the occupation of the estuary of the Odra, known from other sources, especially the lives of St. Otto

[64] Detailed analysis of the lives and the related historic myths was comprehensively presented by S. Rosik, *Conversio gentis Pomeranorum. Studium świadectwa o wydarzeniu (XII wiek)*, Wrocław 2010; and also *idem*, *Bolesław Krzywousty*, Wrocław 2013, thus I will only refer to his conclusions, while the details can be found in the works quoted here.

[65] *Ottonis episcopi Frisingensis chronica sive historia de duabus civitatibus*, ed. W. Lammers, A. Schmidt, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 16, Berlin 1960, p. 43, 48, 424, 448, 464, 530; *Ottonis episcopi Frisingensis et Rahewini Gesta Friderici seu rectius Cronica*, ed. G. Waitz, B. Simson, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 17, ed. H.-J. Schmale, Darmstadt 1965, I, 43.

[66] *Helmoldi presbyteri Bozoviensis Chronica Slavorum*, ed. B. Schmeidler / H. Stoob, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 19, Darmstadt 1990.

[67] Cf. H. Łowmiański, *Początki Polski*, vol. 1–6, Warszawa 1963–1985, vol. 5, p. 412; J. Hertel, *Pomorze w myśli politycznej kronikarzy Polski piastowskiej (Anonim Gall, Wincenty Kadłubek, kronikarz wielkopolski)*, [in:] *Prace z dziejów państwa i Zakonu Krzyżackiego*, ed. A. Czacharowski, Toruń 1984, p. 17 ff.

[68] *Galli Anonymi Cronica et Gesta ducum sive principum Polonorum*, ed. K. Maleczyński, MPH, NS 2, Kraków 1952 [further: Gall], I, 6; I, 21–22. Cf. A. Krawiec, *Ciekawość świata w średniowiecznej Polsce. Studium z dziejów geografii kreacyjnej*, Poznań 2010, p. 330–332.

[69] Gall II, 28, 48; J. Hertel, *Pomorze…*, p. 29–31; G. Labuda, *Święty Wojciech. Biskup-męczennik, patron Polski, Czech i Węgier*, Wrocław 2000, p. 271 ff.; T. Tyc, *Polska a Pomorze za Krzywoustego*, "Roczniki Historyczne" 2, 1926, p. 30–32.

and Polish annals[70]. Gallus' narration about Pomerania was borrowed by Vincent Kadłubek, who – aware of the final outcome of the Wrymouth's battles culminating in the conquest of Pomerania – wrote that the ruler appointed his governors; Polish rulers also had the right to appoint dukes. It seems that Vincent took it for granted that the Pomeranian bishopric would be subjugated to the archdiocese in Gniezno[71]. Similarly, the chronicler approved of binding Pomeranian rulers with Poland through marriages with the brides from the Piast dynasty[72].

When studying the earliest Polish-Pomeranian relations, Scandinavian, and especially Danish historiography and sagas should also be taken into account. The first Danish chronicles, such as *Chronicon Roskildense* from the first half of the 12th century, write about the escape of Harald Bluetooth and his death among the Slavs. Subsequent works, such as Sven Aggesøn's *Brevis historia regum Dacie*, Saxo Grammaticus' *Gesta Danorum*, apart from indicating that Harald Bluetooth escaped and died in *Hymsburgh/Hynnis* and *Julin* (*Iulinum*), provide a great deal of information about raids led by Slavs, Pomeranians, and Rani in Denmark and the retaliatory expeditions, which ended in the conquest of and imposition of homage on Rugia and later Pomerania. Both works close with the homage paid by the Pomeranian Bogusław I and the end of the independence of the Polabian Slavs[73]. Norse sagas, especially those about the Vikings from Jomsborg, were also important for the subsequent historical disputes concerning the location and political significance of the place in question[74].

The works mentioned above formed basic sources for subsequent chroniclers, who took over and supplemented earlier themes. Danish and Polish historiography in particular consolidated a narrative canon of Polish-Pomeranian relations based on the works cited above, which – like *Chronica Polonorum* by Vincent Kadłubek and *Gesta Danorum*

[70] *Rocznik świętokrzyski dawny*, [in:] MPH 2, ed. A. Bielowski Warszawa ^{2}1961, p. 774; *Rocznik krakowski*, [in:] MPH 2, ed. A. Bielowski, Warszawa ^{2}1961, p. 832; *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, [in:] MPH 2, ed. A. Bielowski, Warszawa ^{2}1961, p. 797; *Rocznik Traski*, [in:] MPH 2, ed. A. Bielowski, Warszawa ^{2}1961, p. 823.

[71] *Magistri Vincenti dicti Kadłubek Chronica Polonorum*, ed. M. Plezia, MPH NS 11, Kraków 1994, IV, 7, 8, 9.

[72] *Magistri Vincenti…*, IV, 2, 12; see: J. Hertel, *Pomorze…*, p. 35 f.

[73] *Chronicon Roskildense*, [in:] *Scriptores Minores Historiæ Danicæ*, ed. M.Cl. Gertz, vol. 1–2, København 1917–1918–1922, vol. 1, p. 19; *En ny text af Sven Aggesøns værker*, ed. M.Cl. Gertz, København 1916; *Saxonis Gesta Danorum*, ed. J. Olrik, H. Ræder, vol. 1, Hauniæ 1931.

[74] See especially J. Morawiec, *Vikings among the Slavs. Jomsborg and the Jomsvikings in Old Norse Tradition*, Wien 2009 (= Studia Medievalia Septentrionalia 17).

by Saxo Grammaticus – until the 16th century were the basic repository of knowledge about the histories of both countries. The situation changed in the Renaissance, when the invention of the printing press resulted in the publication of many works, mainly from Antiquity. However, the perception of Polish-Pomeranian interactions central to this discussion did not substantially change[75]. Certain themes, mainly legendary, were of course added in the Middle Ages. *The Chronicle of Greater Poland* transferred Polish-Pomeranian relations to the mythical past[76]. Jan Długosz attempted to broaden the source base, writing about the establishment of a bishopric in Kamień Pomorski subjugated to the archdiocese of Gniezno, and about the battles of the Hungarian princes, Andrew, Levente, and Bela in Pomerania during the reign of Casimir I the Restorer[77].

Pomeranian historiography begins not until the mid-14th century with a short work by an Augustinian monk from Stargard, Augustine, written during the political struggle between the archdiocese of Gniezno and the bishopric in Kamień Pomorski. Because the author tried to prove that Pomerania had forever been independent of Poland and wrote about the inveterate mutual hostility as well as the superiority of the Pomeranians over Poles, the chronicle had a distinctly anti-Polish bias. The author also tried to diminish Poland's role in Christianizing Pomerania[78] and this biased account influenced subsequent Pomeranian histories, especially Pomerania by Johannes Bugenhagen[79].

[75] For the Polish historiography see among others: *Chronica Polonorum*, ed. L. Ćwikliński, [in:] MPH 3, Lwów 1878, p. 618 f., 627 f.; *Chronica Poloniae Maioris*, ed. B. Kürbis, MPH NS 8, Warszawa 1970, chap. 11, 12, 13, 16, 18, 20, 27, p. 7–18, 21, 26, 27, 29, 32; M. Kromer, *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum libri XXX*, Basileae 1555, p. 34–36, 47, 60; M. Bielski, *Kronika, tho iesth historya swiata na szesc wiekow a cztery Monarchie rozdzielona […]*, Kraków 1564, p. 339 f., 345; *Kronika Polska Marcina Bielskiego nowo przez Ioach. Bielskiego syna iego wydana*, Kraków 1597, p. 39, 46, 49–51, 60. For the Danish historiography see e.g., Arild Huitfeldt, *Danmarckis Rigis Krønnicke. Fran Kong Dan den første, oc indtil Kong Knud den 6. Som indeholder det fornemste/ hues Saxo haffuer skreffuet/ redigeret til visse aar oc Tid*, Kiøbenhaffn 1603, p. 23, 30 f., 103 ff.

[76] *Chronica Poloniae Maioris…*, chap. 4, 8, p. 10 f., 14 f.

[77] Joannis Dlugossi, *Annales seu Cronicae Incliti Regni Poloniae*, Books 1–2, ed. M. Plezia, Varsaviae 1964, Book 2, under the year 966, p. 179, under the year 1032, p. 305–308; cf. S. Gawlas, *Świadomość narodowa Jana Długosza*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze" 27, 1983, p. 40 f.

[78] *Notula satis notabilis de Pomeranorum, Stetinensium, ac Rugie principatu*, ed. J.G.L. Kosegarten, "Baltische Studien" AF 17, 1858, p. 105–125. Angelus indicated here the other location of Vineta – Usedom.

[79] Johannes Bugenhagen, *Pomerania*, ed. O. Heinemann, R. Schmidt, Köln–Wien ^{2}1986, p. 31 ff., 51 f.

The picture of Pomerania's past in the medieval context was expanded in the mid-16th century by Thomas Kantzow. In his chronicle Pomerania is presented as a country dependent on Germany, Denmark[80], and Poland, whose rulers conquered it and subjugated its dukes[81]. According to Kantzow, Pomerania was divided into two parts after the death of Świętobor – into western Pomerania ruled by Wartislaw and Ratibor, who leaned towards the Empire, and Eastern Pomerania ruled by Świętopełk and Bogusław, who were affiliated with Poland[82]. The authors of subsequent works about Pomerania[83] relied on T. Kantzow and sometimes engaged in polemics with Polish authors. Johannes Micraelius similarly argued that Pomerania had been independent of Poland[84]. Even though his work had never been printed, Kantzow's theses functioned in various circles for hundreds of years, e.g., his interpretation of the Slavic period in the history of Pomerania as a peculiar intermezzo in the German history of the land[85].

2. Politicization of the image of early medieval Polish-Pomeranian relations in the long 19th century

A departure from these narratives perpetuated for centuries, and especially from legendary histories, becomes perceptible in the 18th

[80] According to Kantzow, Danish rulers had significant relations with Pomerania. Gudfred was the first to try and subjugate it in Charlemagne's times; then it was Gorm the Old and his son Harald Bluetooth, who conquered Wolin, subsequently lost during the expedition of Otto I. Harald died in Wolin after he was exiled by his son Sweyn Forkbeard; the latter fought battles with the Wolinians. Kantzow also included the description of Vineta, which according to him was situated on a reef near Dąbrowa in Uznam (Usedom) and had nothing to do with Wolin, Thomas Kantzow, *Pomerania. Eine pommersche Chronik aus dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, ed. G. Gaebel, vol. 1, Stettin 1908, p. 51 f., 54, 56 f.

[81] *Ibidem*, p. 53, 63 f., 66 ff.

[82] *Ibidem*, p. 169.

[83] It is important that the authors from Mecklemburg, like Johannis Trithemius, Albert Krantz, Nicolai Mareschalci, based their accounts of Pomeranian-Polish relations on the medieval sources, mainly Helmold's works, and to a lesser extent on the lives of Otto of Bamberg – see P. Migdalski, *Słowiańszczyzna…*, p. 62–65.

[84] J. Micraelii, *Sechs Bücher des Alten Pommernlandes*, Alten Stettin 1639, p. 168, 171, 190 f., 207.

[85] Cf. P. Migdalski, *Wie die slawischen Vorfahren der Pommern zu Germanen wurden*, [in:] *Abstammungsmythen und Völkergenealogien im frühneuzeitlichen Ostseeraum*, ed. S. Donecker, Greifswald 2020, p. 61–77.

century under the influence of an increasingly critical approach towards research dictated by the Age of Enlightenment[86]. The changes were also caused by the publication of German and Scandinavian chronicles (mainly Thietmar's chronicle and Saxo Grammaticus' *Gesta Danorum*) and the first diplomatic codes and sagas[87], as this broadened the source base. This is seen especially well in the works by Christoph Hartknoch[88], Gottfried Lengnich[89], Ignacy Krasicki[90], Adam Naruszewicz[91] – and in the German historiographic works by Thomas Gadebusch[92], for whom Pomerania was an area of Polish and Danish expansion; the latter were supposed to have erected the fortress in Jomsborg.

Beginning around the year 1800, German historians started to argue that the German rulers had had long-term plans concerning the eastern neighbour of the empire. The trend gave rise to the ideology of the drive to the East (*Drang nach Osten*) and the cultural mission of the Germans in the East, intensified by the growth of nationalism in Europe[93]. The ideology also affected the perception of early-medieval Polish-Pomeranian

[86] However, certain themes were present in the works by J. J. Sell published in the 19th century, see J.J. Sell, *Ueber die Slawen, welche vor Einwanderung der Deutschen in Pommern und Ruegen gewohnt haben*, Stettin 1800, p. 16 f.; *idem*, *Versuch einer Geschichte des Pommenrschen Handels*, Stettin 1796, p. 12 f.; *idem*, *Geschichte des Herzogthums Pommern von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Tode des Letzten Herzoges oder bis zum Westphälischen Frieden*, vol. 1, Berlin 1819, p. 24 ff., 86–101, 115 f. Cf. P.F. Kanngieser, *Geschichte von Pommern bis auf das Jahr 1129*, vol. 1, Greifswald 1824, p. 321.

[87] On their basis Danish historian Thomas Bartholin wrote about an old town situated on the sea – Jomsborg-Julin, founded by Harald Bluetooth and ruled by Palnatoke – *Thomæ Bartholini Thomæ Filii Antiqvitatum Danicarum de Causis Contemptæ a Danis adhuc Gentilibus mortis libri tres [...]*, Hafniæ 1689, p. 3. He found out about the town in the saga about Jomsvikings.

[88] Ch. Hartknoch, *De Republica Polonica libri duo, quorum historiae polonicae memorabiliora posterior autem jus publicum […]*, Lipsiae 1698, p. 139 f.

[89] G. Lengnich, *Historia Polona a Lecho ad Augusti II. mortem. Cum Privilegio*, Lipsiae 1740, p. 5–8; G. Lengnich, *De Religionis Christianae in Polonia intiis. Dissertationem*, Gedanii 1734, p. 17.

[90] I. Krasicki, *Historia na dwie księgi podzielona*, Warszawa 1779, p. 206, 208, 234.

[91] A. Naruszewicz, *Historya narodu polskiego*, vol. 1, part 2, Warszawa 1824, p. 306.

[92] T.H. Gadebusch, *Grundriß der Pommerschen Geschichte*, Stralsund 1778; G. Labuda, *Tomasza Henryka Gadebuscha plan unaukowienia historii Pomorza u schyłku XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Tempus nostrum est. Księga pamiątkowa ofiarowana profesorowi Edwardowi Włodarczykowi w 60. rocznicę urodzin*, ed. W. Stępiński, D. Szudra, R. Techman, Szczecin 2006, p. 409–418.

[93] G. Labuda, *Historiograficzna analiza tzw. niemieckiego "naporu na wschód"*, [in:] *Wschodnia ekspansja Niemiec w Europie Środkowej. Zbiór studiów nad tzw. niemieckim "Drang nach Osten"*, ed. G. Labuda, Poznań 1963, p. 14–56, and W. Wippermann, *Der "deutsche Drang nach Osten". Ideologie und Wirklichkeit eines politischen Schlagwortes*, Darmstadt 1981.

relations. A historian from Greifswald, Peter Kanngieser (d. 1833) said that the German clergy involved in the Christianization mission helped to Germanize the country, introducing their language, customs, and laws, inviting German colonists, and thus claiming that Christianity helped to acquire Pomerania for Germany[94]. His contemporary, Julius Biesner, took this a step further, writing that the arrival of the Germans settlers in the late 12th century heralded the dawn of a better future; Pomerania was lucky enough to become independent in the second half of the 12th century after the fall of Poland, even though it was badly damaged in the wars with Denmark and Rugia[95].

Richard Roeppell perceived the relations between Poland and Pomerania in a different way, writing that Poland had devoted many years to conquering Pomerania, achieving this aim in the times of Bolesław III the Wrymouth, who strengthened the acquisition by introducing Christianity. Yet Poland soon lost interest, while the Pomerania ruled by Bogusław I dodged between Denmark and Henry the Lion. According to Roeppell, the duke tried to establish closer relations with Poland, but never received any help. Only the dukes of Eastern Pomerania remained under Polish rule, but – in the author's concluding words – "it was then that Poland oriented its conquering efforts towards the south-east[96]". Similarly, the unnamed author of the first periodical devoted to Pomerania – "Pommersche Provinzionalblätter für Stadt und Land" – wrote that the Poles had always wanted to subjugate Pomerania, and pressed towards the sea[97].

The people professionally dealing with the history of Pomerania adopted an increasingly critical attitude towards medieval sources, including their accounts of Polish-Pomeranian relations. The professor of history from Greifswald, Friedrich Barthold, tried to challenge the theses about Polish and Danish conquests in Pomerania in the 11th century, claiming that the conviction that Mieszko I ruled in the Odra estuary did not emerge until very late, while in reality the Polish ruler pressed towards the river of Parsęta. For Berthold, Pomerania was at that time a collection of tribal entities that united only in the face of the Polish threat. He also argued that the very meaning of the name Pomerania, however common among the Slavs, may ring with vestiges of Polish suzerainty, therefore in the 13th century it was replaced by the name Slavia and Kashubia further east. According to him, Slavic peoples in western Pomerania and in the lands of the Obodrites, facing bloody Saxon invasions, in vain counted on the help from Pomerelia (centred on Gdańsk) and Poland. The battles with the Saxons and the Danes were supposed to have brought about a decrease of the population, which in turn caused the arrival of the Germans. Their influx resulted in "the demise of Pomeranian-Slavic identity, which in the 14th century became German-Pomeranian". The fate of Pomerelia, where the Polish language and customs took root, developed differently[98].

Relations with Poland were also discussed in the editorials of the first issue of "Baltische Studien" published by the Society for the History and Antiquities of Pomerania in 1832. The introduction, written probably by Hermann Hering, said that the periodical was going to be devoted to the history of Pomerania and the neighbouring lands – namely, Poland and Scandinavian countries, because this is where Christianity and foreign invasions came from. He wrote that Christianity was brought by Poland from the east and by Denmark from the west[99].

After the unification of Germany, ethnic tensions in Schleswig and Greater Poland consolidated nationalistic tendencies, which in turn affected German and Polish historiography. The Slavic intermezzo, viewed favourably during the Romantic Period, became even shorter because the authors no longer focused on it. Greater emphasis was placed on the role of Germany in the historical development of Pomerania and the Slavic lands in the north-west; even the bishoprics in the east of the Empire were no longer seen as the promoters of the faith, but as the tool of German politics[100]. Not surprisingly,

94 P.F. Kanngieser, *Geschichte von Pommern…*, p. 831–834.

95 J.H. Biesner, *Abriss der Geschichte Pommerns und Rügens nebst angehaegter Specialgeschichte des Kloster Eldena*, Stralsund 1834, p. 169.

96 R. Roepell, *Dzieje Polski do XIV stulecia*, transl. K. Przyborowski, Poznań [2]2005, p. 46, 200–202.

97 *Abris einer volksthumlichen Geschichte von Pommern*, "Pommersche Provinzionalblätter für Stadt und Land" 1, 1820, p. 276.

98 F.W. Barthold, *Geschichte von Rügen und Pommern*, vol. 1, Hamburg 1839, p. 251, 261, 265, 286, 442; vol. 2, Hamburg 1840, p. 162, 286 f.

99 *Vorwort*, "Baltische Studien" AF 1, 1832, p. vi f.

100 W. Wiesener, *Geschichte der christlichen Kirche in Pommern zur Wendenzeit*, Berlin 1889, p. 24–32; K. Maß, *Pommersche Geschichte*, Stettin 1899, p. 15; M. Wehrmann, *Geschichte von Pommern*, vol. 1, Gotha 1904 [Gotha [2]1919], p. 46; W. von Sommerfeld, *Geschichte der Germanisierung des Herzogums Pommern oder Slavien bis zum Ablauf des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1896, p. 6.

German researchers were not especially preoccupied with Polish-Pomeranian relations and the general approach to the issue was a simple continuation of the earlier approaches.

And thus the researchers wrote that from the 10th century an ethnically related country – Poland – began exerting pressure on Pomerania[101]. Eventually the prolonged conflict ended with the conquest of Pomerania. Similarly as other historians, K. Maß remarked that Bolesław I the Brave and Otto III concluded a peace treaty, dividing Pomerania between them and the Polish ruler subjugated the lands as far as the Odra. To consolidate his rule in the newly acquired territory he employed missionaries, e.g., Bishop Adalbert (sic!) and in 1000 established a bishopric in its capital – Kołobrzeg[102]. Pomerania, which according to contemporary historians also included western Pomerania, was divided into smaller entities; it began to consolidate at the end of the 11th century, which is substantiated by the fact that various dukes appeared in medieval sources, such as Dumnar, who – according to Martin Wehrmann – ruled in the western part situated across the Odra[103].

Wilhelm Wiesner proposed a different division of Pomerania in the first half of the 12th century. He maintained that Ratibor ruled in the lands situated east of Góra Chełmska, Świętobor in the lands west of the Odra, and Wartislaw in the central part[104]. Facing an external threat, the country was united; according to Maß, in the west the threat was posed by Henry, the son of Gottschalk and a Saxon vassal, and in the south it was Poland. This is when Duke Wartislaw appeared, whose rule comprised the territories between the Peene and Parsęta rivers, reaching as far as the Warta and Drawa rivers[105].

For Martin Wehrmann the conquest of Pomerania by Bolesław III the Wrymouth meant not only destruction but also construction; he even wrote: "damit hat er [Wrymouth] für das pommersche Land und Volk mehr getan als die deutschen Fürsten [therefore he (Wrymouth) did more for the Pomeranian land and people than the German dukes]". When the Germans failed in their Christianization mission, the Polish duke took it over, albeit not for religious reasons, but to impose peace on the borders. Christianization was the beginning of the opening [*Erschließung*] of the country for Christian culture; whether it would be Polish or German, the future was yet to show, wrote the historian from Szczecin[106]. Another prominent historian from Szczecin from the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, Paul von Nießen, when writing about the territories of the future Neumark, added that the Church was the first to bring western culture, even before the arrival of the Germans[107].

In the 19th century the story of Pomerania adopted for good the theme of the Scandinavian fortress in Jomsborg. The sagas published at that time by the Royal Society for Old Nordic Writing (Kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift-Selskab) triggered the discussion about the location of Jomsborg, its chronology, and the role it played in Pomerania. Relations between Pomerania and Scandinavia became the central issue, while the relations with Poland were treated marginally. Various other events described in the sagas were also interpreted as associated with Pomerania, such as the battle of Swolder in 1000, which such researchers as Otto Francke and W. Wehrmann situated on the island of Hiddensee[108].

[101] R. Wagner, *Die Wendenzeit*, Berlin 1899 (= Mecklenburgische Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen 2), p. 77; M. Wehrmann, *Geschichte von Pommern…*, vol. 1, p. 49.

[102] K. Maß, *Pommersche Geschichte…*, p. 19 f.

[103] M. Wehrmann, *Geschichte von Pommern…*, vol. 1, p. 57.

[104] W. Wiesener, *Die Geschichte…*, p. 46.

[105] K. Maß, *Pommersche Geschichte…*, p. 27. At the same time a Polish researcher of western Slavs, Kazimierz Wachowski, wrote that the process of unification of Pomerania began only at the end of the 11th century, during the wars with Poland; earlier it was prevented by the presence of neighbouring Poland, undergoing the process of consolidation – K. Wachowski, *Jomsborg (Normanowie wobec Polski w w. X). Studyum historyczne*, Warszawa 1914, p. 7, 27.

[106] M. Wehrmann, *Geschichte von Pommern…*, vol. 1, p. 59 f., 67.

[107] P. v. Nießen, *Geschichte der Neumark im Zeitalter ihrer Entstehung und Besiedlung*, Landsberg a. W. 1905, p. 126. For the analogy with neighbouring Mecklenburg two contemporary views on Europeanization of the Slavic inhabitants of the Obodrite state should be quoted. According to H. Witte, the Slavic uprising and the pagan reaction (in the 11th century), caused by the weakening of the rule in Germany, among others, squandered irreversibly the last chance of absorbing the Slavs into the western-European cultural circle. In the future they would only be faced with wars of annihilation (*Vernichtungskampf*). R. Wagner wrote more bluntly that if it had not been for Gottschalk's death, today Mecklenburg would still have Slavic population because his attempt to introduce Christianity was the last opportunity to join the Christian world of culture peacefully. See H. Witte, *Mecklenburgische Geschichte in Anknüpfung an Ernst Boll*, vol. 1, Wismar 1909, p. 47; R. Wagner, *Die Wendenzeit…*, p. 120.

[108] P.F. Kanngieser, *Geschichte von Pommern…*, p. 52–74; J.H. Biesner, *Abriss…*, p. 48 f., 87; F.W. Barthold, *Geschichte von Rügen…*, vol. 1, p. 296 f., 382, 405 f.; G. Schulz, *Pommern. Ein Lesebuch fuer Volksschulen*, Prenzlau 1828, p. 154–160; R. Klempin, *Die Lage der Jomsborg*, "Baltische Studien" AF 13, 1847, p. 1–107; L. Giesebrecht, *Wendische Geschichten aus den Jahren 780–1182*, vol. 1–3, Berlin 1843, vol. 1, p. 205 f.; L. Quandt, *Waldemars und Knuts Heerszüge im Wendenland*, "Baltische Studien" AF, 10, 1844, p. 137 f., 147 f.; M. Wehrmann, *Geschichte von Pommern…*, vol. 1, p. 47 f., 53 f., 56 f.; *idem*, *Geschichte der Stadt Stettin*, Stettin 1911, p. 10; R. Wagner, *Die Wendenzeit…*, p. 65; O. Francke, *Wo hat Olaf Trygwason seine letzte Schlacht geschlagen?*, "Baltische Studien" NF 25, 1874, p. 2 f.

We also need to mention one of the most important German historians from that period, Leopold von Ranke. He attributed the idea of expanding the Empire eastward and decimating the peoples living in the conquered areas to Emperor Otto I, who is supposed to have embodied the idea of the unity of the German (or in fact Roman-German) empire and Christian religion. However, his successors relinquished this mission: it was accomplished only during the rule of Lothair of Supplinburg, the 12th-century Holy Roman Emperor who pursued a policy of seizing lands in the East, colonizing them, and spreading Christianity. Von Ranke also stressed that Bolesław III Krzywousty (the Wrymouth) recognized Lothair's suzerainty over Pomerania and – sic! – Silesia and that once Christianity had been successfully grafted into Poland in the 12th century it reached the Odra estuary[109].

The works by the Polish researchers of this period initially perpetuated the version outlined by previous generations. According to Joachim Lelewel, Pomerania was many times conquered by Poland, yet the Wrymouth's successors did not manage to keep it – Kazimierz (Casimir) II the Just transferred his rule to local lords and let them use the title of duke. Lelewel stressed that Pomerania had never been subjugated by the empire[110]. He also maintained that the Danes had many times tried to conquer Pomerania but failed[111]. Because it was located between two stronger neighbours, Adam Mickiewicz compared it to Polesie. According to him, the Slavs living in Pomerania had faced a dilemma – incorporation by neighbouring countries or extinction. Pomerania escaped extermination because it adopted Christianity from Bolesław III the Wrymouth[112].

[109] L. Ranke, *Zwölf Bücher Preußischer Geschichte*, vol. 1–2, Leipzig 1874, p. 4, 10; *idem*, *Weltgeschichte*, vol. 12, [in:] *idem*, *Historische Meisterwerke*, ed. A. Meyer, H. Michael, vol. 11–12, Wien–Hamburg–Zürich n.d., p. 203–204.

[110] J. Lelewel, *Polska wieków średnich, czyli Joachima Lelewela w dziejach narodowych polskich postrzeżenia*, vol. 2, Poznań 1856, p. 113 ff., 340; *idem*, *Dzieje Polski potocznym sposobem opowiedziane*, [in:] *idem*, *Dzieła*, vol. 7, Warszawa 1961, p. 72, 82; *idem*, *Historia, obraz dziejów Polskich*, [in:] *idem*, *Dzieła*, vol. 7, Warszawa 1961 [written 1828, edited 1858], p. 318–320. Similarly also J. Moraczewski, *Dzieje Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej do piętnastego wieku*, Poznań 1846, p. 25, 47, 50–73, 97.

[111] J. Lelewel, *Narody na ziemiach słowiańskich przed powstaniem Polski*, [in:] *idem*, *Dzieła*, vol. 5, Warszawa 1972, p. 757 f.

[112] A. Mickiewicz, *Pierwsze wieki historii polskiej*, [in:] *idem*, *Dzieła*, vol. 7, Warszawa 1997, p. 56 ff., 104; *idem*, *Literatura słowiańska, Kurs pierwszy–trzeci*, [in:] *idem*, *Dzieła*, vol. 8, Warszawa 1997, p. 172 f.

Henryk Schmitt emphasized the similarities between the societies and political systems in Poland and Pomerania, where at least till the end of the 11th century there were no differences between estates and people governed themselves, as not until the 12th century did dukes begin to assume power because of the external threat, in the same way as Krak had seized power under Avar influence[113].

During Poland's statelessness, in the mid-19th century, when the conflict with the partitioning powers intensified (especially with Prussia), Polish scholars attributed Poland with a historical mission on the Baltic. Despite the fact that historical research became more professional, this idealistic trend consolidated and its anti-German overtones intensified. And thus A. Małecki attributed a superior aim to Bolesław I the Brave: "to lead the western Slavs along the path to historical existence", to create a great Slavic state, consisting of the lands from today's Berlin to the Baltic[114]. Similarly Michał Bobrzyński defined Bolesław's aim as the unification of the Slavs[115], while Stanisław Maroński gave more details: to create a great Slavic empire from the Baltic to the Adriatic and from the Elbe to the Volga[116].

According to A. Małecki, Bolesław's plans were resumed by Bolesław III the Wrymouth, who wanted to conquer Pomerania and lead a crusade on the Odra. Józef Szujski called these wars "the battle between Christian and pagan orders"[117]. Jan Grzegorzewski wrote that the Polish conquest of Pomerania, which was richer than Polabia and had erected a number of strongholds on the border

[113] H. Schmitt, *Narodowość polska, jej podstawy, rozwój dziejowy, przeobrażenia i zboczenia*, Lwów 1862, p. 4, 7, 9.

[114] A. Małecki, *Rewizja dziejów Polskich*, [in:] *idem*, *Z przeszłości dziejowej. Pomniejsze pisma*, vol. 1, Kraków 1897 [¹1875], p. 41.

[115] M. Bobrzyński, *Dzieje Polski w zarysie*, Warszawa 1987, p. 108. Cf. J. Maternicki, *Michał Bobrzyński wobec "idei zachodniej"*, [in:] *idem*, *Historia jako dialog. Studia i szkice historiograficzne*, Rzeszów 1996, p. 38.

[116] S. Maroński, *Słowianie meklemburscy i walka niemieckiego ze słowiańskim przy wyborze biskupa diecezyi szweryńskiej (1191–1195)*, "Biblioteka Warszawska" 1881, vol. 3, p. 42.

[117] A. Małecki, *Rewizja…*, p. 102 f.; F. Koneczny, *Dzieje Polski za Piastów*, Kraków 1902, p. 141; M. Bobrzyński, *Dzieje…*, p. 131; L. Rydel, *Dzieje Polski dla wszystkich*, ed. H. Mościcki, Warszawa n.d., p. 32 ff.; A. Lewicki, *Zarys historii Polski*, ed. J. Friedberg, Warszawa ¹¹1923 [¹1884], p. 43 ff.; J. Szujski, *Historyi polskiej treściwie opowiedzianej ksiąg dwanaście*, Poznań 2005, p. 26 ff.; *idem*, *Dzieje Polski podług ostatnich badań*, vol. 1: *Piastowie*, Lwów 1862, p. 88, 92. Jarosław Rejowicz even wrote that contact with Poland decided the balance in favour of Christian civilization in Pomerania – J. Rejowicz, *Kartka z dziejów Pomorza i Rugii*, Kraków 1903, after: *Morze i ziemia. Antologia reportaży z Pomorza*, ed. C. Łazarewicz, A. Klim, Poznań 2019, p. 18.

with Poland not wanting to be subjugated, resulted in an intensification of commercial contacts and the adoption of the Polish system of measurements and weights. However, the influence did not last because it was driven out by the Germans[118].

Historians emphasized that Bolesław III the Wrymouth quickly introduced Christianity among the Pomeranians. Julian Bartoszewicz added that it was "purer faith as it was from Poland and thus untarnished by Germanness". The new faith turned out to be permanent because it was grafted "for honest reasons", not to exploit or subjugate, which motivated the Germans and Henry, the son of Gottschalk[119]. Lucjan Rydel wrote that the Germans transformed the cross of Jesus into "the emblem of extermination of the Slavs" and murdering their women and children, they thus caused them to "loathe the Christian faith". Karol Szajnocha and Feliks Koneczny wrote in a similar vein, indicating that Poland's adoption of Christianity separated it from the Slavs living on the Baltic. Szajnocha stressed that the Piasts were traitors because together with the Germans they acted against the Pomeranians at the time when the lack of Polish support meant extermination of the Baltic Slavs[120].

According to Michał Bobrzyński, the Baltic Slavs were not aware of the "historic mission", i.e., unification of the tribes living between the Baltic and the Carpathians into one state and one nation, which was later undertaken by the Polans[121]. Jan Karol Kochanowski saw the question of Polish-Pomeranian unity differently, writing that Pomerania's destiny was unification with Poland. However, the weakness of the country on the Vistula, the fact that Bolesław II the Bold oriented his foreign policy towards the east, and the inconsistent policy in the north carried out by Władysław I Herman and Bolesław III the Wrymouth failed to achieve this aim. Admittedly,

[118] J. Grzegorzewski, *Z kresów połabskich*, Kraków 1885, p. 67–69.

[119] J. Bartoszewicz, *Historia pierwotna Polski*, vol. 3, [in:] *idem*, *Dzieła Juliana Bartoszewicza*, vol. 5, Kraków 1879, p. 217; *ibidem*, vol. 4, [in:] *idem*, *Dzieła Juliana Bartoszewicza*, vol. 6, Kraków 1879, p. 245; W. Bogusławski, *Dzieje Słowiańszczyzny północno-zachodniej do połowy XIII w.*, vol. 3, Poznań 1892, p. 530–543, 551 f.

[120] L. Rydel, *Dzieje…*, p. 6; K. Szajnocha, *Bolesław Chrobry*, [in:] *idem*, Bolesław *Chrobry i odrodzenie się Polski za Władysława Łokietka. Dwa opowiadania historyczne*, Lwów [2]1859, p. 32 f., 223; F. Koneczny, *Dzieje Polski…*, p. 15, 32. In another place F. Konieczny indicated the need to win over Pomerania for Poland and Christianity – F. Koneczny, *Dzieje Polski…*, p. 46.

[121] M. Bobrzyński, *Dzieje Polski…*, p. 100. Cf. J. Maternicki, *Michał Bobrzyński…*, p. 36 f.

Bogusław I opted for Poland and married Anastasia, which eventually proved pointless because Casimir II the Just oriented his policy towards Rus' and Casimir III the Great "left his fellow Slavs to their own devices"[122]. The historian added that at that time the Germans, e.g., Otto of Bamberg, did not aim to Germanize the Slavs, which according to W. von Sommerfeld was a grave mistake. Kochanowski wrote that, on the contrary – Otto's mission increased a liking for the Germans in Pomerania[123].

The question of the presence of the Normans within the circle of Baltic Slavs, and especially in Pomerania, began to play an increasingly significant role in Polish-Pomeranian relations as interpreted by Polish historiography during the long 19th century. Many authors wrote about Jomsborg, which was supposed to have been situated there. There was an ongoing debate as to who founded it and when, and where exactly it was situated. Generally, historians agreed that it was either present-day Wolin or a place situated 3 miles away. The discussion concerned the specific laws and customs binding there, ones resembling those of the Cossacks in the Sich[124].

Wilhelm Bogusławski wrote that thanks to their contacts with the Scandinavians, the Pomeranians developed courage and resourcefulness, while the convenient location enabled development of towns. Aleksander Brückner concluded that the peoples of the north and Slavs met all along the Baltic coast, which is seen in the works by Saxo Grammaticus and Vincent Kadłubek. The two ethne merged, which is substantiated by local names of Scandinavian origin, such as Arkona or Jasmund[125]. On the other hand, some authors, e.g., Wacław Macie-

[122] J.K. Kochanowski, *Pierwotna giermanizacja Słowian pomorskich w świetle historiografii niemieckiej*, [in:] *idem*, *Szkice i drobiazgi historyczne*, Warszawa 1904, p. 167 ff., 190, 241. R. Roeppel and J. Bartoszewicz wrote earlier in a similar vein; the latter observed that by not leaning towards the east – towards Poland, the Baltic Slavs "betrayed their freedom, the elders were only interested in their own benefits, while Poland – due to its internal division – looked almost indifferently at the struggling Transodranian Lechia" – J. Bartoszewicz, *Historia pierwotna Polski…*, vol. 4, p. 206–208.

[123] J.K. Kochanowski, *Pierwotna giermanizacja…*, p. 174–176.

[124] J. Lelewel, *Narody na ziemiach…*, p. 757 f.; J. Bartoszewicz, *Historia pierwotna Polski*, vol. 1, [in:] *idem*, *Dzieła Juliana Bartoszewicza*, vol. 3, Kraków 1878, p. 135–138, 348, 352 f.; J. Grzegorzewski, *Z kresów…*, p. 46–50; F. Koneczny, *Dzieje…*, p. 47 f.; A. Lewicki, *Zarys…*, p. 29; K. Potkański, *Drużyna Mieszka a wikingi z Jomsborga*, "Sprawozdania Akademii Umiejętności", 1906, 6, p. 8 f.

[125] W. Bogusławski, *Dzieje…*, vol. 2, Poznań 1889, p. 446; vol. 3, p. 504 ff.; A. Brückner, *Słowianie i Niemcy*, "Biblioteka Warszawska" 1900, vol. 1, p. 225–230.

jowski, challenged the possibility of the existence of a Scandinavian colony and wrote that Slavs also had their Vikings – the pirates from Jomsborg/Wolin/Vineta[126].

However, the narrative was for long predominated by legendary stories. Karol Szajnocha, proving the Lechitic, i.e., Norman roots of Polish statehood[127] and the Popielid dynasty, wrote that the inhabitants of Jomsborg founded in Popielid *Julin* were also Lechites. After the disintegration of the Lechitic empire it became a safe haven for all kinds of adventurers who governed themselves, like the Cossack in the Sich. The identity of the Lechites and Normans was to be proved by the fact that at that time there were no Scandinavian invasions of Pomerania, the name of Gdańsk – Dansk and the non-Slavic (sic!) nature of the Lutici and the names of Polabian rulers[128]. Wacław Semkowicz also referred to the theory of invasion, writing that the Awdaniec family came to Poland thanks to the relations between Mieszko I and the Normans from Jomsborg in Wolin. The vestige of their stay in Pomerania is the locality of Lubin on the island of Wolin, whose name they were alleged to have brought with them to the south of Poland[129]. Karol Potkański, on the other hand, objected to equating Vikings with Mieszko's warriors[130].

Kazimierz Wachowski elaborated on the question of Jomsborg and the presence of Normans in Pomerania. His concept was rooted in the conviction that the Normans (including Danes) were not only pirates, but also traders founding towns, such as Rerik, Truso, and the most famous – Jomsborg-*Julin*. He argued that researchers had not paid sufficient attention to the issue of Norman-Slavic relations. J. Steenstrup's work was an exception, but even he failed to analyze

[126] W.A. Maciejowski, *Pierwotne dzieje Polski i Litwy*, introduction S. Grodziski, Poznań 2005, p. 48.

[127] There is extensive literature on this subject: M.H. Serejski, *Z zagadnień genezy państwa polskiego w historiografii (o tzw. teorii podboju)*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" 60, 1953, 3, p. 154–157; among the newer studies see e.g., A. Wierzbicki, *Obcy w dziejach Polski. Hipoteza państwowotwórczego podboju w polskiej myśli historycznej XIX i początków XX wieku*, [in:] *Klio polska. Studia i materiały z dziejów historiografii polskiej XIX–XX wieku*, ed. A. Wierzbicki, Warszawa 2011, p. 123 f.; *idem*, *Jak powstało państwo polskie? Hipoteza podboju w historiografii polskiej XIX i XX wieku*, Warszawa 2019.

[128] K. Szajnocha, *Lechicki początek Polski*, [in:] *idem*, *Dzieła Karola Szajnochy*, vol. 4, Warszawa 1876, p. 89, 108 ff., 125 f., 140, 143 f., 188, 275.

[129] According to W. Semkowicz, another family – the Łabędź – has preserved the memory of their Scandinavian roots, see W. Semkowicz, *Ród Awdańców w wiekach średnich*, "Roczniki Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk Poznańskiego" 44, 1917, p. 153–292.

[130] K. Potkański, *Drużyna…*, p. 8 f.

the relations among the Slavs living in the interior. He indicated that Poland and Denmark competed for Pomerania and the Odra estuary and eventually Jomsvikings surrendered to the Piasts and thus Pomerania was conquered by Poland solely as the result of an agreement. These themes were criticized by Stanisław Zakrzewski, who accused K. Wachowski of superficial analysis of the sagas, including the story of Palnatoke, modelled after a real person, who – according to Saxo Grammaticus – came from the province of Wolin[131].

3. The influence of World War I and of the restitution of the Polish state on the perception of Polish-Pomeranian relations in the early Middle Ages

The outbreak and consequences of World War I changed the historiographic picture of early medieval Polish-Pomeranian relations. The global conflict, which generations of Poles had prayed for as seen in the *Litania pielgrzymska* by Adam Mickiewicz, brought about the rebirth of the Polish state. Due to the increasing political aspirations of the Poles during the conflict and the emergence of an independent Poland in November 1918, the Paris Peace Conference decided that eastern Pomerania (without Gdańsk) would lie within the borders of Poland, while western Pomerania became a German border province. Therefore, German scholars specializing in the history of Pomerania began to emphasize even more strongly the region's eternal affiliation with Germany and to call for more intensive research, also of the lost territories[132].

M. Wehrmann, mentioned above, did refer to the Slavic past of these lands, claiming however that it was merely a passing stage in the history of Slavs, while Germanic peoples had been living there for thousands of years. Now – he wrote – from 1916 the region's Ger-

[131] K. Wachowski, *Jomsborg…*, p. 2, 5 f., 8, 16–27, 30; *idem*, *Słowiańszczyzna Zachodnia*, Poznań 2000 [[1]1903], p. 130–137; S. Zakrzewski, reviewer of *Wachowski Kazimierz: Jomsborg […]*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" 29, 1915, p. 316–320.

[132] E. Sandow, *Aufgaben und Ziele der heimatgeschichtlichen Forschung Ostpommerns*, "Monatsblätter der Gesellschaft für Pommersche Geschichte und Altertumskunde" 50, 1936, p. 168–176; O. Kunkel, *Aufgaben und Ziele der Urgeschichtsforschung in Hinterpommern*, "Monatsblätter der Gesellschaft für Pommersche Geschichte und Altertumskunde" 50, 1936, p. 176 ff.

man character was under constant threat[133]. The archaeologist from Greifswald, Wilhelm Petzsch, stressed that Pomerania was the object of a cultural struggle between Poles and Germans and that German rights to Pomerania needed to be defended[134]. Similarly, Robert Holstein wrote about the need to search for truth when Polish scholars were emphasizing the historical significance of Slavdom in German territories[135]. It is thus hardly surprising that archaeology became an important tool in researching the past of Pomerania[136].

The Scandinavian motif in presenting Polish-Pomeranian-German relations underwent marked accentuation. This was connected with archaeological excavations undertaken in places like Wolin, Santok, Arkona, and Hedeby – but also with the fact that many German scholars claimed that the Slavs were subject to the intensive influence of the peoples of the north – Vikings (Normans), who (according to Nazi propaganda) were the progenitors of the contemporary great Reich[137]. In this context we should mention the hypothesis of the Germanic-Scandinavian origins of Mieszko I and thus the Piast dynasty, formulated during the final stages of World War I by Robert Holzmann, who based this theory partly on earlier works by the Polish scholar W. Semkowicz. According to the scholars subscribing to this view, and contrary to the conclusions drawn to date by German – but also Polish – science, as early as in the mid-12th century Pomerania was to have been within the sphere of interest or even under the rule

133 M. Wehrmann, *Die polnische Gefahr für Pommern in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, "Ostdeutscher Heimatkalender" 6, 1927, p. 58–60.

134 W. Petzsch, *Die Slawen in Pommern*, "Pommersche Heimatpflege" 4, 1933, p. 59.

135 R. Holsten, *Die pommersche Flurnamenforschung – eine nationale Wissenschaft*, "Pommersche Heimatpflege" 1, 1930, p. 160 f.

136 J. Żak, *Słowianie i Germanie w prahistorii polskiej i niemieckiej*, [in:] *Stosunki polsko-niemieckie w historiografii*, ed. J. Krasuski, G. Labuda, A.W. Walczak, part 1, Poznań 1974, p. 58 f.

137 The thesis that Germanic Normans created Slavic states was professed and supported by Adolf Hitler and the propaganda of the Third Reich, see J.W. Borejsza, *"Śmieszne sto milionów Słowian...". Wokół światopoglądu Adolfa Hitlera*, Warszawa 2006, p. 61, Germanic and national-socialist ideology, see H. Olszewski, *Nauka historii w upadku*, Warszawa–Poznań 1982, p. 469–489; A.A. Lund, *Germanenideologie im Nationalsozialismus. Zur Rezeption der "Germania" des Tacitus im "Dritten Reich"*, Heidelberg 1995, especially p. 71–106; A. Leube, *Zur Germanen – Ideologie in der NS-Zeit*, [in:] *Archeologia – kultura – ideologie*, ed. B. Gediga, W. Piotrowski, Biskupin–Wrocław 2004, p. 83–87; Ch. Lübke, *Slaven zwischen Elbe/Saale und Oder. Wenden – Polaben – Elbslaven?*, "Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschland" 41, 1993, p. 24–26; G. Labuda, *Początki państwa polskiego w historiografii polskiej i niemieckiej*, [in:] *Stosunki polsko-niemieckie w historiografii*, ed. J. Krasuski, G. Labuda, A.W. Walczak, part 1, Poznań 1974, p. 164 f., 172 f.

of the Piasts, who struggled to establish themselves along the Odra and conquer Wolin[138].

Thus the influence of the peoples of the north on the southern littoral of the Baltic was to have been decisively greater than had been assumed thus far. Ernst Petersen wrote about old political, cultural, and possibly family ties, which resulted in the dissimilarity between Pomeranians and Poles[139]. Proof of Viking influence in Pomerania was pointed to in the results of archaeological excavations and the sailing skills of the local Slavs[140].

However, not all scholars studying the eastern frontier of the old Reich professed the thesis of the Norman roots of Mieszko I and Polish statehood. Adolf Hofmeister, Wilhelm Kobbe, and Herbert Ludat, to name only a few, remained sceptical. During World War II the latter quipped that once the Polish state had ceased to exist and Polish historiography had been silenced, it was no longer necessary to adjust the results of historical studies to current political needs[141]. In general terms, however, German scholars focusing on Polish-Pomeranian relations in the early Middle Ages traditionally perceived them as a short-term, insignificant intermezzo in the history of both Pomerania and Poland.

138 See R. Kötzschke, W. Ebert, *Geschichte der Ostdeutschen Kolonisation*, Leipzig 1937, p. 36; M. Lintzel, *Die Keiserpolitik Ottos der Grossen*, München–Berlin 1943, p. 71; H. Uhtenwoldt, *Die Vikinger im Weichsel- und Odergebiet*, "Jomsburg" 2, 1938, p. 34 f. About this subject see W. Koppe's contemporary remarks and subsequent Polish commentaries and analyses: W. Koppe, *Das Reich des Miesko und die Wikinger in Ostdeutschland*, [in:] *Deutsche Ostforschung, Ergebnisse und Aufgaben seit ersten Weltkrieg*, ed. H. Aubin *et al.*, vol. 1, Leipzig 1942, p. 258–266; J. Żak, *Słowianie i Germanie…*, p. 164 f.; H. Łowmiański, *Zagadnienia roli Normanów w genezie państw słowiańskich*, Warszawa 1957; G. Labuda, *Początki państwa polskiego…*, p. 164 f.; see also A. Wierzbicki, *Jak powstało państwo…*, p. 150 f.

139 E. Petersen, *Fragen der germanischen Besiedlung im Raume zwischen Oder und Weichsel in der Völkerwanderungszeit*, "Mannus. Zeitschrift für Deutsche Vorgeschichte" 18, 1936, p. 19; *idem*, *Der ostelbische Raum als germanisches Kraftfeld im Lichte der Bodenfunde des 6.–8. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1939, p. 1–5, 214, 217 f., 227–232, 241 f., 254–259; *idem*, *Die germanische Frühzeit des Ostens im Lichte des neueren Schrifttums zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte*, "Jomsburg" 2, 1938, p. 398.

140 W. Petzsch, *Die Slawen in Pommern…*, p. 63; A. Brackmann, *Die Wikinger und die Anfänge Polens*, Berlin 1942, p. 4, 25–36; *idem*, *Die Anfänge der polnischen Ostseepolitik*, "Jomsburg" 1, 1937, p. 130; K. Langenheim, *Die neueren slawischen und wikingischen Bodenfunde*, "Jomsburg" 1, 1937, p. 199–206; H. Uhtenwoldt, *Die Vikinger…*, p. 533; R. Kötzschke, W. Ebert, *Geschichte…*, p. 84.

141 A. Hofmeister, *Der Kampf um die Ostsee vom 9. bis 12. Jahrhundert*, ed. R. Schmidt, Lübeck 1959 [Greifswald [1]1931], p. 13 f., 20–22; W. Koppe, *Das Reich des Miesko…*, p. 254–257, 263; H. Ludat, *Die Anfänge des polnischen Staates*, Krakau 1942, p. 14, 55 f.

One historian who cannot be ignored here is Albert Brackmann. His synthetic picture of the history of Polish-Pomeranian relations maintained the traditional view of the civilizational mission in the east propagated especially by von Ranke. A. Brackmann wrote that it was not Poland but Germany, Denmark, and Rus' that were the main political powers in central Europe between the Elbe and Dnieper. Poland marked its presence only in Pomerania – between the Odra and Vistula[142]. It oriented its expansion towards the north only after the death of Otto I; even so, however, this did not concern Pomerania but rather the Lutici. Similarly as his predecessors, A. Brackmann also questioned the view that Mieszko I fought for Pomerania, especially Wolin, in the 960s and 970s[143]. The Piasts were to have become interested in Pomerania only after 983, which was finally conquered by Bolesław I Chrobry (the Brave)[144]. Later Denmark dominated in the area, whose king Canute occupied Pomerania in 1019, thus becoming a threat to Germany and Poland. Pomerania was subject to Polish pressure again at the end of the 11th century, but – as stressed by A. Brackmann – the Polish conquest of Pomerania developed in the shadow of German policy as conducted by Lothair of Supplinburg. Brackmann also belittled the ecclesiastical role of Poland in Pomerania, arguing that it was not Gniezno but Rome that was the archdiocese for the bishopric in Wolin. A little later, in the second half of the 12th century, German colonists arrived: over the next hundred years they made the whole country German[145].

Another scholar studying the German East, Herman Aubin, wrote that from the times of Charlemagne there had been a plan of grafting Germanness into the Baltic area by "sword, the cross, and the plough", presenting this as a civilizational mission (the *Kulturträger* theory).

142 A. Brackmann, *Die politische Entwicklung Osteuropas vom 10. bis 15. Jahrhundert*, [in:] *Deutschland und Polen. Beiträge zu ihren geschichtlichen Beziehungen*, ed. A. Brackmann, München–Berlin 1933, p. 29 f., 33.

143 Some, e.g., Adolf Hofmeister, wrote however that Mieszko began the conquest of Pomeranian tribes – A. Hofmeister, *Der Kampf…*, p. 13 f., 20–22; Walther Vogel pointed out that he even managed to conquer it, which he said was confirmed by the account of Ibrahim ibn Yaqub, see W. Vogel, *Polen als Seemacht und Seehandelstaat in der Geschichte*, [in:] *Deutschland und Polen. Beiträge…*, p. 112.

144 A. Brackmann, *Die Wikinger…*, p. 45–48; *idem*, *Zantoch in der Geschichte des 10. Jahrhunderts*, [in:] *Zantoch. Eine Burg im deutschen Osten*, ed. A. Brackmann, W. Unverzagt, Leipzig 1936, p. 24–27; *idem*, *Die Anfänge der polnischen Ostseepolitik*, "Jomsburg" 1, 1937, p. 130; *idem*, *Die politische Entwicklung…*, p. 30.

145 A. Brackmann, *Die politische Entwicklung…*, p. 11 f.; *idem*, *Die Anfänge…*, p. 131, 133.

The tool of this policy was that of the marches, which were designed to expand German statehood, ecclesiastical organization, culture and – finally – settlement[146]. He considered the local Slavs but a conglomerate of anarchistic peoples, unable to form their own state, who eventually came under the influence of the Reich and Poland[147].

During the interwar period much space was devoted to the disappearance of Slavdom on the Baltic, with this to have resulted from what was known as the Germans' great exploit in the East: colonization. The discussion of the subject intensified after the publication of the work by Dmitry Yegorov in Russia during World War I. The author wrote about the colonization of neighbouring Mecklenburg, claiming that it was Germanized relatively late, i.e., in modern times. A German translation was published in 1930, but two years later an afterword was added that de facto was an independent critical volume by Hans Witte[148].

The German historiographic picture of the transformation triggered by the colonization of Pomerania was a continuation of what was known from earlier works. Already for some time colonization had been equated with Germanization; the transformation initiated by local rulers was to have begun as early as in the 12th century and developed[149] relatively quickly[150], contrary to eastern Pomerania[151].

146 H. Aubin, *Geschichtlicher Aufriss des Ostseeraums*, Berlin 1940, p. 15–17; *idem*, *Der deutsche Osten und das deutscher Volk*, [in:] *idem*, *Von Raum und Grenzen des Deutschen Volkes. Studien zur Volksgeschichte*, Breslau 1938, p. 96 f.; *idem*, *Die Ostgrenze des alten deutschen Reiches*, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 128. Cf. E. Mühle, *Für Volk und deutschen Osten. Der Historiker Hermann Aubin und die deutsche Ostforschung*, Düsseldorf 2005, p. 533.

147 H. Aubin, *Geschichtliche Aufriss…*, p. 19–24; *idem*, *Die historisch-geographischen Grundlagen der deutsch-polnischen Beziehungen*, [in:] *Deutschland und Polen. Beiträge zu ihren geschichtlichen Beziehungen*, ed. A. Brackmann, München–Berlin 1933, p. 22.

148 D.N. Jegorow, *Die Kolonisation Mecklenburgs im 13. Jahrhundert*, vol. 1–2, Breslau 1930; H. Witte, *Jegorovs Kolonisation Mecklenburgs im 13. Jahrhundert. Ein kritisches Nachwort*, Breslau 1932.

149 R. Kötzschke, W. Ebert, *Geschichte…*, p. 40, 84 f.; R. Kötzschke, *Die Anfänge des deutschen Rechtes in der Siedlungsgeschichte des Ostens (ius teutonicum)*, Leipzig 1941, p. 57; K. Hampe, *Der Zug nach dem Osten*, Leipzig–Berlin 1921, p. 34; K. Schöpke, *Deutsche Ostsiedlung*, Leipzig–Berlin 1941, p. 33 f.; K. Kasiske, *Das Wesen der ostdeutschen Kolonisation*, "Historische Zeitschrift" 164, 1941, p. 302. O. Kunkel, *Volkskunde, Nationalitätenproblem, Grenzkampf*, "Pommersche Heimatpflege" 2, 1931, p. 12.

150 Herbert Ludat, among others, opposed this thesis, separating the processes of colonization and Germanization; the latter was to have lasted much longer H. Ludat, *Die ostdeutschen Kietze*, Bernburg 1936, p. 98–113, 129–131; *idem*, *Chyże i wiki jako symbol pokojowej germanizacji Połabia w średniowieczu*, [in:] *idem*, *Słowianie – Niemcy – Europa. Wybór prac*, transl. J.M. Piskorski, Marburg–Poznań 2000, p. 201 f.

151 R. Kötzschke, W. Ebert, *Geschichte…*, p. 85; R. Kötzschke, *Die Anfänge…*, p. 58.

The story of German colonization was supposed to have strengthened the local population's feelings of affiliation with Germany. Otto Kunkel, opposing the thesis professed by E. Petersen and a few other scholars (who claimed that the survivors of the old Germanic population had long functioned in Pomerania and that the Scandinavians had had an immense influence on the formation of Slavic communities[152]), maintained that the first Germans arrived in Pomerania not until the 12th century. However, he stressed that thanks to the German settlers the land had become a province of Lower-Saxony[153] and that a new German tribe (*neuer deutscher Stamm*) had emerged[154].

To be fair, these analytical works, despite certain ideological premises and the conclusions which they professed, did not give a very negative picture of the Slavic period. For example, despite pointing out that the towns of the new type constituted an economic, legal, and cultural revolution, Hermann Bollnow admitted that earlier, in the time of the Slavs, there had been a great number of strongholds (for which, however, there were no written sources), there had been no settlement void in the lake districts, and that towns had been founded in the vicinity of old strongholds and adopted their names[155]. Similarly, Eberhard Sauer admitted to the absence of a settlement void before colonization. The need for planned settlement arose from the political fragmentation and prolonged wars at the end of the 12th century, which ravaged and depopulated the country[156].

Sometimes, however, German scholars, e.g., the Slavic scholar from Sopot, Friedrich Lorenz, wrote about the similarities in the history of Pomerania and Poland; he wrote that Poland succeeded in Polonizing Pomerania's eastern part after its conquest. The western part, Christened by Otto of Bamberg, had been a fiefdom of the Reich from the end of 12th century, consequently adopting German culture, art, and tradition[157].

[152] O. Kunkel, *Urgeschichte*, "Baltische Studien" NF 41, 1939, p. 306.

[153] Cf. *Helmoldi presbyteri…*, II, 110, p. 380–382.

[154] O. Kunkel, *Pommersche Urgeschichte in Bildern*, Stettin 1931, p. 16.

[155] H. Bollnow, *Burg und Stadt in Pommern bis zum Begin der Kolonisationzeit*, "Baltische Studien" NF 37, 1936, p. 48, 50 f., 82–85, 88f.

[156] E. Sauer, *Der Adel während der Besiedlung Ostpommerns 1250–1350 (der Länder Kolberg, Belgard, Schlawe, Stolp)*, Stettin 1939, p. 68, 72, 75–77, 255.

[157] F. Lorentz, *Die Kaschuben*, [in:] *Der ostdeutsche Volksboden*, ed. W. Volz, Breslau 1926, p. 244 f.; *idem*, *Die Kaschuben*, "Pommersche Heimatpflege" 2, 1931, p. 21.

Polish-Pomeranian relations were also the subject of onomastic studies. Gerhard Renn in his book claimed that the names of Poland and Pomerania had probably emerged at the same time, while the original Pomerania reached the Odra, and not the Rędowa river (Randow), in the west. Transodranian Pomerania (Vorpommern) was to have been called *Luticia*, comprising a narrower area than what was called *Sławia*, which with time became a synonym of Pomerania and in its other meaning denoted Cispomerania, Mecklenburg, and Rugia[158].

The issue of the identification and location of *Jumne* (*Iumne*), Vineta, and Jomsborg occupied an important place in the historiographic debate of the time. In general terms – ignoring detailed concepts which separated or merged these centres with each other – three theories predominated. The first claimed that the centre was situated on the Peene strait[159], the second located it in the Świna estuary[160], and the third in Wolin. The latter has been accepted as the most plausible, which is owed to the critical publications from 1932 by Adolf Hofmeister[161] and the systematic excavations undertaken on his initiative in 1934[162]. As a result some scholars, such as Carl Schuchhardt, took back their views on the location of Vineta[163].

[158] G. Renn, *Die Bedeutung des Namens "Pommern" und die Bezeiechnung für das heutige Pommern in der Geschichte*, Greifswald 1937, p. 11–13, 45–56.

[159] C. Schuchhardt, *Arkona, Rethra, Vineta*, Berlin ²1926, p. 75–100; R. Hennig, *Auf der Suche nach Vintea*, "Unser Pommerland" 18, 1933, p. 86–88; *idem*, *Wo lag Vineta*, Leipzig 1935; W. Petzsch, *Wollin oder Peenemündung?*, "Unser Pommerland" 10, 1925, p. 85–91.

[160] J. Leutz-Spitta, *Neues Material zum Jomsburgproblem*, "Unser Pommerland" 18, 1933, p. 270–279; *idem*, *Thule / Ithaka / Vineta*, Rossleben 1929, p. 25–32.

[161] A. Hofmeister, *Die Vineta-Frage*, "Monatsblätter der Gesellschaft für Pommersche Geschichte und Altertumskunde" 46, 1932, p. 83–89; *idem*, *"Vineta", die quellenkritische Lösung eines vielberufenen Problems*, "Forschungen und Fortschritte" 8, 1932, p. 341–343.

[162] R. Burkhardt, *Die Jagd nach Vineta. Eine Überblick – und eine Antwort*, Swinemünde 1935, especially p. 80–84; *idem*, *Zur Lage von Vineta*, "Mannus" 16, 1924, p. 113 f.; W. Baetke, *Die Jomsburg*, "Unser Pommerland" 17, 1926, 8, p. 314 f.; R. Beltz, *Die wendische Schatzfunde aus Mecklenburg*, "Jahrbücher des Vereins für mecklenburgische Geschichte und Altertumskunde Jahrbuch" 91, 1927, p. 251–253, 256; *idem*, *Der Schatzfund von Quilitz*, "Baltische Studien" NF 29, 1927, p. 187–189; H. Bollnow, *Das "Vineta" – Problem im Lichte Verkehrswissenschaft*, "Monatsblätter der Gesellschaft für Pommersche Geschichte und Altertumskunde" 50, 1936, p. 33–46; W. Vogel, *Wo lag Vineta?*, "Hansische Geschichtsblätter" 61, 1936, p. 181–201. Cf. R. Kiersnowski, *Legenda Winety. Studium historyczne*, Kraków 1950, p. 15 f.

[163] C. Schuchhardt, *Zur Vinetafrage*, "Prähistorische Zeitschrift" 23, 1932, p. 149–151; *idem*, *Nord- und Ostdeutsche Burgenforschung*, "Deutsche Forschung" 20, 1933, p. 20–22, where he admitted that his views from 10 years before were mistaken.

The excavations (in the Old Town, Srebrne Wzgórze, and the cemetery in Młynówka) carried out by the Pomeranian Land Museum (Pommersches Landesmuseum) and its director, Otton Kunkel, were interrupted by World War II. The excavations aroused the interest of historians and archaeologists, including scholars from Poland, who visited Wolin in 1935[164]. The manager of the excavations, O. Kunkel, wrote that even though "it cannot be unequivocally stated that this is a town of the Vikings" as it was also inhabited by Slavs who emulated the peoples of the north, many excavated objects demonstrated a Nordic character. All the archaeologists excavating Wolin stressed in their publications the great significance of the excavations in Hedeby, Danevirke, and Birka for the interpretation of the finds from Wolin[165].

Another place important in German-Polish discourse on the early medieval history of Pomeranian-Polish relations was Santok situated in the borderland area, and where in 1932–1934 extensive excavations headed by Wilhelm Unverzagt were carried out. The site was visited (similarly as in Wolin) by Józef Kostrzewski in 1932[166]. Upon the completion of the work a monumental viewing tower was erected in 1935 that housed a propaganda exhibition[167]. Local journalists wrote that it was a bastion of Germanness and "the centre of the prehistory of the German East", emphasizing the symbolic significance of the excavations[168].

In 1936 A. Brackmann and Wilhelm Unverzagt published a summary of their research, where – similarly as in other works – they argued for the existence of clear evidence of a Germanic and Viking presence along with evidence of the conquest conducted by Bolesław I the Brave. They highlighted the stronghold's role in Polish-Pomerani-

[164] More on the excavations and the Polish visit, see P. Migdalski, *Wizyta polskich naukowców w Szczecinie i w Wolinie w 1935 roku*, "Roczniki Historyczne" 84, 2018, p. 330–345, where there are further works and sources.

[165] O. Kunkel, *Wollin*, "Das Bollwerk" 5, 1934, 11, p. 24, 28; *idem*, *Ausgrabungen Wollin 1935*, "Das Bollwerk" 6, 1935, 9, p. 315 f.; 10, p. 355; *idem*, *Über der Stand der Ausgrabungen in Wollin*, "Das Bollwerk" 9, 1938, 1, p. 19; K.A. Wilde, *Der Stand der Wall – Untersuchung auf dem Silberberge bei Wollin*, [in:] *Gedächtnisschrift für Wilhelm Petzsch, von seinen Freunden und Schülern*, Greifswald 1940, p. 192, 194.

[166] S. Grunwald, *"Die Aufteilung der Burgen auf die Geschichte wird eine Änderung erfahren müssen". Zur Geschichte der Zantoch-Idee*, "Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica" 41, 2009, p. 255.

[167] *Idem*, *Der Schlossberg von Zantoch an der Warthe als Lern- und Geschichtsort (1934–1945)*, "Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica" 44, 2012, p. 161–202.

[168] D.A. Rymar, *Santok między polityka a nauką w latach 1933–1965*, [in:] *Dzieje Santoka – gród, wieś i okoliczne miejscowości*, ed. R. Piotrowski, Santok 2007, p. 86–89.

an relations at the end of the 11th and in the 12th centuries, adding that it lost its significance in 1139–1234, and then regained it after it was taken over by the Ascanians of Brandenburg. In conclusion W. Unverzagt stressed that the Santok strongholds were a symbol of the struggle for a German East[169].

The newly re-established Poland was perceived in Pomerania as a threat and thus German scholars began to pay closer attention to the results of Polish studies[170]. M. Wehrmann claimed that even though the Griffin dynasty had Slavic roots, their Polish origins and blood ties with the Piasts as emphasized by Polish scholars (S. Zakrzewski, Z. Wojciechowski) were mere speculation[171]. Polish political and military forays in Pomerania in the times of Mieszko I were negated, similarly as Zygmunt Wojciechowski's thesis that the centre of Polish politics in the 10th century was situated in Silesia and Pomerania[172].

The changes caused by World War I were reflected in the Polish historiography of Polish-Pomeranian relations. It was no coincidence that soon after the Polish state was re-established and the hostilities on the borders ceased, two synthetic studies by the historian from Lwów, Stanisław Zakrzewski, were published, ones devoted to the first historical rulers[173], i.e., the founders of Poland – Mieszko I and Bolesław I the Brave. His works established the model for perceiving these rela-

[169] W. Unverzagt, *Zusammenfassung*, [in:] *Zantoch. Eine Burg im deutschen Osten*, ed. A. Brackmann, W. Unverzagt, Leipzig 1936, p. 128, 133–136, 140; A. Brackmann, *Zantoch in der Geschichte des 10. Jahrhunderts*, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 22 f., 27; H. Lüpke, *Zantochs Frühgeschichte*, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 19; *idem*, *Zantoch in der Geschichte des 11. bis 13. Jahrhunderts*, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 29, 34; *idem*, *Zantoch unter askanischer Herrschaft*, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 41.

[170] See R. Unterstell, *Klio in Pommern. Die Geschichte der pommerschen Historiographie 1815 bis 1945*, Köln–Weimar–Wien 1996, p. 123 f.; M. Szukała, *Miejsce "Baltische Studien" (1832–1940) w pomorskich badaniach regionalnych*, "Przegląd Zachodniopomorski" 15, 2000, 1, p. 70 f.; T. Ślepowroński, *Polska i wschodnioniemiecka historiografia Pomorza Zachodniego (1945–1970). Instytucje, koncepcje, badania*, Szczecin 2008, p. 53 f. for further literature.

[171] M. Wehrmann, *Zum Gedächtnis des pommerschen Herzogshauses*, "Monatsblätter der Gesellschaft für Pommersche Geschichte und Altertumskunde" 51, 1937, p. 49–52.

[172] E. Randt, *Die neuere polnische Geschichtsforschung über die politischen Beziehungen West-Pommerns zu Polen im Zeitalter Kaiser Ottos des Großen*, "Baltische Studien" NF 34, 1932, p. 96 f., 137, 142–146, 154–157; G. Sappok, *Polen, Reich und Pommern im 10. Jahrhundert*, "Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas" 2, 1937, p. 201–223; *idem*, *Die Entstehung des alten polnischen Staates*, "Jomsburg" 3, 1939, p. 207–209; *idem*, *Die deutsche Ostpolitik des Hochmittelalters im Rahmen der Reichspolitik*, "Jomsburg" 4, 1940, p. 168 f.

[173] The works constitute part of the debate about the role of the state and nation in the history of Poland, intensifying in the new political situation, which is mentioned by A. Wierzbicki, *Jak powstało państwo…*, p. 121.

tions, setting the standard that bound throughout the whole interwar period. S. Zakrzewski stated that the point of departure for the history of Poland, barely mentioned by Vincent Kadłubek, was that of the battles between Poland and Denmark for western Pomerania, which was an area of Piast expansion as early as the times of (legendary) Ziemiomysł. Poland and Denmark were separated by prototowns, such as Wolin or Szczecin, situated in the Odra estuary[174].

The change in the perception of the earliest Polish-Pomeranian relations was observed in 1922 by Kazimierz Tymieniecki, who wrote that even though old (Polish) historiography attributed the conquest of Pomerania to Bolesław I Chrobry (the Brave) his father, Mieszko I, seemed more likely[175]. K. Tymieniecki himself constitutes the best example of the evolution of views. In 1916 he wrote that striving to rule over the whole of the Baltic-Black Sea *Intermarium*, Bolesław I Chrobry conquered the Pomeranians, closely related to Poles, whose life focused on a narrow strip of land on the Baltic[176]. However, when he became the head of the department at the newly established University of Poznań, K. Tymieniecki paid closer attention to western Slavs and Pomerania[177].

And thus Polish scholars, such as S. Zakrzewski, Roman Grodecki, and the representatives of the academic centre in Poznań (K. Tymieniecki and Zygmunt Wojciechowski) claimed that Poland dominated in Pomerania at the beginning of the reign of Mieszko I. In this context the battles with Wichmann the Younger and Hodo were perceived as campaigns aiming at solidifying Polish rule there. Individual concepts differed only in the chronology of particular political events, such as: the battles with Wichmann; the location of the lands of the *Licikavici*, who were seen as living in Pomerania (especially by Józef Widajewicz); the battle of *Cidini* already practically equated with Zehden, i.e., today's Cedynia on the Odra; the date of establishing Jomsborg and its subjugation

[174] S. Zakrzewski, *Okres do schyłku XII w.*, [in:] *Historia Polski*, part 1: *Wieki średnie*, Warszawa–Lublin–Łódź 1920, p. 30; *idem*, *Mieszko I jako budowniczy państwa polskiego*, Kraków 2006 [Warszawa [1]1921], p. 26, 37, 46.

[175] K. Tymieniecki, *Pomorze i Polska*, "Strażnica Zachodnia" 1, 1922, p. 257 f.; *idem*, *Pomorze za Bolesławów*, "Roczniki Historyczne" 3, 1927, p. 17.

[176] K. Tymieniecki, *Rozwój terytorjalny Polski*, Warszawa 1916, p. 6, 10 f.

[177] Cf. K. Myśliński, *Kazimierz Tymieniecki jako historyk Połabszczyzny i Pomorza*, [in:] *Kazimierz Tymieniecki (1887–1968). Dorobek i miejsce w mediewistyce polskiej*, ed. J. Strzelczyk, Poznań 1990, p. 85 f.

by the Piasts; the range and time of imposing a tribute on Mieszko I by the empire "as far as the river of Warta", which was also attributed (e.g., by Zygmunt Wojciechowski) to Pomerania[178]. The debate was also concerned with the political unity of Pomerania, which was argued for by S. Zakrzewski and opposed by K. Tymieniecki[179].

More attention was paid to another period of intensive Polish-Pomeranian relations – the wave of Polish expansion in Pomerania at the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th centuries. Teodor Tyc wrote that in the second half of the 12th century Pomerania, apart from Silesia, was the central issue in the Piasts' policy. The expansion was supposed to have culminated in the conquest of the lands on the Baltic, including Szczecin in 1121, and their incorporation into the Polish ecclesiastical organization by establishing the bishopric in Wolin in 1140, which was subordinated to the archdiocese in Gniezno. The patron saint of the expansion was St. Adalbert, whose cult was being intensively promoted in Poland. The conquest of Pomerania resulted in its division into the western part, which became the Piasts' fiefdom, and the eastern part, which was incorporated into Poland. However, the Griffins reigning in the lands in the Odra estuary were not loyal to the Piasts; the example here was Wartislaw I and his son Bogusław I, who paid homage to Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. Polish scholars also tried to clarify the circumstances and significance of the homage for Pomerania and Rugia[180] paid by Bolesław III the Wrymouth to Lothair in 1135, which resulted not only from the Polish duke's ineffectual Hungarian policy, but also – as indicated by K. Tymieniecki – from the clash between Lothair's expansion towards the east and Wartislaw's expansion towards the west[181].

[178] Więcej w P. Migdalski, *When did the first Polish rulers…*, *passim*.

[179] S. Zakrzewski, *Okres…*, *passim*; K. Tymieniecki, *Pomorze za Bolesławów…*, p. 20 f.

[180] According to S. Zakrzewski, the term "Rugia" in this context meant the "Cherven Grads", S. Zakrzewski, *Okres…*, p. 80, 84, 90–94.

[181] R. Grodecki, *Dzieje Polski do 1194 r.*, [in:] *idem*, S. Zachorowski, J. Dąbrowski, *Dzieje Polski średniowiecznej w dwu tomach*, Kraków 1995 [[1]1926], p. 118 f.; O. Balzer, *Stolice Polski 963–1138*, Lwów 1916 (= Studia nad historią 6/4), p. 74; K. Tymieniecki, *Pomorze za Bolesławów…*, p. 21–26; T. Tyc, *Bolesław III Krzywousty odnowiciel i wykonawca polskiej polityki północnej (1102–1138)*, [in:] *idem*, *Walka o kresy zachodnie w epoce Piastów*, ed. G. Labuda, Warszawa 1948 [1st ed.: "Strażnica Zachodnia" 5, 1926], p. 41, 43, 55–61; *idem*, *Polska a Pomorze za Krzywoustego*, "Roczniki Historyczne" 2, 1926, p. 1, 11 f., 27–35; W. Sobieski, *Walka o Pomorze*, Poznań–Warszawa–Wilno–Lublin 1928, p. 20–24; *idem*, *Dzieje Polski*, vol. 1, ed. K. Tymieniecki, Warszawa [2]1938, p. 45.

The authors promoted the view that Poland relinquished Pomerania because the political centre was transferred to Cracow and the policy was reoriented towards the south and east. Z. Wojciechowski wrote that the trend was temporarily halted by Bolesław III Krzywousty. Tymieniecki recognized the fact that the last to conduct any Pomeranian policy was Wrymouth's son, Mieszko III the Old, and admitted that the two countries had separated because of the Danish threat. L. Koczy emphasized the intensifying German influence, especially from Brandenburg, and the weakening power of the fragmented Poland, which enabled the Griffins to disavow their loyalty to the Piasts. He also studied Pomerania's dependence on Saxony in 1167 and ultimately on Denmark in 1185. He pointed out that an attempt to re-establish closer relations between Poland and Pomerania during the reign of Mieszko III the Old resulted in closer cooperation between Henry the Lion from Saxony and Valdemar I of Denmark. The decline of Danish power paved the way for the subjugation of Pomerania by the Ascanians of Brandenburg[182].

In their discussion of the political relations in the Odra estuary in the 10th century Polish scholars stressed the very strong influence of the Nordic element on the Baltic Slavs. They pointed out that the Pomeranians' awareness of their separate identity from Poland and division into numerous tribes resulted from the influence of the Scandinavians, who established their colonies there. One of them – Jomsborg – became the focus of their interest as its location and affiliation was to help delineate Polish borders in the 10th century. Despite this, their conclusions reflected the findings from the previous age, which equated it with Wolin, while the debate focused on the date of incorporating Jomsborg into Poland[183].

[182] R. Grodecki, *Dzieje…*, p. 186 f.; K. Tymieniecki, *Pomorze za Bolesławów…*, p. 26; S. Zakrzewski, *Okres…*, p. 128; L. Koczy, *Polska i Skandynawia za pierwszych Piastów*, Poznań 1934, p. 121–134, 137–139, 145–147, 157, 167–172; *idem*, *Duńczycy na Pomorzu w latach 1157–1227*, Poznań 1933, p. 36–38, 40, 51–54, 56–61.

[183] S. Zakrzewski, *Okres…*, p. 17 f., 31; *idem*, *Mieszko I…*, p. 31 f., 39 f., 45 f., 82 f.; *idem*, *Bolesław…*, p. 56, 160 f.; R. Grodecki, *Dzieje…*, p. 73–75, 80; K. Tymieniecki, *Pomorze i Polska…*, p. 342; *idem*, *Wielkopolska jako kolebka państwa polskiego*, "Roczniki Historyczne" 1, 1925, p. 22–24; *idem*, reviewer of *Widajewicz, J., Położenie Jomsborga. Kwartalnik Historyczny. R. XLVIII. Lwów 1934, str. 233–285*, "Roczniki Historyczne" 10, 1934, p. 297 f.; J. Widajewicz, *Najdawniejszy podbój Pomorza*, "Slavia Occidentalis" 10, 1931, p. 74 f., 81 f., 86–92, 99, 101–104; *idem*, *Słowianie Zachodni na Bałtyku*, Toruń 1933, p. 25 f., 31; *idem*, *Położenie Jomsborga*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" 48, 1934, p. 233–237, 263–265; *idem*, *Burysław*, Gdańsk 1934, p. 3–15; *idem*, *Przy ujściu Odry w drugiej połowie X wieku*, Poznań 1935, p. 64–79, 90; L. Koczy, reviewer of *Larsen Sofus. Jomsborg, dens Beliggenhed og Historie, "Aarbøger for nordisk oldkyndighed og historie", III serja, t. XVII i XVIII, Kopenhaga 1927 i 1928*, "Slavia Occidentalis" 9, 1930, p. 627, 634, 641, 672–674; Z. Wojciechowski, *Kilka słów o Wolinie*, "Roczniki Historyczne" 10, 1934, p. 245; *idem*, *Mieszko I i powstanie państwa polskiego*, Toruń 1936, p. 39 f.; *idem*, *Jeszcze o Mieszku I. Nieco polemiki i uzupełnień w tem słowo o pochodzeniu dynastii zachodnio-pomorskiej*, Toruń 1936, p. 22 f.

Polish scholars closely followed the debate going on in Germany and Denmark on the location of Jomsborg and Vineta[184]. Not long after archaeological excavations had begun in 1934 in Wolin, a group of researchers from Poznań (K. Tymieniecki, J. Kostrzewski, Z. Wojciechowski, J. Widajewicz, L. Koczy) visited the site[185]. Interestingly, when confronted with the results of A. Hofmeister's research and the excavations in Wolin the German scholars no longer had any doubts as to the location of Jomsborg. At the same time, Leon Koczy, after a year spent in Copenhagen[186], changed his opinion and ruled out the possibility of equating Jomsborg with Wolin and thus its subjugation by Poland. He tended to agree that the stronghold was situated in the Peene estuary; he also negated the existence of the Polish-Norwegian alliance at the end of the 10th century that had been promoted by K. Wachowski[187].

Polish scholars also focused their interest on Santok. Some, e.g., Alfons Parczewski, claimed that it belonged to the state of the first Piasts and thus it should be incorporated within the boundaries of the reborn Poland[188]. T. Tyc maintained that it had been a strategically important point situated on the border, but any serious study

[184] J. Widajewicz, *Położenie…*, p. 237, 265 f.; *idem*, *Przy ujściu…*, p. 64–79; B. Stelmachowska, *Wineta*, "Z Otchłani Wieków" 1, 1926, 1–2, p. 3–6.

[185] P. Migdalski, *Wizyta…*, p. 330–345.

[186] Studying the issue, he read an extensive article by Sofus Larsen, who placed Jomsborg on an island in the Peene estuary engulfed by the Baltic sea in the 14th century. He maintained that Wolin was a Slavic settlement and a successor of Jomsborg; S. Larsen, *Jomsborg, Dens Beliggenhed og Historie*, "Aarbøger for nordisk oldkyndighed og historie" 17, 1927, p. 1–4, 21 f., 32, 35, 55, 57–60, 74.

[187] L. Koczy, *Jomsborg*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" 46, 1932, 3–4, p. 277–280, 281–285, 288, 293–299, 308–320; *idem*, *Polska i Skandynawia…*, p. 7, 84–104, 174–176, 178; *idem*, *Kilka uwag o najstarszych dziejach Pomorza*, "Roczniki Historyczne" 8, 1932, p. 113–122, 128–158; *idem*, *Związki małżeńskie Piastów ze Skandynawami*, "Slavia Occidentalis" 11, 1932, p. 40 f.; *idem*, *Duńczycy…*, p. 34; *idem*, *Dagome iudex, Schinesghe i Awbaba*, "Roczniki Historyczne" 12, 1936, p. 41; K. Wachowski, *Norwegowie na Pomorzu za Mieszka I*, Lwów 1932, p. 3 f., 31 f.; cf. J. Widajewicz, *Najdawniejszy podbój Pomorza*, "Slavia Occidentalis" 10, 1931, p. 115.

[188] A. Parczewski, *W sprawie zachodnich granic Polski. Referaty przedstawione w Biurze Prac Kongresowych*, Warszawa 1919; *idem*, *Santok i Drezdenko – memoriał dla Komisji Demarkacyjnej w 1919*, [in:] *Dzieje Santoka – gród, wieś...*, p. 23–32.

of Santok was triggered by the research carried out by the German scholars; a book published in 1936 met with strong opposition from Polish historians, who emphasized the originally Polish character of the stronghold and castellany in Santok[189].

Another important issue discussed at that time concerned the origins of the Pomeranian dynasty. Polish historians, such as S. Zakrzewski and Z. Wojciechowski, claimed that their paternal ancestors had come from the Piasts, i.e., Świętopełk – the son of Mieszko I[190], while L. Koczy traced the hypothetical origins of the dynasty ruling in eastern Pomerania to the daughter of Bolesław I Chrobry, at the same time recognizing the Griffins as a separate line[191].

The doyen of archaeologists from Poznań, Józef Kostrzewski, maintained that Slavic peoples, periodically invaded by the Normans, had lived in central Europe forever. He argued that Poles did not have to claim their historical rights to Pomerania because it was inhabited by the "ancient Polish people". He stressed that before entering the stage of history Pomerania differed from the remaining Polish lands. Its spiritual and material culture was quite advanced and only its peripheral location and absence of outstanding individuals were responsible for the fact that the core of Poland had formed elsewhere. J. Kostrzewski's disciple, Władysław Łęga, acknowledged Norman influences in Pomerania and maintained that its borders reached the Rędowa river (Randow) in the west[192].

[189] T. Tyc, *Walka o kresy zachodnie*, [in:] *idem*, *Walka o kresy zachodnie w epoce Piastów*, ed. G. Labuda, Warszawa 1948, p. 65–78; K. Tymieniecki, reviewer of *Eine Burg im deutschen Osten, red. A. Brackmann, W. Unverzagt, Leipzig 1936*, "Roczniki Historyczne" 3, 1937, p. 126–128; Z. Wojciechowski, *Dwa ośrodki państwowotwórcze w Polsce na przestrzeni dziejów i ich zasięg terytorialny*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" 51, 1937, p. 472 f.; W. Kowalenko, reviewer of *Eine Burg im deutschen Osten, red. A. Brackmann, W. Unverzagt, Leipzig 1936*, "Roczniki Historyczne" 13, 1937, p. 130, 135 f.; *idem*, *Rola grodów w osadnictwie wczesnohistorycznym i średniowiecznym*, "Roczniki Historyczne" 13, 1937, p. 11, 19, 23.

[190] S. Zakrzewski, *Okres…*, p. 65, 69; *idem*, *Mieszko I…*, p. 37 f., 115 f.; *idem*, *Bolesław Chrobry…*, p. 80, 172 f.; Z. Wojciechowski, *Jeszcze o Mieszku…*, p. 9 f., 18, 21; *idem*, *Polska nad Wisłą i Odrą w X wieku*, Katowice 1939, p. 115–120.

[191] L. Koczy, *Kilka…*, p. 132, 137–157; *idem*, *Związki…*, p. 41; *idem*, *Duńczycy…*, p. 57. Contrary to the opinions of Leon Koczy, eg., Z. Wojciechowski, *Jeszcze o Mieszku…*, p. 10 f.

[192] J. Kostrzewski, *Pradzieje Pomorza a kontrowersje polsko-niemieckie*, [in:] *Przeciw propagandzie korytarzowej*, ed. J. Borowik, Toruń 1930 (= Pamiętnik Instytutu Bałtyckiego, Balticum 3), p. 7–10, 12–17, 24; *idem*, *Czasy przedhistoryczne Pomorza*, "Roczniki Historyczne" 3, 1927, p. 10 f.; W. Łęga, *Grupy kulturalne na Pomorzu we wczesnym średniowieczu w świetle wykopalisk*, "Strażnica Zachodnia" 7, 1928, 3, p. 361 f., 380–384.

Polish scholars were less interested in the social and political system in Pomerania. Only K. Tymieniecki wrote that these issues were important because the results of relevant research would be applicable to Poland. He perceived Pomerania as a transitory zone between Poland and Polabia. Western part – richer and playing a greater political role – was culturally more advanced, while the existing political entities enjoyed considerable independence. Despite its separatist tendencies the ducal power formed under foreign influence, i.e., Polish conquests. Overseas trade, piracy, adherence to paganism, and a separate priestly caste made the Pomeranians similar to the Scandinavians[193].

Summarizing this period of Polish research into Polish-Pomeranian relations in the early Middle Ages, we may say after Z. Wojciechowski that from the dawn of time Polish politics had been oriented towards Pomerania, even before incorporating Cracow, Mazovia, and Silesia. He even ventured to quote L. Giesebrecht's old thesis that during the final years of Mieszko's I rule Poland's political centre moved to Szczecin (equated with *Schinesghe*)[194]. However, not everyone shared this view of such strong Polish influence in the north; e.g., L. Koczy claimed that Polish presence in western Pomerania was a "transitory episode"[195].

4. Polish historiography on Polish-Pomeranian relations in the early Middle Ages during the time of the Polish People's Republic

The end of World War II and the decisions of the victorious superpowers resulted in Poland being shifted westward in 1945. Poland's new borders embraced the whole of Pomerania between the Odra and the Vistula along the Baltic. In subsequent years the local Germans were expelled

[193] K. Tymieniecki, *Ludność wiejska w krajach połabskich i pomorskich w wiekach średnich*, "Slavia Occidentalis" 1, 1921, p. 4 f.; *idem*, *Wielkopolska jako kolebka państwa polskiego*, "Roczniki Historyczne" 1, 1925, p. 23; *idem*, *Społeczeństwo Słowian lechickich. Ród i plemię*, Poznań 1996, p. 189 f., 206 f., 212 f., 226 f.; *idem*, *Pomorze i Polska…*, p. 267–271; *idem*, *Pomorze za Bolesławów…*, p. 13, 16, 20, 29.

[194] Z. Wojciechowski, *Dwie tradycje…*, p. 5–8; *idem*, *Rozwój terytorialny Prus w stosunku do ziem macierzystych Polski*, Toruń 1933 (= Światopogląd Morski, 1933), p. 10 f.; *idem*, *Pomorze a pojęcie Polski piastowskiej*, Gdańsk 1934, p. 4 f.; *idem*, *Jeszcze o Mieszku I…*, p. 23 f., footnote 3.

[195] T. Tyc, *Polska a Pomorze…*, p. 213 f.

and Poles arrived in their place. The new state authorities – but also the elites, academics, and the Catholic Church – began an intensive process of legitimizing the Polish presence in the newly acquired northern and western lands by claiming historical rights to these territories. Thus was created the mythology of the Recovered Lands, to a large extent being a continuation of the pre-war ideology that was nationalistic in its essence[196]. One of the main ideologues was Z. Wojciechowski, who established in Poznań the Instytut Zachodni [The Western Institute][197] in early 1945. The institute embraced researchers from the universities in both Poznań and Toruń who continued the research initiated before the war.

The mythology of the Recovered Lands, promoted especially actively by government propaganda, worked to solidify the view that in ages past these lands had belonged to Poland; they were lost as a result of the German "drive to the east" and now, after the victory over Germany in alliance with the Red Army, they had been "recovered"[198]. This had a great impact on research into the history of Pomerania, now perceived mainly from the perspective of its relations with Poland – especially in the early Middle Ages. The historian of law Józef Matuszewski wrote that in the new political situation, when a great part of Slavic lands had been incorporated into Poland, it was necessary to present the history of Slavic lands as an integral part of the history of Poland[199]. Years later Gerard Labuda frankly admitted that "when Poland recovered the Western Territories, the task for historians was to help the people who had arrived there, to help them find their roots and feel at home, to help them grasp the heritage of the past"[200]. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that numerous series of studies proving the unity of the Recovered Lands with Poland were published, including those about Pomerania

[196] These views were soon adapted and implemented in the new reality – see P. Madajczyk, *Polska myśl zachodnia w polityce komunistów polskich*, "Przegląd Zachodni", 1997, 3, p. 15–36.

[197] Cf. M. Krzoska's remarks, *Für ein Polen an Oder und Ostsee. Zygmunt Wojciechowski (1900–1955) als Historiker und Publizist*, Osnabrück 2003.

[198] About the myth of the Recovered Lands see P. Przybyła, *Narracje (i) infrastruktury. "Mit Ziem Odzyskanych" w pamięci politycznej wczesnej Polski Ludowej (na przykładzie Góry św. Anny i Ślęży)*, Poznań 2016, p. 11 ff. About the notion of Recovered Lands see: J. Jasiński, *Kwestia pojęcia Ziemie Odzyskane*, [in:] *Ziemie Odzyskane / Ziemie Zachodnie i Północne 1945–2005. 60 lat w granicach państwa polskiego*, ed. A. Sakson, Poznań 2006, p. 15–25.

[199] J. Matuszewski, *Studia nad prawem rugijskim*, part 1, Poznań 1947, p. 3.

[200] G. Labuda, *Jestem Kaszubą w Poznaniu*, [in:] *idem*, *Zapiski kaszubskie, pomorskie i morskie. Wybór pism*, Gdańsk 2000, p. 488.

and Silesia, and even popular-science collections of historical sources translated into Polish[201].

With a few exceptions, e.g., Kazimierz Myśliński from Poznań, the beginnings of Polish statehood were still perceived in the context of the events purported to have happened in western Pomerania. The main current of the narrative referred to events and places, also known in the pre-war period, which in the meantime had been commemorated with monuments, by museums, and by the media (press, journalism, radio, functional art). The commemorated places included: Wolin, the first sea harbour of the Piasts and a place of pagan worship; the battle of Cedynia in 972, which was conflated into a single myth of Polish military victory over Germany together with nearby Siekierki and Gozdowice, where in 1945 the soldiers of the First Polish Army crossed the Odra; and Kołobrzeg as a Piast harbour and stronghold in Pomerania's central part, where the bishopric subordinated to the archdiocese in Gniezno was established in the year 1000. Similarly as in the case of Cedynia, the narrative of Kołobrzeg was complemented with the story of the heroic capture of the city by the Polish army in 1945[202].

The people and institutions implementing these projects included the Instytut Zachodni, which published a monograph of western Pomerania edited by Janusz Deresiewicz as part of the series *Ziemie Staropolski* [The Lands of Old Poland]. This synthetic publication promoted the view – similarly as before the war – that Pomerania had been incorporated into Poland as early as in 967[203]. The newly estab-

[201] *Śląsk i Pomorze w dziejopisarstwie polskim wieków średnich*, ed. A. Gieysztor, Warszawa 1947; collections of sources published by Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne: *Dzieje Pomorza Zachodniego w wypisach*, ed. H. Lesiński, Szczecin 1961; M. Sczaniecki, K. Ślaski, *Dzieje Pomorza słupskiego i innych terenów województwa koszalińskiego w wypisach*, Poznań 1961; see P. Migdalski, *Stan i potrzeby polskojęzycznych edycji źródeł do dziejów Księstwa Pomorskiego*, [in:] *Piśmiennictwo na Pomorzu Zachodnim do końca XVIII wieku*, ed. J. Kosman, Szczecin 2015, p. 9–31.

[202] For a synthetic view see Z. Romanow, *Kreowanie "polityki pamięci" na Pomorzu Zachodnim w latach 1945-2000*, Poznań 2002 (= Zeszyty Instytutu Zachodniego 24), p. 22. About Cedynia and Siekierki see works of P. Migdalski listed in: *Obchody Tysiąclecia Państwa Polskiego w Cedyni (badania naukowe, uroczystości w 1959 i 1966 r.)*, "Rocznik Chojeński" 8, 2016, p. 257–297. About Kołobrzeg see: P. Migdalski, *Początki polskiego zainteresowania wczesnośredniowieczną przeszłością Kołobrzegu (do końca lat 50-tych XX w.)*, "Przegląd Zachodni", 2019, 3, p. 56, footnote 7.

[203] J. Kostrzewski, *Kurchany mówią…*, [in:] *Pomorze Zachodnie*, ed. J. Deresiewicz, parts 1–2, Poznań 1949 (= Ziemie Staropolski, ed. Z. Kaczmarczyk, Z. Wojciechowski), p. 78; J. Mitkowski, *Pod berłem książąt pomorskich*, [in:] *Pomorze Zachodnie*, ed. J. Deresiewicz, parts 1–2, Poznań 1949 (= Ziemie Staropolski, ed. Z. Kaczmarczyk, Z. Wojciechowski), p. 80.

lished academic centre in Toruń joined the effort, organizing a conference in 1947[204], similarly as did the Instytut Bałtycki [The Institute of the Baltic], which organized a conference in Szczecin in 1948[205]. The issue of the Recovered Lands, including the relations between Pomerania and Poland, was a subject discussed at the 7th General Convention of Historians of Poland in Wrocław in September 1948[206]. The subject was also undertaken as part of the research, including archaeological excavations, devoted to the millennium of the baptism of Poland, which began in the late 1940s, including in Pomerania – in Szczecin, headed by Tadeusz Wieczorowski[207], and later in Wolin, Kołobrzeg, Cedynia, Kamień Pomorski and Santok[208]. In the early 1950s an attempt was made to concentrate Polish historical research on the topic of Pomerania into one institution (emulating the Soviet model) within the Polish Academy of Sciences, where the Department of the History of Pomerania was formed in Poznań in 1953, headed by G. Labuda[209], who initiated the research and prepared the first volumes of such works as *Historia Pomorza* [The History of Pomerania] and *Historia Szczecina* [The History of Szczecin] for publication.

Apart from his involvement in organizational work, Gerard Labuda published numerous works devoted to Pomerania and its relations with early-medieval Poland, and this had a great impact on Polish historiography and the reception of the issue. His notion of "Greater Pomerania" greatly influenced Polish research on the region. In his view Pomerania comprised the area between the historical western boundaries of the medieval state of the Griffins – namely, the Reknica (Recknitz) river – and the estuary of the Neman in the east[210]. In general terms, G. Labuda's perspective in presenting the history

[204] "Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu" 13, 1947.

[205] *Polska historiografia bałtycka. Najpilniejsze potrzeby badawcze, organizacyjne i wydawnicze. Referaty i dyskusja z konferencji naukowej Instytutu Bałtyckiego w Szczecinie dnia 8–9. IV.1948 roku*, Gdańsk–Szczecin 1949.

[206] *Pamiętnik VII Powszechnego Zjazdu Historyków Polskich we Wrocławiu 19–22 września 1948*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1948, here papers by Jan Natanson-Leski, Karol Górski, G. Labuda.

[207] W. Szafrański, *Tadeusz Wieczorowski*, "Z Otchłani Wieków", 1971, 1, p. 49 f.

[208] M. Rębkowski, *Badania milenijne na Pomorzu Zachodnim…*, p. 117–131.

[209] See B. Wachowiak, *Pomorze w polskich badaniach historycznych lat 1953-2002 (pięćdziesięciolecie Zakładu Historii Pomorza PAN)*, "Acta Cassubiana" 4, 2002, p. 277–294.

[210] G. Labuda, *Przedmowa*, [in:] *Historia Pomorza*, vol. 1: *Do roku 1466*, part 1, ed. G. Labuda, Poznań 1969, p. 9; *idem*, *Charakterystyka geograficzno-historyczna Pomorza*, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 27–51; cf. J. Hackmann, *Gerarda Labudy koncepcja historii Pomorza*, "Przegląd Zachodniopomorski" 38, 1994, 2, p. 7–36.

of Pomeranian-Polish relations remained under the influence of traditional Polish views on the issue. Firstly, he saw Pomerania as part of Poland[211]. Secondly, a certain anti-German approach is evident in his approach: in 1947 he proposed that the Polish historiography of Pomerania should become independent of German concepts that divided the history of Greater Pomerania into the history of particular "heimats" and provinces[212]. He stressed the significance of Greater Pomerania in the history of Poland and its creative role in the process of forming the state, and later, from the 15th century, its positive or negative role for Poland[213].

To prove these theses, he rejected – following K. Tymieniecki's views – Thietmar's information that Mieszko I recognized Gero's sovereignty in 963, thus opposing the views of J. Widajewicz and later H. Łowmiański. As a result he also maintained that the war between Poland and the Veleti was fought later – in 964–966 – and thus Wichmann's military action from those years took place after Gero's retirement in 963[214]. Contrary to the views of older authors, Labuda claimed that Mieszko I oriented his policy towards Pomerania following his baptism and after he defeated, aided by the Bohemians, Wichmann and the Wolinians allied with the Redars in 967. Pomerania was finally conquered just before 972, which caused a German reaction (Hodo's expedition). Ultimately, after repulsing the expedition of Otto II into Poland in 973–979, Mieszko I finally broke the Pomeranians' resistance and incorporated them into his state, taking advantage of the fact that Germany was involved on other battlefronts[215]. Labuda never altered

[211] G. Labuda, *Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego*, vol. 3, Wodzisław Śląski 2012, p. 15, where he wrote that after the death of Mestwin II Pomerania returned to Poland. The same view was shared by G. Labuda's master – K. Tymieniecki, who wrote that the demise of the policy of incorporating Pomerania to Poland implemented by Mieszko and Bolesław I the Brave was the reason of the subsequent weakness of Poland. "There was not one Poland but two opposing and hostile blocs, i.e., the landlocked Christian Poland and the Pomeranian pagan Poland", K. Tymieniecki, *Polska w średniowieczu*, Warszawa 1961, p. 70.

[212] G. Labuda, *Problemy dziejowe wielkiego Pomorza*, [in:] *Polska historiografia…*, p. 34.

[213] *Ibidem*, p. 36 ff.

[214] G. Labuda, *Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego*, vol. 1, Poznań [2]1987, p. 50–55.

[215] G. Labuda, *Studia…*, vol. 1, p. 80–129; *idem*, *Wielkie Pomorze w dziejach Polski*, Poznań 1947, p. 17; *idem*, *Wpływ powstania państwa…*, p. 272 f. G. Labuda concluded that the tributary territory reaching the river Warta was in the Lubusz (Lebus) Land. Karol Maleczyński also presented a similar chronology (K. Maleczyński, *Najstarsza zachodnia granica Polski na podstawie źródeł X wieku*, [in:] *Początki państwa polskiego…*, vol. 1, Poznań

this view; its elements are also seen in his late publications, including ones for popular consumption[216].

Additionally, in his numerous works, challenging the views represented by German authors as well as some Polish historians – especially J. Widajewicz and H. Łowmiański – Labuda referred to many issues mentioned earlier. According to him, the tributary area (mentioned by Thietmar) was not situated in Pomerania but west of the Odra in the Lubusz Land of the "Licicaviki". Later he changed this view, which he hardly ever did, and wrote that the name of this people was supposed to mean Poles; then he changed his opinion again and returned to his older concept concerning the Polish-German borderland and the Lubusz Land[217].

Labuda claimed that Mieszko assumed control of Pomerania in 960–970, concurrently with the ongoing process of stabilization in Scandinavia, and mainly Denmark[218]. The conquest also enabled Mieszko to extend his rule to Lesser Poland and Silesia[219]. Labuda devoted a great deal of attention to the issue of Danish influence in Pomerania exerted *via* Jomsborg. After a scholarship in Lund in 1939[220] Labuda became very sceptical about the interpretation of the stories from Scandinavian sagas, following the model of their interpretation elaborated by Lauritz and Curt Weibull and Ove Moberg. As a result he successfully banished the Scandinavian motif from Polish research of the history of early-medieval Pomerania – all the way until the mid-1980s.

1962, p. 218). Many authors of synthetic and popularizing works, e.g., L. Gustowski, presented similar views, *Polska a Pomorze Odrzańskie*, Warszawa 1946, p. 10 f.; K. Olejnik, *System obronny Pomorza do połowy XVII wieku*, [in:] *Z dziejów wojennych Pomorza Zachodniego. Cedynia 972 – Siekierki 1945*, ed. B. Miśkiewicz, Poznań 1972, p. 45; *idem*, *Cedynia, Niemcza, Głogów, Krzyszków*, Warszawa 1988.

216 G. Labuda, *Studia…*, vol. 1, p. 418 ff.; *idem*, *Pierwsze państwo polskie*, Kraków 1989; *idem*, *Mieszko I*, Wrocław 2002; *idem*, *Historia Kaszubów w dziejach Pomorza*, vol. 1: *Średniowiecze*, Gdańsk 2006, p. 69–71.

217 *Idem*, *Fragmenty dziejów Słowiańszczyzny Zachodniej*, vol. 1, Poznań 1960, p. 289; *idem*, *Studia…*, vol. 1, p. 152–162, 471 f.; *idem*, *Studia…*, vol. 2, Poznań 1988, p. 79 f.; *idem*, *Pierwsze państwo…*, p. 13.

218 *Idem*, *Fragmenty…*, vol. 2, p. 131; *idem*, *Polska granica zachodnia. Tysiąc lat dziejów politycznych*, Poznań 1971, p. 39, 42.

219 *Idem*, *Wielkie Pomorze…*, p. 17.

220 *Idem*, *Studia…*, vol. 1, p. 456 f., which included his work about Jomsborg, lost during the war.

By questioning the credibility of the sagas telling the story of Jomsborg, Gerard Labuda equated it unequivocally with Slavic Wolin, where Harald Bluetooth was said to have escaped ca. 986. The inhabitants of Wolin were the "Livilni" mentioned by Thietmar in 1007 and the "Vuloini" mentioned by Widukind of Corvey in 967[221]. He objected to linking the Viking leader, Styrbjörn, with Jomsborg[222]. According to him, the people of Wolin closely collaborated with the Veleti; at the beginning of the 11th century they renewed this collaboration and allied with the Germans[223]. The only tangible evidence for the co-operation between the Piasts and Scandinavia is the marriage between Eric the Victorious from Sweden and Mieszko's daughter[224]; according to this concept, Wolin could only play the role of a bridge between Sweden and Poland[225]. Labuda rejected the idea of Danish penetration in the Odra estuary and concluded that Poland intensified its influence there, forming an alliance with Sweden[226].

When writing about the origins of the Pomeranian dynasties, he argued that there were no grounds for recognizing them as Piasts by patrilineal descent – i.e., the descendants of Świętopełk, the son of Mieszko I and Oda. Rather, Labuda claimed that the daughter of Mieszko I was the progenitor of Pomeranian dukes[227]. In any case, in the early 12th century Poles failed to eliminate Pomeranian dynasties from the regions of Odrania and Pomerelia[228]. Labuda argued for the existence of the duchy of Sławno and Słupsk at the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries, whose rulers were to be the descendants of Ratibor I – who was not, however, Ratibor I, the duke of western Pomerania[229].

Gerard Labuda also wrote that the wars fought by Władysław I Herman and Bolesław III the Wrymouth in Pomerania were an example of an internal conquest culminating in the formation of the state.

221 *Idem*, *Fragmenty…*, vol. 2, p. 107 f., 127–131; *idem*, *Polska a Skandynawia w IX-X wieku*, [in:] *Początki państwa polskiego…*, vol. 1, p. 309 ff.; *idem*, *Pierwsze państwo…*, p. 32.

222 *Idem*, *Fragmenty…*, vol. 2, p. 218–220 (among others).

223 *Idem*, *Wielkie Pomorze…*, p. 17 f.

224 *Idem*, *Fragmenty…*, vol. 2, p. 131 f.

225 *Ibidem*, p. 234.

226 *Ibidem*, vol. 1, p. 245 f.

227 G. Labuda, *Czy książęta zachodniopomorscy wywodzili się z Piastów?*, "Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza" 4, 1958, p. 34–42; *idem*, *Studia…*, vol. 3, p. 15.

228 *Idem*, *Bolesław Krzywousty i jego czasy (1085–1102–1138)*, [in:] *Bolesław III Krzywousty. W 900 rocznicę urodzin*, Płock 1988, p. 45.

229 *Idem*, *Fragmenty…*, vol. 3, Poznań 1975, p. 279 ff.

Yet they were not fully successful as, contrary to what happened in other lands, the Piast failed to eliminate local dukes. Thus, for centuries Pomerania remained a separate entity[230]. According to Labuda, as a result of these conquests Poland occupied the lands as far as the Peene river, Müritz Lake, and the island of Rugia[231]. The expansion of the Piasts alarmed the German side: the bishops of Magdeburg and Lothair, who – in an attempt to block it – organized a military expedition to Demmin in 1125[232]. The decisions made during the negotiations in Merseburg in 1135 and the homage paid to Lothair III by Bolesław III the Wrymouth prove that the Polish ruler received tribute from Pomerania and Rugia, which in turn was proof of a compromise – Poland recognized the feudal suzerainty of the German kingdom, while Emperor Lothair recognized the political subordination of the duchy of western Pomerania to Poland[233].

Whatever the case, according to Labuda, the 12th century was the period of the most intensive cultural exchange between Poland and western Pomerania, and this was manifested by the influence of Polish administrative and military institutions on the political system in Pomerania, i.e., tributes and various other obligations based on Polish law and territorial organization. There were economic, trade, and transport links, while Polish monasteries acquired sources of income, e.g., the salterns near Kołobrzeg. Pomeranian bishops participated in Polish synods. The veneration of saints expanded from Poland to Pomerania. Additionally, the Polish conquest intensified the forming of the ethnic community, while Pomeranian feudal lords were interested in consolidating Polish rule in Pomerania. Poles moved the boundary from the Noteć and Warta towards the north. Both countries drifted apart after Wrymouth's sons lost interest in Pomerania. Bogusław I was the only person who made attempts at rapprochement. Labuda called Eastern Pomerania (Pomerelia), which maintained closer links with Poland until the mid-13th century, a politically defunct country[234].

230 *Idem*, *Pierwsze państwo…*, p. 60; *idem*, *Korona i infuła. Od monarchii do poliarchii*, Warszawa 1996, p. 14 f.

231 *Idem*, *Wpływ powstania państwa…*, p. 274 f.; *idem*, *Korona…*, p. 15; *idem*, *Fragmenty dziejów…*, vol. 3, p. 271.

232 *Idem*, *O stosunkach prawnopublicznych między Polską a Niemcami w połowie XII wieku*, "Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne" 25, 1973, p. 28 f.; *idem*, *Polska granica zachodnia…*, p. 45 f.

233 *Idem*, *O stosunkach prawnopublicznych…*, p. 42.

234 *Idem*, *Wielkie Pomorze…*, p. 19 f.; *idem*, *Wpływ…*, p. 275–278.

Labuda's views concerning Pomerania greatly influenced many researchers of the region[235]. However, not everyone agreed with him. Among them was J. Widajewicz, who claimed that Mieszko had completed the conquest of Pomerania as early as in 967 thanks to the agreement with Otto I. This, however, did not suit many Germans and therefore Hodo organized an expedition, kept secret from the emperor, whose aims involved a tribute, the will to repulse Mieszko from Wolin, and perhaps the conquest of a territory for himself[236].

Similarly, in his own monograph about Mieszko I Stanisław Kętrzyński opposed the chronology of the events in Pomerania and lengthened the process of conquering the region by the Piasts, claiming that Polish expansion, starting in Pomerelia, must have begun in the times of Mieszko's predecessors. Rejecting the equation of *Cidini* with Cedynia (proposing Krosno or Lubusz instead), he maintained that it was hardly possible that Pomerania together with Wolin and Szczecin were conquered in 967, and proposed the date of 990. He wrote that it was difficult to indicate the places where the battles with Wichmann took place, possibly somewhere near Santok, and he admitted that the question would remain open forever. He stated that Wolin/Jomsborg/Jumne was more Lutician than Pomeranian, but he allowed for the conquest of Wolin by the Danes, which was the reason why Poland formed an alliance with Sweden[237].

Some of the authors, following the pre-war concepts and opposing G. Labuda, claimed that the conquest of Pomerania happened earlier. Józef Mitkowski proposed the date of 963[238], which was supported by Zygmunt Sułowski[239], Władysław Filipowiak[240], and Benon

235 This was emphasized by e.g., B. Śliwiński, *Początki Gdańska. Dzieje ziem nad zachodnim brzegiem Zatoki Gdańskiej w I połowie X wieku*, Gdańsk 2009, especially p. 78 ff.

236 J. Widajewicz, *Polska i Niemcy w dobie panowania Mieszka I*, Lublin 1953, p. 61–71. See also *idem*, *Związki Pomorza Zachodniego z Polską*, Kraków 1945, p. 4 f.; *idem*, *Polski obszar trybutarny w X wieku*, "Sobótka" 2, 1947, p. 47–92.

237 S. Kętrzyński, *Mieszko I*, [in:] *idem*, *Polska X–XI wieku*, Warszawa 1961, p. 74, 107–110, 116–120, 160–176.

238 J. Mitkowski, *Pomorze Zachodnie w stosunku do Polski*, Poznań 1946, p. 18. In another work from that time he wrote that in 963 Mieszko lost the land of the *Licicaviki* but gained Pomerania with the Odra estuary in 967 – J. Mitkowski, *Pod berłem…*, p. 80.

239 Z. Sułowski, *Najstarsza granica zachodnia Polski*, "Przegląd Zachodni" 8, 1952, 3–4, p. 418, 439 f., 445 f.

240 W. Filipowiak, *Cedynia w czasach Mieszka I*, Szczecin 1959, p. 11 f.; *idem*, *Gospodarcze i polityczne znaczenie Cedyni w początkach państwowości polskiej*, [in:] *1000 lat dziejów oręża polskiego. Cedynia–Siekierki 972 – 1945 – 1972 (Materiały z sesji naukowej Dębno 2–3 VI 1972)*, ed. T. Białecki, K. Sobczak, Szczecin 1973, p. 43–46; *idem*, *Stargard we wczesnym średniowieczu*,

Miśkiewicz[241]. Edward Rymar dated the Piasts' hypothetical conquest to before 940[242], but in his subsequent works he readjusted the date to the traditionally assumed years 963–972[243]. Generally, what needs to be emphasized here is that many authors argue that the battle of Cedynia crowned Mieszko's conquest of Pomerania[244].

Another of Labuda's adversaries, Henryk Łowmiański, compared Pomerania with Mazovia due to their peripheral location and separatist tendencies. Because of their cultural and linguistic closeness both countries were predestined to become one with the eastern Lechitic lands. The very name of Pomerania was to denote the local people – the tribe[245]. He claimed that the earliest evidence of the presence of the Piasts was the fact that the Ukrani refused to pay tribute to the Germans in 954. The Piasts were resisted only by Slavic Wolin, which was unconquered by the Vikings and pursuing its own independent policy[246].

Mieszko continued the conquest of Pomerania after 967, when only Wolin was still unoccupied. This was the reason of Hodo's intervention in 972[247]. H. Łowmiański promoted the thesis of the unity of Pomerania,

[in:] *Z dziejów ziemi stargardzkiej*, ed. B. Dopierała, Poznań 1969, p. 75; *idem*, *Wyspa Wolin w prahistorii i we wczesnym średniowieczu*, [in:] *Z dziejów ziemi wolińskiej*, ed. T. Białecki, Szczecin 1973, p. 93; after him R. Rogosz, *Z pradziejów ziemi chojeńskiej*, [in:] *Z dziejów ziemi chojeńskiej*, ed. T. Białecki, Szczecin 1969, p. 51.

241 B. Miśkiewicz, *Polska wczesnopiastowska i Pomorze Zachodnie w obronie swej niezależności*, [in:] *1000 lat dziejów oręża polskiego…*, p. 119 f.

242 E. Rymar, *Dagome iudex jako organiczna część decyzji Mieszka I w sprawie podziału Polski na dzielnice. Reanimacja hipotezy o piastowskim rodowodzie dynastii pomorskiej*, "Materiały Zachodniopomorskie" 32, 1986, p. 330.

243 See E. Rymar, *Historia polityczna i społeczna Nowej Marchii w średniowieczu (do 1535 roku)*, Gorzów 2015, p. 110–114.

244 Cf. H. Lesiński, *Pomorze Zachodnie od X wieku do r. 1478*, [in:] *Dzieje Pomorza Zachodniego w wypisach*, ed. H. Lesiński, Poznań 1961, p. 11; G. Labuda, *Dzieje polityczne (VI–XII wiek); ekspansja państwa polskiego na Pomorze (X–XII wiek)*, [in:] *Historia Pomorza*, ed. G. Labuda, vol. 1, part 1, Poznań 1969, p. 309; L. Leciejewicz, *Początki nadmorskich miast na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1962, p. 262; T. Kiersnowska, R. Kiersnowski, *Życie codzienne na Pomorzu wczesnośredniowiecznym. Wiek X–XII*, Warszawa 1970, p. 138 f.; T. Białecki, *Historia Szczecina*, Wrocław 1992, p. 27; *idem*, *Kronika historyczna miasta Szczecina*, Szczecin 2016, p. 22. Among popular science works: K. Trzebiatowski, *Historia ziem zachodniopomorskich*, [in:] *Poznajemy Pomorze Koszalińskie*, ed. K. Trzebiatowski, Warszawa 1965, p. 34. More about the role, place and the development of the battle of *Cidini*/Cedynia see P. Migdalski, *Bitwa pod Cidini…*, p. 37–64.

245 H. Łowmiański, *Początki Polski*, vol. 5, p. 411–415; *ibidem*, vol. 6, part 1, p. 100 f.

246 *Ibidem*, vol. 5, p. 512–516; *idem*, *Zagadnienia roli Normanów…*, p. 32.

247 H. Łowmiański, *Początki Polski…*, vol. 5, p. 549–554.

which was exemplified by the existence of the Pomeranian duke called *Zemuzil* – an equal partner to the Polish ruler, Casimir I the Restorer, and to Břetislav I of Bohemia. Contrary to the opinions represented by most authors, H. Łowmiański claimed that Polish influence undermined the position of the duke of Pomeranians[248].

An author who also greatly influenced the perception of Pomeranian-Polish relations in the early Middle Ages, especially in Wrymouth's times, was Karol Maleczyński. According to him, the ethnographic range of Pomerania included Polabian lands as far as the estuary of the Reknica, i.e., the lands of the Ukrani, Redars, Kessinians, and Circipanes; in the south Pomerania reached in places the line of the Noteć-Warta rivers. Later these borders moved; the border in the south reached as far as the line of Wałcz-Pyrzyce. Similarly, the political borders also changed; in the 10th century they moved eastwards as far as the Odra, but in the early 12th century they moved westwards again. K. Maleczyński recognized Pomerania as one political entity at least from the last quarter of the 11th century, ruled by one dynasty related to the Piasts, but there were also local dukes[249].

Contrary to Labuda, Maleczyński acknowledged that Danish Vikings arrived in the Odra estuary in Jomsborg in 980, but they soon became Slavic, adopting the local language and culture. The Danes frequently invaded Pomerania – in 1098 Skjalm Hvide occupied Wolin and in subsequent years Erik Ejegod conquered Rugia. However, Maleczyński wrote that the Polish presence in the Odra estuary proved to be the most permanent; Poles conquered Pomerania ca. 969 and ruled there at intervals till the times of Bolesław II the Generous, when Pomerania seceded as a result of a more general process caused, among other things, by the rebellion of the Polabians against Gottschalk[250]. The battle of Pomerania was resumed by Władysław I Herman and his son Bolesław III the Wrymouth; however; their military campaign in 1102–1112 was not a planned, methodical conquest[251]. It was only when the international circumstances and the internal situation in Poland changed that their expedition brought about better results. Eastern Pomera-

248 *Ibidem*, p. 415–420.

249 K. Maleczyński, *Bolesław III Krzywousty*, Wrocław 1975, p. 125–128, 133.

250 *Ibidem*, p. 135–137.

251 *Ibidem*, p. 137–139.

nia was incorporated into Bolesław's state, Polish clerical organization was introduced, and the borders of castellanies were changed. Western Pomerania was defeated following a great military expedition and the battle of Niekładz. Polish troops marched further west of the Odra to Chocków (Gützkow), reaching Müritz Lake[252]. Wrymouth also defeated the Rugians, but left a representative of the local dynasty in power. Following a prior agreement, the Polish military operation was accompanied by operations of the Saxon troops against Świętopełk. The terms of the peace treaty were to restore the situation from before 1079[253].

Eastern Pomerania was Christianized by the Polish Church, while western Pomerania was to be Christianized thanks to the agreement between Poles and Germans; hence the appointment of the wavering Otto of Bamberg as the missionary, who – as it turned out – implemented Wrymouth's political plans[254]. Bolesław III the Wrymouth was also behind Pomeranian expeditions against a German ally – Erik II Emune of Denmark[255]. Wrymouth was furthermore responsible for organizing Ratibor's expedition to Konungahella in order to force the Danes to return Rugia to him. The concord of Merseburg from 1135 restricted the borders of Ratibor's Pomerania to the rivers of Reknica and Trzebiel; the lands further west became the fiefdom of Albert the Bear. Rugia was ceded to Poland. The concord brought the long-standing Polish-German dispute to an end, and settled the Pomeranian question[256].

An important contribution to research on Polish-Pomeranian relations was made by Kazimierz Myśliński. Soon after the Second World War he wrote that Pomerania and its conquest was perceived from the Polish point of view and that Polish science had probably written everything possible about western Pomerania[257]. His interests focused on the 12th century. He supported the view that Polish domination of and influence on Pomerania in the times of Bogusław I lasted

[252] Similarly also J. Widajewicz, *Związki Pomorza Zachodniego z Polską*, Kraków 1945, p. 14; *idem*, *Słowianie zachodni a Niemcy w wiekach średnich*, Katowice 1946, p. 32 f.
[253] K. Maleczyński, *Bolesław…*, p. 139–152, 154–157.
[254] *Ibidem*, p. 166 f.
[255] *Ibidem*, p. 201.
[256] *Ibidem*, p. 232–248.
[257] K. Myśliński, *Bogusław I. Książę Pomorza Zachodniego*, Bydgoszcz–Gdańsk–Szczecin 1947, p. 7.

longer; he also argued that Pomeranian dukes took part in the affair of Branibor in central Polabia[258], to which he later devoted most of his research effort. He compared the situation of the brothers Bogusław I and Casimir I to the Silesian Piasts, where one of the brothers – the older – also enjoyed a stronger position. The split between Poland and Pomerania was a consequence of the deposition of Mieszko III the Old, who subsequently also lost his province. However, the Pomeranians observed the situation in Poland, which is substantiated by the visit of Bishop Conrad to Łęczyca in 1180. As Poland was no longer interested in Pomerania, its ruler sought an alliance with Barbarossa, similarly as did the Polish dukes[259]. However, relations with Poland were maintained even later through marriages concluded between the Piasts from Greater Poland and Pomeranian rulers as well as the rulers from Rugia and Sławno, where the descendants of Ratibor I were supposed to rule[260].

In subsequent years Myśliński developed his research into Polish policy in central Polabia – in the country of the Sprevani and Stodorans – which culminated in a monograph published in 1993. According to him, the state of the Polans pursued an active policy in Polabia, building its sphere of influence there even before the 960s, which was confirmed by subsequent events. He concluded that since Hodo attacked Mieszko in 972 and the emperor did not come to the rescue of the Polish duke, who had never met Otto I in person, and that after Otto's death in 973 Mieszko supported the duke of Bavaria, Henry, obviously there was no agreement between the rulers of Poland and Germany, no "friendship" between them and – all the more – no political support from the emperor. Where Thietmar – when writing about Hodo's invasion – mentioned tribute, he was not credible (according to Myśliński) because it was never mentioned before and, all the more, later. But even if it is assumed that the mention about the tribute "as far as the river Warta" is true, the obvious conclusion is that the tributary area could only have been Polabia, which in the east reached the point where the Warta flows into the Odra, e.g., the Lubusz Land, as stipulated by Labuda. Myśliński added here

[258] *Ibidem*, p. 11–14; *idem*, *Polska a Pomorze Zachodnie po śmierci Krzywoustego*, "Roczniki Historyczne" 17, 1948, 1, p. 1–69.
[259] K. Myśliński, *Polska a Pomorze…*, p. 34 f., 42.
[260] *Ibidem*, p. 10, 42–45.

that the German rulers never put forward any claims to this area and that there is no evidence of any tribute in the sources. At the same time he indicated the areas which ca. 972 became subordinated to the empire and where Polish domination disappeared, i.e., the land of the Ukrani and the part of Lusatia conquered by Gero. It is this tradition that must have been noted by Thietmar in 972, when he wrote about a tribute as far as the Warta.

Myśliński criticized the thesis present in Polish research into Mieszko's battles in western Pomerania and the Veletian estuary of the Odra, as it would have exposed him to the risk of a war with the Lutici. The cause of the conflict between Poland and the Veleti was not the conquest of Pomerania and Wolin, but rather related to active Polish policy in Polabia, the conquest of the Lubusz Land, and Polish efforts to intensify its influence in Transodrania, which was tantamount to the encirclement of the Veleti and competition for the lands on the Havel and the Spree. He maintained that determining where the battles described by Widukind and Thietmar took place was essential for discovering the main direction of Polish policy of that time (Pomerania or Polabia). The concept that *Cidini* was situated on the Odra, which is substantiated by linguistic, archaeological, military, and historical data, lends credence to the thesis about the Pomeranian orientation of the policy, which by no means contradicts Mieszko's involvement in Polabian affairs. However, just like Herbert Ludat and Christian Lübke before him, Myśliński tended to accept the hypothesis that the place of the battle was situated in the heart of the Polabia, where he also placed the battles of 963 and 967 and the tribe of the *Licicaviki*. Thus, Hodo organized the military expedition to defend his own interests on the Elbe in defiance of Mieszko's political influence[261].

A coherent picture of Polish-Pomeranian relations was also presented by Benedykt Zientara. In his opinion Pomerania was not an ethnically and politically homogenous entity; it had two main opponents: Poland and Denmark. However, he emphasized the inconsistency of the German drive-to-the-east policy in the 12th century. After the state of the Lutici had disintegrated, two new states emerged in its former territory: the Obodrite state under the rule of Henry, the son

[261] K. Myśliński, *Polska wobec Słowian połabskich do końca wieku XII*, Lublin 1993, p. 24–47, 50.

of Gottschalk, and Wartislaw's (Western) Pomerania. Thus Pomerania, on which Poland forcibly imposed its supremacy, was not solely an object but also the subject of the politics. According to B. Zientara, the area in the Odra estuary was ruled by Świętopełk, who fought against Bolesław III Krzywousty (the Wrymouth) and Lothair III, also opposing the conquest of Rugia by Wrymouth[262].

According to B. Zientara, the reason that Pomerania became independent was on the one hand the fact that the Piasts participated in the Polabian crusade in 1147 and on the other – Ratibor's reluctance to co-operate with junior Polish dukes, who successfully exiled their oldest brother – Władysław II. Pomerania liberated itself from dependence on Poland in ca. 1157; in any case, it is certain that in 1164 it was subordinated to Saxony. Pomerania adopted a pro-Polish policy again in the 1170s, when Mieszko III the Old became the High Duke of Poland. Benedykt Zientara stressed that (western) Pomerania voluntarily recognized Polish control, which was not imposed by force. After the exile of Mieszko III, the western-Pomeranian duke, Bogusław I, did not sever his ties with Poland, but sought support from the new princeps, Kazimierz II the Just, which is substantiated by the visit of Pomeranian envoys in Łęczyca. However, his efforts were of no avail. Kazimierz, sorting out the situation in the country, appointed Sambor the ruler of the Gdańsk march and recognized Bogusław I as the duke of Pomerania. However, confronted with no real help from Poland, Bogusław became Emperor Frederick Barbarossa's vassal in Lübeck in 1181, even though – and B. Zientara placed special emphasis on this – the emperor also did nothing for Pomerania. Mieszko's subsequent ties with (western) Pomerania and Rugia (both already under Danish control) constituted an attempt to establish cordial relations with the new regional superpower – Denmark. There is no evidence of Polish suzerainty over western Pomerania after that time[263].

Edward Rymar was a researcher who was for many years engaged in a debate with G. Labuda, challenging his premises concerning the history of western Pomerania. In his numerous articles he presented a very detailed and coherent vision of the history of early-

[262] B. Zientara, *Polityczne i kościelne związki Pomorza Zachodniego z Polską za Bolesława Krzywoustego*, "Przegląd Historyczny" 61, 1970, 2, p. 194–201, 207, 224.

[263] B. Zientara, *Stosunki polityczne Pomorza Zachodniego z Polską w drugiej połowie XII wieku*, "Przegląd Historyczny" 66, 1970, 4, p. 548–568.

medieval Pomerania. His basic premise was the thesis that after Charlemagne's expedition against the Veleti the area of Pomerania (inhabited by the Veleti tribes) between the Odra, Vistula, and Noteć rivers was also subordinated by the Frankish Empire and later – by the Kingdom of Germany. After Pomerania was conquered by the Piasts, they became tribute collectors in the name of the Reich until Bogusław I paid homage in Lübeck in 1181. The Piasts' successors, with the emperor's consent, were Danish rulers and subsequently – from 1231 – the margraves of Brandenburg. The Polish conquest of Pomerania resulted in the separation of the Pomeranians from the Veleti peoples and forced them to unite. During his research he arrived at a number of detailed conclusions discussed elsewhere, e.g., he opposed the view that the areas on the Noteć river were incorporated by Poland at the times of Bolesław III the Wrymouth and postponed that moment to ca. the year 1200[264].

Polish historians were also involved in the discussion of numerous more detailed subjects, e.g., the location of *Schinesghe* known from the regest *Dagome iudex* from ca. 990. It was generally equated with Gniezno, but Z. Wojciechowski and J. Mitkowski identified it with Szczecin. G. Labuda objected, maintaining that it was Gniezno, while J. Widajewicz wrote that Gniezno was referred to in the first position of the regesta, while Szczecin was in the second position[265]. Similarly, succumbing to G. Labuda's authority, most researchers situated the tributary territory "as far as the river of Warta" mentioned by Thietmar outside Pomerania, while only J. Mitkowski in the 1940s, following in Z. Wojciechowski's footsteps, and E. Rymar located it in Pomerania[266].

The place and significance of the battle of *Cidini* in 972 mentioned by Thietmar were a similarly contentious issue. It was yet again analyzed by G. Labuda. In his discussion published in *Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego* [Studies into the Beginnings of the Polish State] in 1946 he considered two locations: Cedynia and Zehdenick situated west of the Odra. Ultimately, he unequivocally opted for the former. From then on most researchers unquestioningly accepted Cedynia as *Cidini*. Only a few rejected this conclusion or voiced their doubts, e.g., Stanisław Kętrzyński, who claimed that Hodo's expedition moved towards Krosno Odrzańskie or Lubusz, Zygmunt Sułowski, who opted for Szczecin, and Marek Cetwiński, who subscribed to S. Kętrzyński's view[267].

Another important issue concerning the Polishness of Pomerania and its unity was the origin of local dynasties. The thesis that the eastern-Pomeranian dynasty descended from a daughter either of Mieszko I or Bolesław I the Brave was promoted especially by G. Labuda and other researchers after him, e.g., Stanisław Trawkowski[268]. This view was opposed by, e.g., K. Maleczyński, who attributed the dynasty's origins to the Polish governors, and E. Rymar[269]. The latter "resuscitated" – as he wrote – an old thesis promoted before the war and shortly after it by a few researchers, who claimed that Pomeranian dukes were the descendants of Świętopełk, the son of Mieszko I and Oda, i.e., they represented the Piasts' collateral line[270]. He also denied the existence of the duchy of Sławno-Słupsk at the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries[271], to which he devoted his doctoral thesis written under G. Labuda's supervision[272].

Polish researchers devoted a relatively great deal of attention to the mission of Otto of Bamberg in Pomerania[273]. The bishop was fre-

264 Bibliography of Edward Rymar see: G. Kostkiewicz-Górska, D. Zielińska, *Bibliografia publikacji profesora Edwarda Rymara za lata 1964–2016 (wybór)*, "Rocznik Chojeński" 8, 2016, p. 385–448.

265 Z. Wojciechowski, *Szczecin nie Gniezno*, "Przegląd Zachodni" 8, 1952, p. 530–535; J. Mitkowski, *Pomorze Zachodnie…*, p. 24; G. Labuda, *Schinesghe – Gniezno czy Szczecin*, "Przegląd Zachodni" 7, 1951, p. 586–592; J. Widajewicz, *Słowo w dyskusji nad dokumentem Dagome Iudex*, "Życie i Myśl" 3, 1952, p. 242 ff.

266 J. Mitkowski, *Pod berłem…*, p. 81–84; *idem*, *Pomorze Zachodnie…*, p. 18–25, 34–36.

267 Detailed discussion in: P. Migdalski, *Bitwa pod Cidini…*, p. 37–64.

268 S. Trawkowski, *Jak powstała Polska*, Warszawa 1969, p. 196.

269 K. Maleczyński, *Bolesław…*, p. 133; E. Rymar, *Dagome iudex…*, p. 318–327; *idem*, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich*, Szczecin 2005, p. 46 ff.

270 J. Mitkowski, *Pod berłem…*, p. 81–84; *idem*, *Pomorze Zachodnie…*, p. 18–25, 34–36; J. Widajewicz, *Związki Pomorza Zachodniego z Polską*, Kraków 1945, p. 11 f.; E. Rymar, *Dagome iudex…*, p. 293–348.

271 Its existence was also argued for by, among others, K. Ślaski, *Dzieje ziemi kołobrzeskiej do czasów jej germanizacji*, Toruń 1948; J. Spors, *Dzieje polityczne ziem sławieńskiej, słupskiej i białogardzkiej XII–XIV w.*, Poznań–Słupsk 1973.

272 E. Rymar presented a comprehensive review of the hypotheses concerning the dynasty, *Czy istnieli władcy sławieńscy Racibor i jego syn Bogusław?*, "Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza" 18, 1990, 1, p. 5–29; *idem*, *W sprawie genezy tzw. dynastii sławieńskiej*, [in:] *Pomorze Słowiańskie i jego sąsiedzi X-XV wiek*, Gdańsk 1995, p. 159–165; *idem*, *Rodowód…*, p. 199–217.

273 See P. Migdalski, *Biskup Otton…*, p. 337–355; *ibidem* a review of opinions and quoted bibliography.

quently presented as a person "devoid of a chauvinist German attitude" (J. Mitkowski), contrary to Saxon clergy, owing to which he was able to complete successfully the mission undertaken at the Polish duke's initiative. The Polish origins of Adalbert/Voytěch were emphasized[274], similarly as the biased description of the mission presented by German historians. A positive picture of the mission and the bishop was painted in the vein of the mythology of the Recovered Lands, promoted by J. Mitkowski, K. Maleczyński, Józef Umiński, Tadeusz Silnicki, Jan Walicki, G. Labuda, Benedykt Zientara, Andrzej F. Grabski, Stanisław Trawkowski, and Henryk Łowmiański, among others. H. Łowmiański explained that the Polish clergy refused to participate in the mission because they had been sent to another part of Pomerania, where – in turn – Otto was not allowed to go, having to confine his efforts to the lands under Wartislaw's rule[275].

Władysław Dziewulski adopted an opposing view, writing that the literature promotes "the picture of Otto as an apolitical missionary, and thus an honest friend of Poland and its duke". He also gave a number of examples proving Otto's poor co-operation with the Polish side, his partiality, violation of ecclesiastical law, and superficial Christianization. Jerzy Dowiat maintained that in principle Otto's mission is not part of the history of the Polish Church because the Polish episcopacy did not take part in it[276].

These authors also emphasized the significance of the Pomeranian proto-urban centres, which were enormously important for long-distance trade[277]. The archaeologist Lech Leciejewicz, who researched the issue in depth, wrote that in the 9th and 10th centuries they became the centres of craft and trade. They were important tribal strongholds, which gradually strove for political independence. Between the second half of the 11th and the first half of the 12th centuries they undertook the mass production of goods dedicated to the local market.

[274] In principle only B. Zientara presented a different view – according to him Adalbert's nationality (who Polish researchers call Wojciech) is difficult to determine – B. Zientara, *Polityczne i kościelne związki…*, p. 212 f.

[275] H. Łowmiański, *Religia Słowian i jej upadek*, Warszawa 1986, p. 269.

[276] W. Dziewulski, *Stosunek Ottona Bamberskiego do organizacji kościelnej terenów zachodnio-pomorskich*, "Zapiski Historyczne" 23, 1957, 1–3, p. 119–121, 124–129, 132–140; *idem*, *Biskup pomorski Wojciech*, "Zapiski Historyczne" 23, 1957, 4, p. 11 f., 15, 18, 25, 27 f.; *idem*, *Likwidacja pogaństwa na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, "Zapiski Historyczne" 25, 1960, 1, p. 7–25; J. Dowiat, *Historia Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce (do połowy XV wieku)*, Warszawa 1968, p. 114.

[277] K. Ślaski, *Dzieje…*, p. 30 f.

Craft production flourished. L. Leciejewicz wrote that the incorporation of Pomerania into Poland hampered the centres' aspirations to autonomy. They were places for trade exchange between the north and Poland in the south, and so it was long-range trade that remained the main factor determining their development[278].

The researchers were also interested in particular centres, like Szczecin, and especially Wolin. In the case of the latter, the works by Władysław Kowalenko and Ryszard Kiersnowski deserve special attention. R. Kiersnowski recognized it as identical with Vineta, stressing that its legend was devoid of statehood and national elements[279]. Władysław Filipowiak also devoted a great deal of attention to the place, and carried out archaeological excavations there from 1952; on the basis of his findings he developed his predecessors' views, and for many years rejected the thesis equating Wolin with Jomsborg – he deemed it a legend[280]. Kołobrzeg and the issue of its status as a medieval capital (with Białogard), as argued by H. Łowmiański, W. Łosiński, J. Spors and E. Rymar[281], also attracted a great deal of attention.

As far as the political system is concerned, the great majority of Polish scholars appreciated the Polish influence in Pomerania, especially in the 12th century, which resulted in the emergence of the network of castellanies[282]. This view was supported by Józef Spors (who devoted a monograph to the issue), however, he did so cautiously as the system of castellanies may have been adopted also in Poland and Bohemia at the same time. According to him, Polish influence must have consolidated in the times of Ratibor I, who – confronted with the fiasco of the Polabian policy – sought the support of the Piasts. Contrary to Poland and Eastern Pomerania, the number of castellanies was constant, while the new ones were established only as a result of the territorial expansion[283]. However, some authors observed that

[278] L. Leciejewicz, *Początki…*, *passim*.

[279] R. Kiersnowski, *Legenda…*, p. 24 f., 120.

[280] W. Filipowiak's bibliography until 2001 in: L. Zajdel-Szczyrska, M.D. Wołągiewicz, *Wykaz publikacji naukowych prof. dr. hab. Władysława Filipowiaka*, [in:] *Instantia est mater doctrinae*, ed. E. Wilgocki *et al.*, Szczecin 2001, p. 11–24. More in a separate study in preparation.

[281] The discussion was summed up by J.M. Piskorski, *Pomorze…*, p. 40 ff., 58 ff.

[282] Among others, K. Ślaski, *Podziały terytorialne Pomorza w XII–XIII wieku*, Poznań 1960, p. 15 ff.; L. Leciejewicz, *Słowianie Zachodni. Z dziejów tworzenia się średniowiecznej Europy*, Wrocław 1989, p. 199.

[283] J. Spors, *Organizacja kasztelańska na Pomorzu Zachodnim w XII–XIII wieku*, Słupsk 1991.

the term *castellanus* first appeared in Pomerania, thus admitting that the notion arrived in Poland from there[284]. In his works about immunity J. Walachowicz also pointed to the considerable Polish influence on Pomerania's political system, which prompted K. Buczek's objections[285]. L. Leciejewicz in turn observed that there were no ancillary villages in Pomerania, contrary to Poland or Bohemia[286].

5. We do not cross the Odra – divided German research after World War II

After World War II, in the new political situation, Polish-Pomeranian relations in the early Middle Ages ceased to be an important subject in German historiography. The studies of Pomerania were in principle restricted to two groups of researchers: one at the university and archive in Greifswald, and the other, carrying out their research outside Pomerania, mainly in the Federal Republic of Germany (Hermann Bollnow, Erwin Assmann, Rederich Schmidt).

The research in the German Democratic Republic was in principle restricted to the areas of western Pomerania lying within the country's borders[287], which is seen in many publications devoted to Slavdom: Joachim Hermann's[288] studies and the fundamental works published under his supervision[289], which included texts about early-medieval Pomerania as well as Poland written by the Polish scholar Witold Hensel[290]. The medievalists from the German Democratic Republic, such as Konrad Fritze, to a great extent following in the footsteps of Polish historiographers, wrote that Mieszko I began the expansion

284 A. Bogucki, *Komesi w polskich źródłach średniowiecznych*, Warszawa 1972, p. 27.

285 K. Buczek, *Przemiany ustrojowe na Pomorzu Zachodnim w XII i XIII wieku*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" 72, 1965, 2, p. 349–379.

286 L. Leciejewicz, *Słowianie…*, p. 199.

287 Cf. Ch. Lübke's remarks, *Slaven…*, p. 33, who also observed that the scope of Polish research never really crossed the Odra.

288 J. Hermann, *Siedlung, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaftliche Verhältnisse der slawischen Stämme zwischen Oder/Neisse und Elbe*, Berlin 1968.

289 *Wikinger und die Slawen. Frühgeschichte der Ostsseevölker*, ed. J. Hermann, Berlin 1982; *Welt der Slawen. Geschichte Gesellschaft Kultur*, ed. J. Hermann, Leipzig–Jena–Berlin 1986.

290 W. Hensel, *Polen und der Staat der Piasten*, [in:] *Welt der Slawen…*, p. 233 ff.; *idem*, *Kultur und Kunst im frühmittelalterlichen Pommern (7. bis 11. Jahrhundert)*, [in:] *Wikinger und die Slawen…*, p. 263 ff.

to the west in the 960s and consequently embarked on a conflict with the Veleti in 963. The expansion to Pomerania was then undertaken by Bolesław III Krzywousty (the Wrymouth) in the 12th century[291].

East-German scholars tended to rid the specialist terminology of the name 'Pomerania' and avoided treating the land divided after 1945 as a whole[292], undoubtedly in order not to cause concern in the fraternal People's Polish Republic and dissociate themselves from the West-German continuation of former Landesgeschichte, identified with revanchism. Polish and East-German historians and archaeologists began their co-operation in the 1950s (e.g., planning joint excavations in Santok), which never went beyond the stage of courtesy publications[293].

In West Germany those researching Pomerania gathered around the Historical Commission of Pomerania [Historische Kommission für Pommern e.V.] reactivated in 1951 and the "Baltische Studien", whose publication was renewed in Hamburg in 1955. For a long time the journal published works that continued the research undertaken by their authors before the war. In time a new generation of medievalists, ones who began their career after the war, took over (Roderich Schmidt, Jürgen Petersohn, Dietmar Lucht, Walther Kuhn, Rudolf Benl, and Claus Konrad, among others). They mainly focused on the history of the Church, German colonization, and later history. Their work was rooted in the earlier research in the style of the Pomeranian Landesgeschichte, which – following Thomas Kantzow's views (16th century)[294] – was predominated by the conviction of a Slavic intermezzo in the history of the land, where the role of Poland – the neighbour in the south – was at most secondary[295].

During that period no new academic syntheses of the history of Pomerania were published (except for a few non-specialist works) which discussed the issues of interest here. Oskar Eggert

291 K. Fritze, *Zur politisch-militärischen Machtkonstellation im vorpommerschen Raum im 10.–12. Jahrhundert*, [in:] *Beiträge zur Geschichte Vorpommerns. Die Demminer Kolloquien 1985-1994*, Schwerin 1997, p. 109–112.

292 T. Ślepowroński, *Polska i wschodnioniemiecka historiografia…*, p. 255–277, 372–426.

293 Concerning historiography, see *ibidem*, p. 423 ff.; the co-operation with archaeologists deserves a separate monograph.

294 See above, p. 46.

295 R. Schmidt, *Pommersche Landesgeschichte und die Historische Kommission für Pommern*, [in:] *Landesgeschichte in Deutschland. Bestandsaufnahme – Analyse – Perspektiven*, ed. W. Buchholz, Paderborn 1998, p. 83–92.

emphasized the Vikings' strong influence on the southern coast of the Baltic as exerted *via* Jomsborg[296] (Jomsburg). He traditionally perceived the Vikings as the teachers of the Baltic Slavs. At the same time, Poles advanced from the south and reached Kołobrzeg, where they established a bishopric. Similarly, in the 12th c. Poles ravaged Pomerania (Ostpommern) and the lands as far as the river of Peene, while the Danes razed the coastal areas. Wartislaw was trapped between three expanding powers as the Saxon duke, and later the Reich's ruler, Lothair III, advanced from the west. In this situation the Pomeranian duke chose Polish suzerainty, yet following the deaths of Lothair and the Wrymouth, Pomerania was never forcibly subordinated again. Traditionally, O. Eggert devoted a great deal of attention to the mission of St. Otto of Bamberg in western Pomerania, where he was accompanied by the Polish priest Adalbert[297].

A similar view was represented by Udo Arnold, who acknowledged the great influence of the Reich, Denmark, and Poland in western Pomerania. Yet in 1135 Pomerania established closer political ties with Germany, though after the deaths of Lothair III and Bolesław III the Wrymouth it became independent, which resulted in the exemption of the bishopric in Kamień Pomorski[298]. The traditional view of Polish-Pomeranian relations in the early

[296] Danish researchers, who were mainly interested in themes involving their own country, as early as during World War II departed from Sofus Larsen's thesis that Jomsborg was situated on a today non-existent island in the Baltic at the mouth of the Peene; considering the results of earlier research and German excavations carried out in the interwar period, they located it in Wolin. Vilhelm la Cour hypothetically located it on Srebrne Wzgórze (Silver Hill) in Wolin, acknowledging that it was inhabited by the Slavic Vikings, which was confirmed in the sources. He argued that the results of excavations prove that the town was ruled by the Danes (V. la Cour, *Vort folks oprindelse od ældste historie indtil vikingetiden og danevældenes slutning*, [in:] *Schultz Danmarkshistorie. Vort folks historie gennem tiderne skrevet af danske historikere*, ed. A. Friis, A. Linvald, M. Mackeprang, vol. 1, København 1941, p. 462 f., 476–478; V. la Cour, *Danmarks ældste Konger*, [in:] *Danmarks Konger*, ed. F. Fabricius, København 1944, p. 39). Years later the editors and authors of the footnotes to the saga about the Jomsvikings equated Jomsborg and *Julin* known from older sources with Polish Wolin, arguing that the descriptions of Jomsborg and its fortifications may have been inspired by the fantastic stories about the fortresses like, e.g., Trelleborg (*Jomsvikingernes saga. Harald Blåtand, Svend Tveskæg og vikingerne i Jomsborg*, transl., introduction and comment. H. Degnbol and H. Jensen, København 1978, p. 18–20).

[297] O. Eggert, *Geschichte Pommerns*, Hamburg 1965, p. 4–6.

[298] U. Arnold, *Neun Jahrhunderte Pommerscher Geschichte*, [in:] *Pommern*, ed. H. Rothe, Köln–Wien 1988, p. 2 f.

Middle Ages was represented by Oskar Kosmann; he questioned the view that Poland occupied lands between the Odra and the Vistula in the times of Mieszko I[299].

Jürgen Petersohn's work is especially important in the context of this discussion. Following the views found in the Polish specialist literature, he presented the stages of the conquest of Pomerania by Bolesław III the Wrymouth, carried out in the spirit of crusade ideology. He wrote that, contrary to the lands in the east and south, the Piasts decided not to eliminate local dynasties and incorporate their lands into Poland. He left the lands as far as the Gwda and Parsęta rivers under Wartislaw's rule. He observed that as a result of the Griffins' western expansion undertaken during the mission, the name of Pomerania expanded to the west following the progress of the Church[300]. Analyzing the mission policy in Pomerania, he wrote that Otto of Bamberg brought, developed, and supported the veneration of saints, which originated in Bamberg, Poland, and Bohemia, such as the veneration of St. Adalbert. Yet J. Petersohn did not perceive this as Polish influence on the mission. He observed that the Pomeranian diocese acquired the exemption as late as in 1188, even though certain manifestations of its independence were seen from the beginning of its existence. According to him, it is not entirely clear whether Pomerania adopted the Polish model of ecclesiastical organization, but there were attempts to subordinate the Pomeranian Church to the archdiocese in Gniezno. On the whole, he negated the impact of the veneration of saints from Poland, so appreciated by Polish scholars. He also maintained that other ties with Poland were short-lived, e.g., the revenue derived from Kołobrzeg by the Benedictine abbey in Mogilno[301].

[299] O. Kossmann, *Polen im Mittelalter*, vol. 2, Marburg/Lahn 1985, p. 62, 86.

[300] J. Petersohn, *Der südliche Ostseeraum im kirchlich-politischen Kräftespiel des Reiches, Polens und Dänemarks vom 10. bis 13. Jahrhundert*, Köln–Wien 1979, p. 214 f., 225; *idem*, *Prawnopaństwowy stosunek Pomorza zachodniego do państw sąsiednich w okresie średniowiecza*, [in:] *Śląsk i Pomorze w historii stosunków polsko-niemieckich w średniowieczu. XII Konferencja Wspólnej Komisji Podręcznikowej PRL-RFN Historyków 5–10 VI 1979 r., Olsztyn*, ed. M. Biskup, Poznań 1987 (= Materiały Konferencji Wspólnej Komisji Podręcznikowej PRL–RFN 5), p. 108. The thesis that the name of Pomerania was propagated in the Polabian areas incorporated by the Griffins was supported also by R. Benl, *Slawische Stammesnamen in pommerschen Urkunden und die Frage der pommerschen Reichszugehörigkeit*, "Baltische Studien" NF 72, 1986, p. 7 ff.

[301] J. Petersohn, *Der südliche Ostseeraum…*, p. 232–261, 277 ff., 410 f., 414–436.

As a result of the normalization of Polish-West-German political relations in the early-1970s, researchers from Wolfgang H. Fritze's and Herbert Ludat's schools made an effort to establish relations with researchers from Poland; an important role in this endeavour was played by the Textbook Commission of UNESCO. The subjects involving the place of Pomerania in the history of medieval Poland and Germany became an important element in the debate between the scholars from both countries. Two of the six recommendations elaborated by the Commission in 1972–1976 were concerned with the issue: the Empire and Polish-German relations in the Middle Ages as well as Silesia and Pomerania in the early history of Poland (10th–13th centuries). They emphasized the need to discuss the issue of homages and liege relations between the Reich and Poland and proposed departing from the perception of the history of Pomerania and Silesia from the point of view of national historiographies, which emphasized rivalry for these lands.

The issues were discussed at the conference organized by the Commission in Olsztyn in 1979 devoted to Pomerania and Silesia in the late-15th century. An important element of the debate was the issue of the tributes paid by Mieszko and Bolesław I the Brave as well as Pomerania's legal status in its relations with Germany and Poland[302]. J. Petersohn wrote that Wartislaw I had to maintain a double status – Pomeranian lands situated west of the Odra remained under Reich's (indirect) control, while those in the east were subordinated to Poland. Yet due to German claims over these lands, the Polish duke was only an intermediary ruler[303]. After the co-operation with researchers – historians and archaeologists – from West Germany was established, the contacts with the East-German side lost their significance[304]. However, co-

[302] *Zalecenia Komisji UNESCO Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej i Republiki Federalnej Niemiec d/s Podręczników Szkolnych w Zakresie Historii i Geografii*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" 84, 1977, p. 131 f.; cf. G. Labuda, *Polsko-niemieckie problemy graniczne we wczesnym średniowieczu*, [in:] *Śląsk i Pomorze w historii stosunków polsko-niemieckich…*, p. 33–40.

[303] J. Petersohn, *Prawnopaństwowy stosunek Pomorza…*, p. 110 f.

[304] J.M. Piskorski, *35 Jahre deutsch-polnische Schulbuchkommission. Ein Beitrag zum Umgang mit dem Anspruch auf Wahrheit im binationalen Diskurs*, [in:] *Wahre Geschichte – Geschichte als Ware. Die Verantwortung der historischen Forschung für Wissenschaft und Gesellschaft. Beiträge einer Internationalen Tagung vom 12. bis 14. Januar 2006 im Alfried Krupp Wissenschaftskolleg Greifswald*, ed. Ch. Kühberger, Ch. Lübke, Th. Terberger, Rahden/Westf. 2007, p. 253 f.; J.M. Piskorski, *Herbert Ludat (1910–1993) – historyk Słowiańszczyzny Zachodniej i stosunków polsko-niemieckich*, [in:] H. Ludat, *Słowianie…*, p. 351–354.

operation with both German partners was enormously fruitful as it offered an opportunity to research archives and acquire literature unavailable in Poland[305].

6. Departing from the mythology of the Recovered Lands in Polish historiography after 1989

After 1989 the system of academic research in Poland underwent a number of changes. For instance, the reorganized Institute of the History of Pomerania, Polish Academy of Sciences [Zakład Historii Pomorza Polskiej Akademii Nauk], whose activity was restricted to the two centres in Toruń and Gdańsk, ceased to be the main co-coordinator of research into Pomerania. The centre moved from Toruń and especially Poznań decisively closer to Pomerania – to Szczecin, Gdańsk, and Słupsk. Moreover, in the 21st century a group of researchers of early-medieval Pomerania and its relations with Poland formed in Wrocław[306]. Additionally, new associations and societies embracing researchers from academic circles began to play a significant role, undertaking many important research initiatives and publishing the results of their work[307].

The new scholarly thought departed from the established narrative of the history of Pomerania and the mythology of the Recovered Lands, challenging the fundamental premises formed under their influence. G. Labuda's and his school's theses were criticized, as was reflected in the works by E. Rymar, who elsewise argued that the first

[305] T. Ślepowroński, *Polska i wschodnioniemiecka historiografia…*, p. 475. Cf. E. Włodarczyk's remarks and reminiscences, *Włodzimierz Stępiński – historyk dziejów Pomorza i Prus, niemcoznawca, nauczyciel akademicki*, [in:] W. Stępiński, *W kręgu niemieckiej historii. Wybór prac*, ed. P. Gut *et al.*, Szczecin 2014, p. 8 f.; J.M. Piskorski, *Posłowie*, [in:] *idem*, *Kolonizacja wiejska Pomorza Zachodniego w XIII i w początkach XIV wieku na tle procesów osadniczych w średniowiecznej Europie*, Poznań 2005, p. 296 f.

[306] We need to mention here primarily the research carried out by Stanisław Rosik – undertaken under the influence of L. Leciejewicz, among others – and the co-operating young researchers, such as Piotr Piętkowski and Monika Rusakiewicz.

[307] I will discuss here the activity of two non-governmental organizations: W. Rączkowski, J. Sroka, *Fundacja "Dziedzictwo" w Sławnie – nadzieje, rozczarowania, czyli… życie jak to życie*, [in:] *Regionalne towarzystwa historyczne w Polsce w epoce globalizacji*, ed. P. Migdalski, W. Iwańczak, Chojna–Wodzisław Śląski 2017, p. 73–91; P. Migdalski, *Stowarzyszenie Historyczno-Kulturalne "Terra Incognita" z Chojny*, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 109–131.

Piasts assumed control of the whole of Pomerania between the Odra, Vistula, and Noteć rivers[308]. This extent of Polish rule was also confirmed by historians from Gdańsk – Jan Powierski, Błażej Śliwiński, and Klemens Bruski[309] – even though their view has yet to be fully accepted in academic circles.

Besides K. Myśliński, whose views were discussed above, Jan M. Piskorski, Andrzej Pleszczyński, and Stanisław Rosik, among others, support the thesis that the first Piasts assumed control of only a part of Pomerania. The first of these scholars maintained that nothing is known about the north-western border of the Piasts' state; the only certain fact is the conquest of central and eastern Pomerania as far as the Rega river in the west, while Wolin remained under Veletian, or possibly Lutician control. He dated Mieszko I's conquests to the 960s, similarly as other researchers[310]. A. Pleszczyński acknowledged that the Piasts' rule may have extended to the Odra estuary and the emporium in Wolin in the 960s, but only after they had conquered Pomerelia, while they never succeeded in occupying central Pomerania, which was difficult to conquer[311]. S. Rosik voiced his doubts concerning the view that the Polish rulers had occupied the proto-urban centres in the Odra estuary (Szczecin, Wolin)[312].

At present the scholarly debate emphasizes that there is no evidence of the existence of similar emporia in the Vistula estuary[313]; it also tends to admit that Kołobrzeg performed a central function

[308] See above, footnote 264.

[309] J. Powierski, *Uwagi o wynikach badań nad dziejami Pomorza Gdańskiego w średniowieczu, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem osiągnięć ostatniego ćwierćwiecza i potrzeb badawczych*, "Rocznik Gdański" 50, 1, 1990, p. 76 f; J. Powierski, B. Śliwiński, K. Bruski, *Studia z dziejów Pomorza w XII wieku*, Słupsk 1993, p. 7; B. Śliwiński, *Pomorze w polityce i strukturze państwa wczesnopiastowskiego (X–XII w.)*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" 57, 2000, 2, p. 11.

[310] J.M. Piskorski, *Pomorze…*, p. 73–75; *idem*, *Pradzieje (do końca XI w.)*, [in:] *Pomorze Zachodnie poprzez wieki*, ed. J.M. Piskorski, Szczecin 1999, p. 32 f.; J. Strzelczyk, *Mieszko Pierwszy*, Poznań 1999, p. 141–146; M. Rębkowski, *Zanim powstało miasto*, [in:] *Dzieje Koszalina*, vol. 1: *do 1945 roku*, Koszalin 2016, p. 48; B. Śliwiński, *Początki…*, p. 53 f., 242 ff.

[311] A. Pleszczyński, *Niemcy wobec pierwszej monarchii piastowskiej (963-1034). Narodziny stereotypu. Postrzeganie i cywilizacyjna klasyfikacja władców Polski i ich kraju*, Lublin 2008, p. 43 f., footnote 153.

[312] E.g., S. Rosik, *Bolesław Krzywousty*, Wrocław 2013, p. 160.

[313] Among others, B. Śliwiński, *Początki…*, *passim*; W. Chudziak, E. Siemianowska, *Problem przyłączenia Pomorza Środkowego do państwa pierwszych Piastów. Głos archeologa*, [in:] *Tradycje i nowoczesność. Początki państwa polskiego na tle środkowoeuropejskim w badaniach interdyscyplinarnych*, ed. H. Kóčka-Krenz, M. Matla, M. Danielewski, Poznań 2016, p. 184.

in early-medieval Pomerania[314] and that the first Piasts had occupied only the central part of Pomerania, which is substantiated by the establishment of the bishopric there in 1000 and the development of the stronghold in Kołobrzeg-Budzistowo at the end of the 10th century[315]. The main communication route in this part of the Piasts' territory was the waterway in the river basins of the Parsęta, Drawa, and the overland portages in central Pomerania, which is substantiated by the results of archaeological excavations at the sites in Nętno and Zarańskie Lake not far from Drawsko Pomorskie[316].

The interpretation of Szczecin as the *Schinesghe* mentioned in *Dagome iudex*[317] returned yet again in the 21st century. This view is presented by B. Śliwiński[318] and especially by Przemysław Urbańczyk[319]. The discussion of Thietmar's *Cidini*[320] is still ongoing; according to Przemysław Wiszewski, it was mentioned only because the chronicler's father took part in the battle[321]. As early as in the 1990s Jerzy Strzelczyk and Henryk Samsonowicz voiced their doubts as to the identification of *Cidini* as Cedynia on the Odra[322]. Jan M. Piskor-

[314] Review of opinions: J.M. Piskorski, *Pomorze…*, p. 40 f., 58 f.; see also: M. Rębkowski, *Chrystianizacja Pomorza Zachodniego. Studium archeologiczne*, Szczecin 2007, p. 34; D. Wybranowski, *Jeszcze raz o taktyce wojen pomorskich Bolesława Krzywoustego oraz okolicznościach ich finału*, "Przegląd Zachodniopomorski" 32, 2017, 2, p. 72; P. Migdalski, *Die Feldzüge…*, p. 87–107.

[315] L. Leciejewicz, M. Rębkowski, *Uwagi końcowe. Początki Kołobrzegu w świetle rozpoznania archeologicznego*, [in:] *Kołobrzeg. Wczesne miasto nad Bałtykiem*, ed. L. Leciejewicz, M. Rębkowski, Warszawa 2007, p. 299–317; W. Łosiński, *Struktura terytorialno-polityczna Pomorza w XI stuleciu w świetle archeologii*, "Slavia Antiqua" 28, 1981/1982, p. 117.

[316] W. Chudziak, E. Siemianowska, *Problem przyłączenia…*, p. 191 f.; E. Siemianowska, *O przewłokach raz jeszcze*, "Studia Geohistorica, Rocznik Historyczno-Geograficzny" 5, 2017, p. 115–139; W. Chudziak, *Wczesnośredniowieczny grot włóczni z Nętna – przyczynek do studiów nad chrystianizacją Pomorza Środkowego*, [in:] *Świat Słowian wczesnego średniowiecza*, ed. M. Dworaczyk *et al*, Szczecin–Wrocław 2006, p. 647–655; *The Island in Żółte on Lake Zarańskie. Early Medieval Gateway into West Pomerania*, ed. W. Chudziak, R. Kaźmierczak, Toruń 2014.

[317] See above, p. 71, 97.

[318] B. Śliwiński, *Pomorze…*, p. 12.

[319] P. Urbańczyk, *Mieszko…*, p. 322, 337, 365–367, 369–386, 399. For P. Urbańczyk this means the transfer of Poland's political centre at the end of Mieszko I's reign to Pomerania – to Szczecin, which for him was of great strategic significance as a window to the world and constituted a counterbalance to Wolin subordinated to the Danes (Harald Bluetooth).

[320] Analysis of the problem in: P. Migdalski, *Bitwa pod Cidini…*, p. 37–64.

[321] P. Wiszewski, *Domus Bolezlai. W poszukiwaniu tradycji dynastycznej Piastów (do około 1138 roku)*, Wrocław 2008, p. 562 f.

[322] J. Strzelczyk, *Mieszko…*, p. 143–146; H. Samsonowicz, *Historia Polski do roku 1795*, Warszawa 1985, p. 19 f.; *idem*, *Narodziny państwa i narodu*, [in:] *Polska losy państwa i narodu*, Warszawa 1992, p. 36; *idem*, *Początki państwa i pierwsza monarchia*, [in:] *Polska na przestrzeni wieków*, ed. J. Tazbir, Warszawa 1995, p. 33.

ski expressed the most serious reservations about this issue, claiming that the battle took place in 972 in the Polish-Lusatian borderland, while Sławomir Moździoch suggested Milsko and Łużyce[323] as the battleground. S. Rosik summed up the debate, calling it "learned ignorance", proposing that the readers of Thietmar's account should rather appreciate the chronicle's wider context, the literary devices employed by its author, and the moral and theological perspective which he adopted, e.g., in describing the role of Mieszko I in planting Christianity in his country[324].

The Piasts' conquest of Pomerania is tightly connected with the issue of the region's unity in the tribal era. J. Spors remained skeptical[325]; B. Śliwiński allowed for the existence of two states in Pomerania at the end of the 11th century: one on the Baltic, comprising the duchy of Gdańsk, and the other on the Noteć river[326]. J. Piskorski observed that there are as many arguments for the unity of "tribal Pomerania" as there are against it. Following Dušan Třeštik, he added that the multitude of dukes does not contradict the idea of a single tribe because the authority was not territorial in its nature, but was based on interpersonal relations. He also observed that Gallus Anonymus may not have been aware of all the constituent parts of Pomerania because when writing his chronicle the conquest had not yet been completed[327].

As far as the research of the oldest Polish-Pomeranian relations is concerned, the studies carried out by Jan Powierski, Błażej Śliwiński, and Klemens Bruski deserve separate discussion due to the complexity of the issue. They highlighted the kinship between the Pomeranian dukes and the Piasts. At first cautiously (1993) and later more confi-

[323] J.M. Piskorski, *Pomorze…*, p. 77–79; S. Moździoch, *Śląsk wczesnośredniowieczny w świetle badań archeologicznych i historycznych – crambe bis cocta?*, [in:] *Civitas Schinesghe cum pertinentiis*, ed. W. Chudziak, Toruń 2003, p. 67–69. Cf. S. Moździoch, *Śląsk między Gnieznem a Pragą*, [in:] *Ziemie polskie w X wieku i ich znaczenie w kształtowaniu się nowej mapy Europy*, ed. H. Samsonowicz, Kraków 2000, p. 176 f. After him in a similar vein J. Tyszkiewicz, *Geografia historyczna Polski w średniowieczu*, Warszawa 2003, p. 29 f.

[324] S. Rosik, *Bitwa pod Cedynią w świetle przekazu Thietmara z Merseburga. Propozycja ponownego "powrotu do źródeł"*, [in:] *Cedynia i okolice poprzez wieki*, ed. P. Migdalski, Chojna–Szczecin 2013 (= Terra Incognita 6), p. 25–30.

[325] J. Spors, *O domniemanej jedności plemiennej i państwowej Pomorza we wczesnym średniowieczu*, [in:] Społeczeństwo Polski Średniowiecznej 6, ed. S.K. Kuczyński, Warszawa 1994, p. 37.

[326] B. Śliwiński, *Pomorze…*, p. 22–24. After him A. Krawiec, *Król bez korony Władysław I Herman, książę polski*, Warszawa 2014.

[327] J.M. Piskorski, *Pomorze…*, p. 53, 57, 65. A similar view: S. Rosik, *Bolesław…*, p. 158 f.

dently, they recognized the dukes ruling in Pomerania as Mieszko I's descendants who lost their power as a result of a coup in the times of Bolesław II the Bold, when power was taken over by the local dynasty – the antecedents of the Griffins. Only in the south, on the Noteć river, did the Piasts – who Gallus later wrote about – manage to retain their rule[328].

Moreover, these historians adopted the premise that thanks to the Vistula as a communication route, eastern Pomerania had forever maintained close ties with Mazovia and central Poland[329]. Both lands belonged to the Piasts from the beginning of Mieszko I's reign and at that time the elements of Polish administration and its tax system spread to Pomerania. The region became independent only due to the division of the country by Mieszko II, but later it was temporarily incorporated into Casimir I the Restorer's Poland. Pomerania also attracted Władysław I Herman, whose expansion from Mazovia targeted its eastern part[330]. The authors similarly perceived Wrymouth's expeditions, which resulted in the defeat of two east Pomeranian dukes and in the incorporation of their land into Poland. Subsequent Polish expeditions moved towards the west, reaching Polabian lands (1121–1122), which Lothair III tried to rid of Polish influences. Bolesław III the Wrymouth counteracted, concluding the alliance with Denmark. Ultimately, the Polish duke agreed to a compromise in 1135 and recognized the emperor's suzerainty, in return receiving his consent for control over western Pomerania and Rugia[331].

The scholars from the Gdańsk centre mentioned above acknowledged the influence of the Polish Church in eastern Pomerania, where it received donations of land: first the abbey in Mogilno, then the dioceses in Kruszwica and Włocławek and the archdiocese in Gniezno ca. 1170. Because of the division of Poland in 1138, the region was in the seniorate province and participated actively in the rivalry between Wrymouth's sons. The western Pomeranian duke, Ratibor, was less involved in the conflict. His country bordered with the land under the rule

[328] J. Powierski, B. Śliwiński, K. Bruski, *Studia…*, p. 11; J. Powierski *Co naprawdę wiemy o pobycie św. Wojciecha w Gdańsku*, "Rocznik Gdański" 57, 1997, 1, p. 47 f.; B. Śliwiński, *Pomorze…*, p. 17 f., 22 f., 30, 32. J.M. Piskorski (*Pradzieje…*, p. 33, 70 f.) was sceptical as to the possibility of finding an answer to the question concerning the origins of the Griffins.

[329] J. Powierski, B. Śliwiński, K. Bruski, *Studia…*, p. 5, 53.

[330] *Ibidem*, p. 7–11, 13–24.

[331] *Ibidem*, p. 26–35, 37 f.

of Jaxa of Köpenick, who sided with the junior Polish dukes[332]. Mieszko III the Old played an active role on the Pomeranian scene, providing assistance to Bogusław I in his struggle with the Danes and in ca. 1173/1174 marrying his daughter to Bogusław's son, Ratibor, who ruled the Sławno-Słupsk lands as far as the Łeba river.

The Griffins' position was strengthened by the takeover of the lands of Barnim and Teltow in Transodrania in the mid-1170s. Bogusław's ducal rank – the title of *dux* – was confirmed by Mieszko III the Old and then by the subsequent princeps, Casimir II the Just[333]. During the struggle for the Polish throne the latter was supported by the Griffins; he also installed Sambor from the Lis family, a descendant of Świętopełk, one of the former Pomeranian dynasts, in the march of Gdańsk (constituting an administrative unit and not a duchy)[334]. When after his return from exile Mieszko III regained power in his province of Greater Poland, he won Bogusław I's support again, marrying his daughter Anastasia to him in 1181[335]. Moreover, the historians from Gdańsk acknowledged Mieszko III's role in establishing ties between the (western) Pomeranian diocese and Cologne.

The assessment[336] of J.M. Piskorski's research of tribal Pomerania in the context of the studies of early-medieval Polish-Pomeranian relations deserves separate discussion. That author claimed that the name of Pomerania was expanded to Polabia by the Griffins, who – subordinated to Poland – used its support to extend their rule to the west of the Odra, thus consolidating their authority in western Pomerania. He compared the process to Bolesław I the Brave's action in Poland. The Griffins promoted the name of Pomerania, which itself first emerged in the country of the Piasts, possibly during their early expansion to the Baltic[337].

J.M. Piskorski was sceptical about E. Rymar's concept concerning Thietmar's mention of the tribute "as far as the river of Warta", which

[332] *Ibidem*, *Studia*, p. 40–54, 69–74, 80, 89 f., 96.

[333] *Ibidem*, p. 102–104, 110–113.

[334] *Ibidem*, p. 120–128, 150–152, 172–175, 195–199. On the other hand, they traced the origins of Grzymisław, a Piast official in Lubieszewo situated to the south of Gdańsk, to a local dynastic Pomeranian family, but contrary to the Sobiesławowice family of Gdańsk, of an ancient provenience – *ibidem*, p. 204 f.

[335] Yet Bogusław I was soon forced to surrender directly to the emperor and in 1185 to Denmark – *ibidem*, p. 128–138.

[336] This term is used in the introduction to J.M. Piskorski's work, *Pomorze…*, p. 13.

[337] *Ibidem*, p. 26–28.

was supposed to have comprised the whole of Pomerania between the Odra and Vistula[338], deeming it to be based on shaky foundations. He tended to support the view that the *Velunzani* mentioned by the *Bavarian Geographer*, Widukind of Corvey's *Vuloini*, Thietmar's *Livilni*, and the mentions of the *Wilini* by Adam of Bremen refer to Wolin and the Wolinians, the people settled in the Odra estuary who were more akin to the Veleti tribes than the Pomeranians. In any case, he considered the tribal geography to be fluid and changeable, which was the case of, e.g., Szczecin. It emerged in the 9th or 10th century in the territory of the Ukrani, becoming an independent centre with its own economic base[339]. The crisis of Baltic trade and the fall of the emporia contributed to the decrease of Polish interest in Pomerania, which earlier was the target of Polish expansion precisely because of its wealth and access to the Baltic exchange[340].

While discussing the German colonization of Pomerania, J.M. Piskorski commented on the system of Pomeranian villages before this transformation wave. He doubted whether any changes in the social structure in Pomerania were influenced by Poland. He stressed that – contrary to Poland and Bohemia – there is no evidence that the local population made an effort to remodel social life in the 12th century, especially that foreign influence had already begun to play a role in western Pomerania. However, in another work he wrote that the political restructuring of the duchy of the Griffins, e.g., introduction of castellanies, was initially undertaken under Polish and subsequently under German influence. Interestingly, Sławomir Gawlas also acknowledged the emergence of Pomeranian castellanies as a consequence of German legal and cultural influence – not Polish[341].

After 1989 the historical reflection on the earliest Polish-Pomeranian relations additionally emphasized the Nordic element, above all in regard to the legendary Jomsborg[342]. A growing number of researchers tend to admit that its hypothetical location was Wolin, e.g., Leszek Słupecki, who claimed that it was one of the Danish forts of the Trelle-

[338] See above, p. 41, 67, 83 ff.

[339] J.M. Piskorski, *Pomorze…*, p. 79 ff., 84 ff., 93 f., 157–159; *idem*, *Pradzieje…*, p. 31–33.

[340] *Idem*, *Pomorze…*, p. 187 f.

[341] *Idem*, *Kolonizacja…*, p. 104 f.; *idem*, *Pradzieje…*, p. 54; S. Gawlas, *O kształt zjednoczonego królestwa*, Warszawa 2000.

[342] Cf. J.M. Piskorski, *Pomorze…*, p. 162 f.

borg type[343]. The first to mention the Scandinavian presence in Pomerania, however tentatively, were the scholars who before 1989 were wary of promoting such hypotheses, e.g., W. Filipowiak[344] or those more vocal in expressing their opinions, such as Władysław Łosiński[345], who researched the settlement complexes in Bardy and Świelubie, and Lech Leciejewicz[346]. At present the researchers who perceive the Scandinavian presence in Pomerania in a much wider context are Władysław Duczko[347] and Błażej Stanisławski[348]. Jakub Morawiec discussed the issue of Jomsborg in medieval Scandinavian tradition, departing from G. Labuda's hypercritical views concerning the matter[349]. The subject was also tackled by S. Rosik in his analyses of Adam of Bremen's accounts of *Iumne* and the legendary Wineta mentioned by Helmold of Bosau[350], which contributed to a broader inquiry into the Christianization of the last Slavic tribes from the Polabian-Pomeranian circle.

In S. Rosik's works these issues are tightly connected with Polish-Pomeranian interactions in the early Middle Ages, especially during the reign of Bolesław III the Wrymouth. However, the author added that Pomerania was the target of the Piasts' expansion from the times

[343] L. Słupecki, *Jómsvikingalog, Jómsvikings, Jomsborg/Wolin and Danish circular strongholds*, [in:] *The neighbours of Poland in the 10th century*, ed. P. Urbańczyk, Warszawa 2000, p. 49–61. After him P. Urbańczyk, *Zdobywcy północnego Atlantyku*, Wrocław 2004, p. 39; *idem*, *Mieszko…*, p. 366, where Jomsborg is sytuated in Ogrody, a district in Wolin.

[344] Among others W. Filipowiak, *Wolin – Jomsborg – Vitneta*, [in:] *Mare Balticum. Østersøen. Myte historie kuns i 1000 år*, København 2002, p. 21–34.

[345] E.g., W. Łosiński, *Pomorze – bardziej słowiańskie czy bardziej "bałtyckie"*?, [in:] *Ziemie polskie w X wieku…*, p. 119–114.

[346] Among others L. Leciejewicz, *Normanowie nad Odrą i Wisłą w IX–X wieku*, [in:] *idem*, *Opera selecta. Z dziejów kultury średniowiecznej Polski i Europy*, ed. M. Rębkowski, S. Moździoch, Wrocław 2006, p. 157–170.

[347] See a virtually classic text: W. Duczko, *Obecność skandynawska na Pomorzu i słowiańska w Skandynawii we wczesnym średniowieczu*, [in:] *Salsa Cholbergensis. Kołobrzeg we wczesnym średniowieczu*, ed. L. Leciejewicz, M. Rębkowski, Kołobrzeg 2000, p. 23–44.

[348] Especially B. Stanisławski, *Jómswikingowie z Wolina-Jómsborga. Studium archeologiczne przenikania kultury skandynawskiej na ziemie polskie*, Warszawa 2013. See: *Scandinavian Culture in Medieval Poland*, ed. S. Moździoch, B. Stanisławski, P. Wiszewski, Warszawa 2013 (= Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies 2); J. Wojtkowiak, *Skandynawskie wpływy kulturowe w Wolinie (IX–XI wiek)*, Wrocław 2012.

[349] J. Morawiec, *Vikings…*, *passim*.

[350] S. Rosik, *Interpretacja…*, *passim*. The reflection on the topics from the chronicles is elaborated in the monograph by Monika Rusakiewicz, devoted to the emergence of the legend of Wineta in the 11th–16th centuries (M. Rusakiewicz, *Wineta. Korzenie legendy i jej recepcja w historiografii zachodniopomorskiej do XVI wieku*, Wrocław 2016). The author referred in this context to the Polish-Pomeranian relations especially in the 14th c.

of Mieszko I and that its extent depended on the strength of the Polish state. As far as the Wrymouth's northern policy is concerned, S. Rosik initially subscribed to the traditional view that in ca. 1111 the Polish ruler abandoned plundering raids in Pomerania and focused on a thorough conquest. This succeeded concerning eastern part of Pomeranie in 1119 at the latest, which was probably incorporated directly into Poland. It is quite possible that at the same time the Wrymouth undertook expeditions to western Pomerania, subordinating it not later than in 1122. His "overseas" expedition mentioned in the Polish annals may have targeted Rugia, even though Wolin seems more probable in this case[351].

Recently S. Rosik called for a rethink of the thesis that Pomerelia was incorporated into Poland ca. 1119. He stressed that this virtually canonical view binding in the historiography to date is in fact based on the silence of the sources (which do mention forays into Pomerania, without however specifying its eastern portions) and was formed following the pattern of conquest rooted in the military thinking of staff officers in the 19th and 20th centuries. Drawing on Gallus' accounts in more detail, he has proposed that the part of Pomerania situated on the Vistula may have been subordinated to Bolesław III the Wrymouth in the second decade of the 12th century merely on similar terms as the duchy of the western-Pomeranian Griffins. Though Rosik does not reject the plausibility of the traditional interpretation, he explains it should be also borne in mind that any closer ties of the eastern parts of Pomeranian lands with Poland would have resulted not until their integration with the archdiocese in Gniezno taking place in the following decades and the development of local structures of power connected with the Piast state[352].

After subordinating Pomerania, Bolesław III the Wrymouth made an effort to Christianize it, to which S. Rosik devoted a separate extensive study. He analyzed the triptych of the lives of St. Otto of Bamberg in the context of the events in the 12th century, i.e., in the "cultural context of their creation and functioning in social life". He critically

[351] S. Rosik, *Bolesław…*, p. 162 f., 179 f., 183, 185–191.

[352] Thus S. Rosik concluded that Christianization in Wrymouth's Pomeranian policy should be interpreted not only as a means of consolidating the effects of the conquest, but as a complex activity, parallel to and complementing the political and military expansion, broadening the contemporary compass of Christian monarchies, in this case in the Polish sector, cf. S. Rosik, *O pożytku z lektury Galla Anonima w badaniu po-Gallowych czasów. Na przykładzie pomorskich podbojów Bolesława Krzywoustego*, [in:] *Nobis operique favete. Studia nad Gallem Anonimem*, ed. A. Dąbrówka, E. Skibiński, W. Wojtowicz, Warszawa 2017, p. 151–160.

revised the research into the Christianization of Pomerania to date, which frequently referred to the hagiography of the bishop of Bamberg only very fragmentarily, failing to consider the wider context of the works and their ideological message[353]. An important finding, however seemingly minute, resulting from S. Rosik's analyses was the conclusion that the battle of Niekładz (or Nakło) firmly established in the historiography of the 20th century, and which was hailed as a decisive factor in the conquest of western Pomerania in ca. 1120, is most probably a historiographic myth[354].

S. Rosik argued that the key to the success of St. Otto's missions was the strategy which he adopted during his two expeditions to the Baltic in the 1120s, consisting in forming Christian communities in the main centres focused on the priest and the church. In this way the basis for founding the Pomeranian diocese was formed under the supervision of the bishop of Bamberg, which – however – became an element in a broader political game involving Gniezno and Magdeburg. Ultimately, the Pomeranian diocese became independent of the neighbouring archdioceses, which was confirmed at the end of the 12th century by an exemption[355]. However, initially it did have strong ties with Poland, which corresponds with the recognition of Bolesław III the Wrymouth's suzerainty over Pomerania by the emperor during the congress in Merseburg in 1135. Yet during the congress the Polish ruler had to acknowledge the empire's suzerainty; he paid homage to Lothair III, most probably due to the fact that he ruled in Pomerania and Rugia, while the imposed tribute was an expression of respect for the emperor's universalistic prerogatives[356].

According to S. Rosik, the struggle with Poland stimulated – from the beginning of the 12th century at the latest – a crystallization of the structures of power of the western-Pomeranian monarchy; local rulers were either eliminated or were integrated into new elites. The political body thus formed entered the sphere of influence of Poland, Germany, and Denmark and ultimately became a political

[353] S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, *passim*.
[354] *Ibidem*, p. 148 ff.
[355] S. Rosik, *Bolesław…*, p. 203, 206 f., 212–214. He observed that determining Adalbert's nationality as Polish is pure speculation. Similarly, P. Piętkowski, *Biskupstwo pomorskie jako początek biskupstwa kamieńskiego*, Wrocław 2015, p. 43. He presented the debate on the issue of exemption of the Pomeranian diocese in the 12th century (*ibidem*, p. 139 ff.).
[356] S. Rosik, *Bolesław…*, p. 214–216, 219, 243.

subject capable of safeguarding its own interests within the political sphere focused on the empire[357]. Thanks to Christianization and political integration with Christian neighbours, Pomeranian elites joined the civilizational sphere defined i.a., by the culture of writing, reception of Roman law, the ecclesiastical calendar, the beginnings of urbanization, and the resulting intensification of trade exchange on a continental scale. Since the 1980s these phenomena have been perceived in terms of the "Europeanization" of Europe, which has also become the subject of S. Rosik's not uncritical reflection[358].

7. Continuation of the traditional perception of Polish-Pomeranian history in German historiography after 1989

A few new syntheses of the history of Pomerania appeared in the reunified Germany after 1989, yet they hardly constitute a change in the traditional view represented by German historiography. The works which mention Polish-Pomeranian relations in the early Middle Ages include those written by Dietmar Lucht, Kyra Inachin, and the volume whose publication was supervised by Werner Buchholz. There are also works aimed at a wider audience, such as those published under the supervision of Joachim Wächter and Michael North. Most of these works, except those by M. North and K. Inachin, were a continuation of regional historiography ("Heimatgeschichte").

D. Lucht presented the oldest Polish-Pomeranian relations in quite a traditional way. He wrote that the establishment of the bishopric in Kołobrzeg resulted from the conquest of Pomerania by Mieszko I. Further on he focused on the reign of Wartislaw I, the conquest of Pomerania by Poland, and the region's Christianization. He emphasized that despite the Slavic ethnicity of the faithful, the clergy and cult practices were essentially German. The weakening of Piast rule resulted in Pomerania's independence of Poland, while the Pomeranian bishopric never became subordinated to Gniezno[359].

[357] *Ibidem*, p. 180 f.
[358] *Ibidem*, p. 201.
[359] D. Lucht, *Pommern. Geschichte, Kultur und Wirtschaft bis zum Beginn des Zweiten Weltkrieges*, Köln 1996, p. 17, 19–35.

Another author of this generation – Roderich Schmidt – wrote that Pomerania was divided into at least three parts – the eastern part with Gdańsk, the central with Sławno, and the western with Białogard and Kołobrzeg. However, in another publication he maintained that the Pomeranians were an organized tribe under the command of the duke of Gdańsk. According to R. Schmidt, Wartislaw I's Pomerania was not a tribal state but a geographical-territorial organization which emerged under Polish pressure at the beginning of the 12th century. The Piasts ultimately subordinated Pomerania and organized the first Christianizing mission led by Otto of Bamberg. Yet the second mission was sent from Merseburg with the support from Lothair III. The Pomeranian bishopric established in 1140 was subordinated directly to Rome, which protected it against the claims put forward by Gniezno and Merseburg. Schmidt also emphasized the strong ties between the Pomeranian state and Church from the beginning of its existence[360].

The subsequent generation of researchers from Germany wrote about Pomerania having accepted to a greater extent the results of Polish research (especially archaeology) and that of the German Democratic Republic. Felix Biermann observed that in the 11th and 12th centuries there were big strongholds whose emergence resulted from the changes taking place in the 10th century (which probably testifies to the influences coming from Poland). He also pointed to the evidence of contacts with the Scandinavians (Bardy-Świelubie, Menzlin, Wolin)[361], but his work fails to mention expressis verbis Polish influence.

M. North only mentions the incorporation of the Pomeranian tribal confederation into Poland by Mieszko I. The Piast rule was subsequently consolidated by constructing Gdańsk in the Vistula estuary and the establishment of the bishopric in Kołobrzeg, while in the 10th century Danish influence was felt on the coast. He observed that during the Slavic period Pomerania was the target of the expansion

[360] R. Schmidt, *Die Anfänge der pommerschen Geschichte im Spiegel schriftlicher Quellen*, [in:] *idem*, *Tausend Jahre pommersche Geschichte*, Köln 1999, p. 3, 6 ff.; *idem*, *Pommern in der frühe Herzogszeit (1124–1523)*, [in:] *Geschichte Pommerns im Überblick*, ed. J. Wächter, Greifswald 2014, p. 47 f.

[361] F. Biermann, *Der pommersche Raum in der römischen Kaiser-, Völkerwanderungs- und Slawenzeit aus archäologischer Sicht*, [in:] *Geschichte Pommerns im Überblick*, ed. J. Wächter, Greifswald 2014, p. 34, 41–43.

of the Reich, Poland, Denmark, and Brandenburg. Polish pressure was resumed by Bolesław III the Wrymouth, who resorted to Christianization as a method of integration[362].

Interestingly enough, M. North and K. Inachin interpreted the early-medieval Pomerania (as such reaching only the Odra in the west) as an entity comprising also the Polabian territories of western Pomerania. Thus, K. Inachin takes into consideration in her work the Frankish expansion to Polabia at the times of Charlemagne together with the conquest of Pomerania between the Odra and the Vistula by Mieszko I, dated to ca. 979 (this date sometimes reappears in the literature in connection with Otto II's expedition to Poland, cf. G. Labuda's views mentioned above). The author doubts whether the bishopric in Kołobrzeg was at all established in 1000 if the Pomeranians regained their independence so soon thereafter. Poland resumed exerting its pressure on Pomerania, which lasted until 1135, defeating Wartislaw I in 1121 and pushing further west. As far as Christianization is concerned, she mentioned Otto of Bamberg's two missions initiated by Poland and Germany and the establishment of an independent bishopric in 1140, which was granted exemption in 1188. The author stresses the unity of the western-Pomeranian Church and the state. In her opinion after 1135 Poland maintained its control only over the lands situated east of the Odra; in the west Pomerania was first subordinated to Albert the Bear and later – to Henry the Lion. The weakening of Saxon and Polish pressure paved the way for Danish expansion in the lands on the Baltic. The Danes competed with the Saxons for influence and thus in 1178 western Pomerania was divided into two spheres of influence between Poland and Denmark[363], ones mentioned by Saxo Grammaticus.

The synthetic work from 1999 mentioned above, written under the supervision of Werner Buchholz, is decidedly more detailed. The author of the part devoted to the Middle Ages is Rudolf Benl, who wrote that the state authority in Pomerania emerged under pressure from Poland, initially in Kołobrzeg, in the second half of the 11th century. He compared this process to what was developing in the Polabian lands, where the authority in the state of the Obodrites crystal-

[362] M. North, *Geschichte Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, München 2008, p. 10, 14–16.

[363] K. Inachin, *Die Geschichte Pommerns*, Rostock 2008, p. 12 f., 14–18.

lized[364]. In accordance with the German historiographic tradition, he wrote that in the late-10th century Poland attempted to subordinate the lands between the Odra and Vistula and introduce Christianity there. However, the effects proved short-lived and in ca. 1005 Pomerania seceded. Similarly as his predecessors, he highlighted the Christianization of Pomerania, which the Polish clergy was unable to implement and thus the mission was undertaken by Otto of Bamberg.

R. Benl stressed that by paying homage in 1135 the Wrymouth recognized the Reich's suzerainty. Thus, Wartislaw became the Reich's vassal of the second category. But it is quite possible that Polish suzerainty comprised only the Pomeranian lands as far as the Odra, while the lands situated further west were subordinated by Albert the Bear[365]. The evidence of Polish suzerainty over Pomerania is in the military assistance given to the Piasts by the sons of Wartislaw I during Frederick Barbarossa's invasion. According to R. Benl, the descendants of Ratibor I ruled in Sławno and Słupsk and had much stronger ties with Poland, also due to marrying Mieszko III's daughters who did not marry the dukes of Odranian Pomerania. The same author maintains that the contacts between Bogusław I and Mieszko III do not testify to renewing Pomerania's dependence on Poland. He traced both ducal lines from Świętopełk, the brother of Świętobor, whom he recognized as the progenitor of the Świętoborzyce family[366].

The disciples of the scholars who were the first to establish co-operation with their Polish colleagues in the 1970s represent the traditional German view of Polish-Pomeranian relations in the early Middle Ages. Their research is not confined solely to Pomerania, but comprises the broader issue of Slavic-German relations. A good example here is the synthetic work of H. Ludat's disciple, Christian Lübke, who tends to admit that the tributary territory from the times of Mieszko I (mentioned by Thietmar) was situated in the Lubusz Land and *Cidini* in the borderland area between it and Lusatia[367]. In his opinion

[364] R. Benl, *Von der Christianisierung bis zum Beginn der deutschen Siedlung*, [in:] *Pommern*, ed. W. Buchholz, Berlin 1999, p. 23, 28 ff.

[365] *Ibidem*, p. 25–29.

[366] *Ibidem*, p. 29, 32, 38.

[367] Ch. Lübke, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Slawen na Elbe und Oder (vom Jahr 900 an)*, vol. 1–4, Berlin 1984–1988; here vol. 2, no. 162, p. 227 f.; *idem*, *Das östliches Europa*, München 2004, p. 189, 194; *idem* in: R. Jaworski, Ch. Lübke, M. Müller, *Eine kleine Geschichte Polens*, Frankfurt am Main 2000, p. 35.

the dedication of the churches erected by St. Otto suggests close ties with Bamberg, while the dispute between Gniezno and Magdeburg resulted in the direct subordination of the Pomeranian bishopric to Rome[368].

8. Concluding remarks

In concluding this historiographic reflection we have to admit that the issue of the relations between Poland and Pomerania in the early Middle Ages has caused numerous problems for generations of researchers and we can firmly state that most of the urgent questions cannot be unequivocally answered. Only partly do we owe this to scant historical sources; to a much greater extent the problem is exacerbated by the view of the history of Pomerania from the perspective of a national history[369]. As a result, individual historiographies not only have striven to prove their political arguments, but have also focused only on subjects deemed significant in this context[370]. In Poland such researchers as B. Zientara and G. Labuda argued that the discussion of subjects involving the ties between Pomerania and Poland necessarily ended up highlighting the Polish traditions of the region and even more broadly – of the lands recovered in the west[371]. Edward Włodarczyk points out that the influence of Polish western thought on the historiography of the region sometimes reemerges even now[372], even contrary to the authors' intentions.

[368] Ch. Lübke, *Das östliches Europa…*, p. 280, 282; *idem* in: R. Jaworski, Ch. Lübke, M. Müller, *Eine kleine Geschichte Polens…*, p. 69 f. The popular history of Poland by Jürgen Heyde does not include any information about Polish-Pomeranian interactions and Pomerania itself, except for an indirect mention of the border along the Baltic taken from the regest of *Dagome iudex* – J. Heyde, *Geschichte Polens*, München 2006.

[369] The local Pomeranian historiography developing from the 14th century should be recognized as part of German historiography.

[370] This was emphasized by the authors of *Zalecenia Komisji UNESCO Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej i Republiki Federalnej Niemiec d/s Podręczników Szkolnych w Zakresie Historii i Geografii*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" 84, 1977, p. 131 f.

[371] B. Zientara, *Polityczne i kościelne związki…*, p. 192; G. Labuda, *Jestem Kaszubą…*, p. 488.

[372] E. Włodarczyk, *Refleksje nad pomorskimi badaniami historycznymi po 1945 r.*, [in:] *Oblicza kultury. Człowiek – poznanie – twórczość. Profesor Halinie Perkowskiej w darze*, ed. E. Kochan, P. Ziemski, Szczecin 2008, p. 217–222.

In observing the growing historiographic tradition, one may conclude that at present it is difficult to decide which part of our knowledge is rooted directly in the sources and which comes from multilayered hypotheses and the vicious circles which J. Piskorski wrote about. In any case, he himself added – something difficult to deny – that "when sources are not available, we have to resort to deduction and theories, thereby creating hypotheses on their bases. If we decided against this, we would have to abandon historical research of the Polish early Middle Ages"[373]. Therefore, it is quite important to dispense with a stricte national perspective in viewing the Polish-Pomeranian past (or German-Pomeranian, etc.) and thus not to treat Pomerania and all its "constituent elements" as a part of Poland or German Reich, but as a subject of European politics, especially in the scope of its earliest history.

Thus, contrary to the unfavourable trends in the research of Europe's regions seen in the Polish, German, and Scandinavian science, the issues involving Pomerania should be investigated from the perspective of international and interdisciplinary research teams. Following J.M. Piskorski's guidelines and S. Rosik's example, medieval studies should to a greater extent allow for the conventions and pragmatics of the scant sources which are at our disposal as well as the significance of cultural facts affecting the interpretation of events and phenomena from the past in social life and science. One way or the other, we should always bear in mind the words of that doyen of historical methodology, Marceli Handelsman: "we should be aware of the fictitiousness of certain constructions and not succumb to the allure of illusions, which after a time are adopted without any reservations as certainties"[374].

[373] J.M. Piskorski, *Pomorze…*, p. 53.

[374] M. Handelsman, *Na marginesie najnowszej literatury o najdawniejszych dziejach Polski*, [in:] *Studia Staropolskie. Księga ku czci Aleksandra Brücknera*, Kraków 1928, p. 69.

EXCURSUS: ON EARLY-MEDIEVAL POMERANIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

Wojciech Mrozowicz

In his synthetic history of medieval German historical writing published in 1887, Ottokar Lorenz, the well-known Viennese historian and continuator of Wilhelm Wattenbach's work, stated that whatever had survived of the medieval historiography of Pomerania to his own times was all but debris (*Trümmer*)[375]. This weighty conclusion expressed its author's conviction that medieval Pomeranian historiography had once been a wider phenomenon than one could expect judging from the few historiographic works known to him.

However, neither he nor any of his followers were able to specify any historiographical works written in Pomerania between the 10th and 12th century, i.e., in the period under this project's investigation. For this reason, scholars dealing with the development of Pomeranian historiography in the earliest medieval period are confined to referring to works written outside of Pomerania, foremost with the three biographies of St. Otto of Bamberg[376]. Indeed, the beginnings of independent Pomeranian historiographical work can be seen not until the mid-14th century (1347), when Augustine of Stargard wrote a small polemical treatise showing the historical arguments in favour of the independence of the Pomeranian Church from the Archbishopric of Gniezno, known as *Protocollum* or *Notula satis*

[375] O. Lorenz, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter seit der Mitte des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*, vol. 2, Berlin 1887, p. 194: "Der späteren Zeit des Mittelalters gehören die meisten Trümmer der Geschichtsschreibung Pommerns an"; similar expression in the first edition of this work: Berlin 1870, p. 171.

[376] See E. Rymar, *Dziedzictwo piśmiennicze księstwa Gryfitów ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem obszaru państwa polskiego*, "Bibliotekarz Zachodniopomorski" 41, 2000, 4, p. 11 f.; P. Migdalski, *Słowiańszczyzna północno-zachodnia…*, p. 17–60 – therein, rich bibliographic documentation; see also: *idem*, *Poland and Pomerania – from Slavic tribes to diverging roads: Tracing historiographic narratives* (within this publication).

notabilis de Pomeranorum, Stetinensium, ac Rugie principibus[377]. However, it was more a memorandum of an *ad hoc* political nature using historical argumentation, than a chronicler's study in the full sense of the term, as the title itself clearly suggests.

A critical dissection of this treatise, also from the point of view of the sources used, was carried out by Ryszard Walczak. However, it did not confirm the existence of any other historiographical works created before the end of the 12th century in Pomerania[378]. In light of this research, Augustine of Stargard appears to be an erudite who reached eagerly – because of the lack of native sources – for materials from other regions, such as the *Chronicle of the Slavs* by Helmold of Bosau, the Silesian *Chronicle of Poland*, *The Major Life of St. Stanislaus*, and perhaps the *Chronicle* by Martin of Opava and a few more documents, maybe even some catalogue of the bishops of Kamień Pomorski. Unlike O. Lorenz before him, R. Walczak – arguing with Brigida Kürbis, researcher of the *Chronicle of Greater Poland*, who assumed that its author must have been acquainted with the "historical literature" of the Western Slavic region and western Pomerania[379] – firmly contended: "There is no doubt that the *Protocollum* by Augustine of Stargard constitutes the **single** [emphasis by R. Walczak] case of reflection on this land's ancient history, not confirmed either before or contemporaneously, that was ever born in Western Pomerania"[380].

However, when juxtaposing the positions of O. Lorenz and R. Walczak, it is necessary to highlight certain arguments that could support the assumption of the former as to the existence of early Pomeranian historiographical records. They are provided as a result of contemporary codicological research. Recent queries made by Karolina K. Figaszewska in the collections of the State Archive in Szczecin, as

[377] *Notula satis notabilis de Pomeranorum, Stetinensium, ac Rugie principatu…*, p. 104–137; *Protokół*, [in:] Augustyn ze Stargardu zwany niegdyś Angelusem, *Protokół. Kamieńska kronika – Rodowód książąt pomorskich*, transl. E. Buszewicz, compiled E. Rymar, Stargard 2008 (= Stargardzkie i Pomorskie Pomniki Historiograficzne 1), p. 35–95 (Latin original and Polish translation). About this work, see esp. posthumously published insightful work by R. Walczak, *"Protocollum" augustianina-eremity zwanego Angelusem ze Stargardu. O polsko-pomorskich związkach historiograficznych w średniowieczu*, Poznań 1991.

[378] See: R. Walczak, *"Protocollum"…*, p. 197–287; see also: E. Rymar, *Wstęp*, [in:] Augustyn ze Stargardu zwany niegdyś Angelusem, *Protokół…*, p. 33 f.

[379] B. Kürbis, *Wstęp*, [in:] *Kronika wielkopolska*, transl. K. Abgarowicz, introduction B. Kürbis, Warszawa 1965, p. 30.

[380] R. Walczak, *"Protocollum"…*, p. 276.

well as the National Library and the Archives of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, have revealed more than 1,070 medieval fragments of bookbinding waste[381]. The initial recognition of these fragments allows us to state that they are mostly fragments from old codices of ecclesiastical provenance with liturgical, theological, and legal content. According to Figaszewska, detailed elaboration of these fragments will enable "at least partial reconstruction of almost completely unknown medieval book collections in western Pomerania, scattered and destroyed already during the Reformation"[382]. Although it is not known whether the announced research will succeed in finding any chronicle or annalistic records among the preserved fragments, it already sheds light on the level of writing culture in medieval Pomerania, making it more likely that unknown written testimonies will be revealed that might even confirm that interest in preserving knowledge of Pomerania's past had existed there from the beginning of the region's Christianization.

Kazimierz Ślaski has drawn attention to yet another indirect proof of the preservation of historical tradition in western Pomerania – in the form of local folk tales, ones giving the impression that they "generally date back to very distant times" and that their "thorough analysis may throw light on certain primeval issues"[383]. The same scholar, when considering the mysterious theme of the Slavic invasion of Denmark and the imprisonment of the local Prince Canute (something described in the *Chronica Polonorum* by Bishop Vincent Kadłubek), assumed the existence of a Western Slavic tradition associated with Pomerania: "one can count here on the involvement of western Pomeranian milieux, which had numerous contacts with the Danes as well as with the neighbouring Veleti and Obodrites"[384].

The likelihood of such a milieu that could have been capable of creating its own historiographical works appeared in Pomera-

[381] K.K. Figaszewska, *Fragmenty rękopisów średniowiecznych – stan badań i perspektywy badawcze. Średniowieczne fragmenty zachowane w Archiwum Państwowym w Szczecinie*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze" 57, 2019, p. 99–112. Cf. also: J. Wojtkowski, *Fragment trzech romańskich rękopisów w oprawie starodruku Miejskiej i Wojewódzkiej Biblioteki Publicznej w Szczecinie*, "Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne" 9, 1964, p. 71–77.

[382] *Ibidem*, p. 109 f.

[383] K. Ślaski, *Podania zachodnio-pomorskie jako materiał badań wczesnodziejowych*, "Przegląd Zachodni" 7, 1951, 1–2, p. 39–44, citations p. 39.

[384] *Idem*, *Wątki historyczne w podaniach o początkach Polski*, Poznań 1968, p. 84–87, citation p. 87. See also: *Magistri Vincentii…*, p. 7.

nia at the latest with the foundation of the region's first Cistercian monastery in Kołbacz in 1173. It was home to monks who came from the newly established (1151) Danish monastery in Esrom on the island of Zealand, as an affiliate Clairvaux[385]. As the Cistercians belonged to religious circles distinguished in the Middle Ages by their exceptional historiographical activity[386], it is not surprising that from the very beginning of their presence in Pomerania, the Kołbacz Cistercians became involved in preserving knowledge about the most important historical events in the region where they had settled. This resulted in the creation of an annual reference book, today known as *The Kołbacz Annals* (*Annales Colbacenses*)[387], which is considered to be not only the oldest monument of Danish or even Scandinavian annal-writing[388], but also of Pomeranian historical writing[389].

The only known manuscript of these annals, named after its adnotation *Liber sancte Marie in Colbatz*, is today stored at the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin under the call-number: Ms.

[385] Briefly about the foundation and history of the monastery, see: J. Jarzewicz, E. Rymar, *Kołbacz…*, *passim*.

[386] This phenomenon is perfectly illustrated by the example of Silesia, see: R. Heck, *Główne linie rozwoju średniowiecznego dziejopisarstwa śląskiego*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze" 22, 1977, p. 66 f.; W. Korta, *Ośrodki twórczości rocznikarskiej Śląska*, [in:] *Dawna historiografia Śląska. Materiały sesji naukowej odbytej w Brzegu w dniach 26-27 listopada 1977 r.*, Opole 1980, p. 12–26; W. Mrozowicz, *Średniowieczne śląskie dziejopisarstwo klasztorne*, [in:] *Tysiącletnie dziedzictwo kulturowe diecezji wrocławskiej*, ed. A. Barciak, Katowice 2000, p. 145–148.

[387] Editions: *Annales et notae Colbazienses*, ed. W. Arndt, [in:] MGH SS 19, Stuttgart 1866, p. 710–719; *Annales Danici Colbazenses*, ed. G. Waitz, [in:] MGH SS 19, Stuttgart 1892, p. 174–176; *Annalen des Klosters Colbatz*, [in:] *Pommersches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 1, 2: *Annalen und Abt-Reihe des Klosters Colbatz, Todtenbuch und Abt-Reihe des Klosters Neuencamp*, ed. R. Prümers, Stettin 1877, p. 467–496; *Annales Danici medii aevi. Udgivne af Selskabet for udgivelse af kilder til dansk historie med understøttelse af Carlsbergfondet*, ed. E. Jørgensen, København 1920, p. 39–43. About these Annals see also: A.K.G. Kristensen, *Danmarks ældste annalistik. Studier over lundensisk annalskrivning i 12. og 13. århundrede*, København 1969; Ł. Dziedzic-Król, *Rocznik kołbacki (przegląd badań)*, "Przegląd Zachodniopomorski" 25, 1981, 1, p. 55–72; J. Wenta, *Dziejopisarstwo w klasztorze cysterskim w Oliwie na tle porównawczym*, Gdańsk-Oliwa 1990 (= Studia Gdańskie 7: Studia Olivensia 1), p. 132–135.

[388] Ł. Dziedzic-Król, *Rocznik kołbacki…*, p. 55–57, here, the older litearture. See also: L.B. Mortensen, *Annales Lundenses (Annals of Lund)*, [in:] *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. G. Dunphy, Leiden–Boston 2010, p. 72. This encyclopaedia has not dedicated a separate entry to *The Kołbacz Annals*. It is also mentioned as the starting point of *Annales Lundenses*, whereas "a number" of the continued editing in 12th–13th centuries was allegedly lost.

[389] E. Rymar, *Dziedzictwo…*, p. 13.

theol. fol. 149[390]. Unfortunately, due to the treatment of the manuscript texts with sulfur-ammonium reagent by Wilhelm Arndt, the first publisher of the Annals, some fragments became virtually illegible for its next publisher, Rodger Prümers, in 1877[391].

The Kołbacz Annals and its calendar, all handwritten by the same scribe, had its beginnings around 1137–1150 in the Danish (now Swedish) Lund, at the initiative of the local Archbishop Eskil (in the years 1137–1177). Perhaps the centre where the manuscript was written was the Premonstratensian monastery at the Holy Trinity Church in Lund. When later, after the mid-12th century, the manuscript was found in Skåne, local obituary notes were added to the calendar. It is not clear how the manuscript made its way to the monastery in Kołbacz. This could have happened either through Premonstratensian mediation and the Pomeranian monastery of this order in Białoboki, staffed by monks from Lund, or *via* someone from the offices of Archbishop Eskil, who came with the manuscript from the monastery in Esrom to Kołbacz[392]. In any case, around the year 1180, it found itself in the new Cistercian outpost in Pomerania.

The sources for the first, general-history part of *The Kołbacz Annals* were: the greater chronicle of Isidore of Seville, the chronicle of Bede the Venerable, and some other annals or chronicle of Anglo-Saxon origin (the missing original version of *Annales Rotomagenses* is indicated here)[393]. It alternates between the history of the Roman Empire from Octavian's death in the year 17 (14) after Christ and the history

[390] Apart from footnote 387, see: V. Rose, *Verzeichniss der lateinischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, vol. 2: *Die Handschriften der Kurfürstlichen Bibliothek und der Kurfürstlichen Lande*, Abt. 3, Berlin 1905 (= Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin 13), p. 1007–1011.

[391] *Annalen des Klosters Colbatz…*, p. 493: "in einzelnen Fällen keine Spur mehr von dem, was geschrieben war, zu sehen ist". In this context, the objections raised to the edition by R. Prümers do not seem justified, e.g., as formulated E. Rymar – the monument "carelessly reprinted", see: E. Rymar, *Dziedzictwo…*, p. 13. Recent request for a new (implicitly better) edition of the Annals (P. Migdalski, *Stan i potrzeby polskojęzycznych edycji źródeł do dziejów Księstwa Pomorskiego*, [in:] *Piśmiennictwo na Pomorzu Zachodnim do końca XVIII wieku*, ed. J. Kosman, Szczecin 2015, p. 28) may necessarily be limited to reprinting the issue by R. Prümers.

[392] Overview of hypotheses, see: Ł. Dziedzic-Król, *Rocznik kołbacki…*, p. 71 f.; J. Wenta, *Dziejopisarstwo…*, p. 133 f.; also: S.M. Szacherska, *Rola klasztorów duńskich w ekspansji Danii na Pomorzu Zachodnim u schyłku XII wieku*, Wrocław 1968, p. 63–65; see also: review of this work by G. Labuda, "Rocznik Gdański" 28, 1969, p. 288.

[393] L.B. Mortensen, *Annales Lundenses…*, p. 72; Ł. Dziedzic-Król, *Rocznik kołbacki…*, p. 62 f.

of Christianity and the Church from Christ's baptism in the year 31 and his martyrdom dated to the year 35. Due to the defect in the Annals manuscript (eight cards have been cut out), there is no information for the period between St. Peter's pontificate (year 47) and the reign of Emperor Zeno the Isaurian (year 488; his death correctly dated to 491). After the interruption, also alternately and with more or less precise dates, the Annals mention the Eastern Roman emperors, the Frankish kings and major-domos, and after the renewal of the Western Empire – the emperors there; finally come the popes, later also the rulers of the Eastern Frankish monarchy, the English rulers, and others. Infrequently, information about natural disasters is intertwined into the chronicle sequence (though not always precisely located in the calendar), as well as astronomical phenomena or political events.

From the year 1030, however, the current news of Danish events are recorded, from the murder of Prince Canute Lavard in 1130 (1131, to be precise) to the conquest and Christianization of Rugia (Rügen) by the Danes in 1170 (altogether 14 records). They are complemented by four notes about Archbishop Eskil of Lund[394].

It is assumed that the first "Pomeranian" entry to the yearbook was made at the latest in the year 1183[395]. The anonymous authors of the Annals from the Kołbacz monastery made entries in the Annals until the year 1568[396], either on a current basis or with some delay (in the latter case, it is not known whether they created some temporary notes). Not all "Danish" records turned out to be equally important for them, as they replaced them with news about the spread of the Cistercian Order in Denmark and Lower-Odra Pomerania – including the foundations of monasteries in Esrom, Sørø, Doberan, and Dargun[397]. What was essential for the Cistercians of Kołbacz was to record information about their own institution and people important to them, i.e., abbots and patrons. Much

[394] Some of the notes in the manuscript were scraped off, so they are being reconstructed on the basis of *Annales Lundenses*.

[395] Introduction by R. Prümers to *Annalen des Klosters Colbatz…*, p. 470; J. Wenta, *Dziejopisarstwo…*, p. 133.

[396] In the introduction to *Annalen des Klosters Colbatz…*, p. 470, R. Prümers claimed that in Kołbacz, the Annals were written by "changing hands" ("wechselnde Hände").

[397] *Annalen des Klosters Colbatz…*, p. 482 f.; see also: Ł. Dziedzic-Król, *Rocznik kołbacki…*, p. 64.

attention was also paid to the Cistercian monastery in Oliwa, with which the Kołbacz monks maintained close relations[398]. And all this was recorded against the backdrop of the news concerning the Pomeranian region, especially the bishops of Pomerania and Kamień Pomorski, in whose diocese Kołbacz was located, as well as the princes of west Pomerania.

From the point of view of Pomeranian historical writing, the first part of *The Kołbacz Annals* is rather of limited importance. It certainly contributed to transmitting knowledge about the Christian past of Europe to Pomerania and to raising the historical culture of the region, but this is not directly reflected in the local historiographical monuments. It should also be stressed that this part of the Annals constitutes a broad historical context into which local history was incorporated. The process of editing the yearbook resembled that of editing one of the oldest monuments of Polish annalistic writings – *The Annals of the Cracow Chapter*, which referred (perhaps thanks to ties with Bohemia) to some Western, foreign annals from whence notes about the events since the creation of the world were adopted[399]. It is worth noting that the handwritten text of *The Kołbacz Annals* is preceded by, among other things, a listing of the six days of creation (fol. 1r), a compiled list of events from Adam to the Deluge (fol. 3v), and drawings showing the creation (fol. 1r-3r)[400]. In this way, both Pomeranian (and formerly Danish) annalistic activity represented by *The Kołbacz Annals*, as well

[398] J. Wenta, *Dziejopisarstwo…*, p. 133 f.; *idem*, *Zaginiony rocznik oliwski z XIII/XIV wieku*, "Zapiski Historyczne" 45, 1980, 3, p. 7–24.

[399] *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, [in:] *Najdawniejsze roczniki krakowskie i kalendarz*, ed. Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, MPH NS 5, Warszawa 1978, p. 23–43. About the problem, see e.g., T. Jasiński, *Rocznik obcy w Roczniku kapituły krakowskiej*, [in:] *Scriptura custos memoriae. Prace historyczne*, ed. D. Zydorek, Poznań 2001 (= Publikacje Instytutu Historii UAM 44), p. 217–224; *idem*, *Początki polskiej annalistyki*, [in:] *Nihil superfluum esse. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane Profesor Jadwidze Krzyżaniakowej*, ed. J. Strzelczyk, J. Dobosz, Poznań 2000 (= Publikacje Instytutu Historii UAM 33), p. 129–146; *idem*, *Zagadnienie autorstwa Rocznika obcego. Przyczynek do dziejów historiografii niemieckiej X stulecia*, "Roczniki Historyczne" 68, 2002, p. 7–25; P. Wiszewski, *Domus Bolezlai. Values and social identity in dynastic traditions of medieval Poland (c. 966–1138)*, Leiden-Boston 2010 (= East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450, 9), p. 97–99; recently A. Quéret-Podesta, *Annales Magdeburgenses Brevissimi. The Short Annals of Magdeburg and their significance in the discussion on the genesis of Czech and Polish annalistic productions*, Olomouc 2016 (= Edition Historie 5).

[400] Introduction by R. Prümers to *Annalen des Klosters Colbatz…*, p. 367; V. Rose, *Verzeichniss der lateinischen Handschriften…*, p. 1007 f.

as Polish annals, presented local history as a part of universal history, while at the same time carrying out one of the most important theological assumptions of medieval historiography – namely, that "individual history always fits into the history of Salvation"[401], which unfolds in accordance with the order established by God[402].

Admittedly, Gerard Labuda belittled the importance of these annals because "having not stepped out of the monastery's gate, it had no influence on Pomeranian historical writing"[403]. However, as Łucja Dziedzic-Król emphasized, it should be treated as "a valuable source to the history not only of the Cistercian abbey itself, but of the whole country. Above all, it is a source for determining the political awareness and mentality of the western Pomeranian state"[404], especially since the Kołbacz Cistercians belonged to the elite of this country. This is confirmed by their intellectual qualifications, lively contacts with the court of the Dukes of the Griffin dynasty, and the extent of social influence both on the inhabitants of the towns belonging to the monastery estate and those over whom they held patronage[405].

The *Kołbacz Annals* reflected the "long durée" of the monastic vision of the past in Pomeranian lands for almost four centuries. It was not used by the duke's court in Szczecin in the above *Protocollum* of Augustine of Stargard, which was created shortly before the mid-14th century. As a source, the *Protocollum* itself found recognition in the eyes of the later Pomeranian historiographer, already working at the beginning of modern times. This was the famous later reformer Johannes Bugenhagen (d. 1558), who in 1518 developed the first complete history of the region, entitled *Pomerania*. Because of him, some of the ideas from Augustine's treatise came to the work

[401] J. Leclercq, *Miłość nauki a pragnienie Boga*, transl. M. Borkowska, Kraków 1997 (= Źródła Monastyczne 14: Opracowania 1), p. 183–191, citation p. 187.

[402] On the theological assumptions of medieval historiography, see e.g., O. Engels, *Geschichte / Geschichtsschreibung / Geschichtsphilosophie VI*, [in:] *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, vol. 12, Berlin–New York 1984, p. 611–621; H.-W. Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewußtsein im hohen Mittelalters*, Berlin ²2008 (= Orbis mediaevalis. Vorstellungswelten des Mittelalters 1), p. 130 f.; *idem*, *Zum Geschichtsbewußtsein in der alämannisch-schweizerischen Klosterchronistik des hohen Mittelalters*, "Deutsches Archiv für Erforschungs des Mittelalters" 44, 1988, p. 455–488, esp. 464–466.

[403] G. Labuda, *Przedmowa*, [in:] R. Walczak, *"Protocollum"…*, p. 3.

[404] Ł. Dziedzic-Król, *Rocznik kołbacki…*, p. 72.

[405] See esp. H. Hoogeweg, *Die Stifter und Klöster der Provinz Pommern*, vol. 1, Stettin 1924, p. 243–246, 248, 259–265.

under the same title – namely, the one written by the most eminent pre-modern historian of Pomerania, Thomas Kantzow (d. 1542)[406].

Although Pomeranian-Polish relations between the 10th and 12th centuries abounded in various events, especially those related to the conquest and subordination of Pomerania by Polish rulers and the region's Christianization, they were only reflected to a certain extent in the *Protocollum* of Augustine of Stargard. What is also characteristic is his questioning of Poland's role in introducing Christianity in Pomerania and at the same time emphasizing the merits of St. Otto of Bamberg, the Apostle of Pomerania[407]. As already mentioned, Augustine used some Polish historiographical works, however only those created from the mid-13th century. He was probably not familiar with the oldest Polish chronicle of Gallus Anonymous (d. after 1116), who devoted a lot of attention to Pomerania and Pomeranian affairs[408], judging Pomeranians harshly and using many pejorative terms to discredit them, especially in the eyes of Polish readers[409]. In any case, in light of the currently available source materials, not only before the end of the 12th century, but also before the times of Augustine of Stargard, Polish-Pomeranian (and *vice versa*) historiographical exchange of any kind is not evident[410].

[406] About the early modern-day historians-chroniclers of Pomerania, see esp. P. Migdalski, *Słowiańszczyzna…*, p. 67–71; P. Śliżewski, *Między badawczą rzetelnością a mitem. Tomasz Kantzow (1505–1542) – wczesny prekursor nowoczesnej historiografii Pomorza Zachodniego*, "Przegląd Zachodniopomorski" 34 (63), 2019, 3, p. 5–30.

[407] See *Protokół…*, p. 58, 60, 62, 64.

[408] P. Migdalski, *Słowiańszczyzna…*, p. 39–41; *idem*, *Poland and Pomerania…*, p. 35 f.

[409] A. Aurast, *Fremde, Freunde, Feinde. Wahrnehmung und Bewertung von Fremden in den Chroniken des Gallus Anonymus und des Cosmas von Prag*, Bochum 2019, p. 93–98; see also: J. Hertel, *Pomorze w myśli politycznej elity intelektualnej wczesnośredniowiecznej Polski (Anonim Gall i Wincenty Kadłubek)*, "Zapiski Historyczne" 47, 1982, 4, p. 53–80.

[410] The missionary theme related to St. Otto of Bamberg, which appeared in the 2nd half of the 13th century in the Silesian *Rocznik kamieniecki I* [*Annals of Kamieniec I*], had its source in hagiographic literature and most probably penetrated Silesia through Bamberg, see: W. Mrozowicz, *Ślady kultu św. Ottona z Bambergu na Śląsku*, [in:] *Biskup Otton z Bambergu i jego świat*, ed. M. Rębkowski, S. Rosik (= Wolińskie Spotkania Mediewistyczne 4), Wrocław 2018, p. 319–335.

2

POLAND – POMERANIA – THE BALTIC. EXPANSION AND DOMINATION

I

Starting point: *civitates* in the world of the tribes between the Baltic Sea and the line of the Carpathians and Sudetes (9th century)

The Slavic tribes inhabiting the territories of what in the 10th century became early Piast Poland, and of Pomerania, still coming into being in the 11th century, are very laconically described in the sources written at the time. What scholars can do to incorporate those societies into the civilizational zone that extended across Europe on the threshold of the second millennium is to give more recognition to the wider comparative context, especially to areas occupied by the West Slavs. Beginning already during the tribal period, processes were underway that brought that pivotal event closer, like the emergence of towns and power centres that had the potential to play a state-forming role. Archaeological excavations continue to have fundamental meaning in this research field; however, they do flesh out the skeleton of issues defined by the interpretations of written sources since at least the 19th century.

(Editor)

1. From the world of sources to the world of tribes (prolegomena)

Stanisław Rosik

The intellectual strata of the lands that belonged to *Christianitas* in the Early Middle Ages adjusted their language – especially

terms that appeared in classical Latin – to the new social and political institutions and also new economic conditions that were present in the non-Romanized areas of Europe[411]. In the case of the territories of the West Slavs, tribal communities were usually referred to as *gens*, *nation*, or *populus*, while ethnic groups were also called *gens* or *genus*. The territories occupied by those societies were usually labeled as *regio*, *terra*, *provintia*, or *pagus*, and the leaders who held supreme power as *rex*, *dux*, *princeps*, or e.g. *regulus* or *subregulus*. Terms defining elites also appear: *primores*, *proceres*, *principes*, *nobiles*, etc.[412]

Such terms helped to characterize the structure and functioning of the societies[413] ruled by a *veche* (*wiec* in Polish)[414] which sometimes dominated so much that it prevented the formation of supreme ducal power[415]. Associated with a *veche* was a religious factor, represented by a sanctuary, priests who managed offerings, and an oracle[416]. An

[411] For more on this issue, taking into account regional and chronological differences in using particular terms, *via* the example of the word *civitas*, see: M. Bláhová, *Proměny termínu civitas mezi antikou a pozdním středověkem*, [in:] *Polska – Pomorze – sąsiedzi…*, p. 17–33.

[412] See e.g. L. Leciejewicz, *Słowianie zachodni. Z dziejów tworzenia się średniowiecznej Europy*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1989, p. 97 f.; L.A. Tyszkiewicz, *Słowianie w historiografii wczesnego średniowiecza od połowy VI do połowy VII wieku*, Wrocław 1991 (= Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis. Historia 63); P. Boroń, *Kniaziowie, królowie, carowie… Tytuły i nazwy władców słowiańskich we wczesnym średniowieczu*, Katowice 2010; and also: K. Modzelewski, *Wielki krewniak, wielki wojownik, wielki sąsiad. Król w oczach współplemieńców*, [in:] *Monarchia w średniowieczu. Władza nad ludźmi, władza nad terytorium*, ed. J. Pysiak, A. Pieniądz, M. Pauk, Warszawa–Kraków 2002, p. 47–71; Ch. Lübke, *Ests, Slavs and Saxons: ethnic groups and political structures*, [in:] *Wulfstan's voyage: the Baltic Sea region in the early Viking Age as seen from shipboard*, ed. A. Englert, A. Trakadas, Roskilde 2009 (= Maritime Culture of the North 2), p. 50–57; R. Kasperski, *Frankowie i Obodryci: tworzenie "plemion" i "królów" na słowiańskim Połabiu w IX wieku*, [in:] *Granica wschodnia cywilizacji zachodniej w średniowieczu*, ed. Z. Dalewski, Warszawa 2014, p. 55–113.

[413] Sometimes the ethnonym itself functioned as the name for both people and territory, see e.g., Thietmar I, 4: about the Chutici tribe ("in pago Chutizi"; cf. II, 37: "in pago Chutici"); similarly Glomacze (V, 36: "pagus, qui Zlomizi dicitur"), Dziadoszanie (IV, 45: "ad Diedesisi pagum"; cf. VI, 57: *Diedesi*) and Ślężanie (VII, 59: "in pago Silensi"). cf. S. Rosik, *Kształtowanie się Śląska (do 1163 r.). Czynniki integracji regionalnej*, "Sobótka" 67, 2012, 4, p. 31–52.

[414] See P. Boroń, *Słowiańskie wiece plemienne*, Katowice 1999; K. Modzelewski, *Barbarzyńska Europa…*, p. 345 ff.

[415] This is what happened in the case of the Lutician federation, as Thietmar emphasizes. For recent discussions of the issue, see: T. Skonieczny, *Przeobrażenia społeczno-ustrojowe w kręgu obodrzycko-wieleckim X–XII w. (ujęcie modelowe)*, [in:] *Polska – Pomorze – sąsiedzi…*, p. 157 ff. (with further literature).

[416] See: the temples of Svarožič in Radogošč, Triglav in Szczecin, and Svantevit in Arkona on the island of Rügen. What all those cult and assembly (*veche*) centres have in common is the presence of an oracle and hippomancy. The sacred grove of the god

analogous model of organized social life also emerges from ancient and medieval accounts regarding e.g. the Germans[417]. On the one hand, the uniformity of the image of barbarians in the literature resulted from real similarities in the functioning of tribal communities, representing various ethne, but on the other hand, from the way they had been presented by the authors in the past.

Over the centuries they co-created a kind of common tradition of shaping views on "foreigners", conditioned by stereotypical evaluations and opinions (especially topoi), and this was continued even after the worldview had been changed by Christianization. *Barbari* became therefore a synonym of *pagani*, *gentiles*, and at the same time established the tendency to stereotypically emphasize both their negative features – such as wildness, cruelty, and the idolatry ever since associated with paganism – and their positive ones: hospitality, contempt of wealth, severity of manners[418]. Stereotypes initially conditioned by religious evaluation also existed, but eventually it was more tightly connected with imputation of cultural inferiority, like "dogs" (*canes*)[419]. In this intellectual context, the barbarians gained a fixed position in cosmography and common memory about the past, sometimes legendary.

In the case of historiography and hagiography, being the core source bases for the further chapters of this work, their shape was influenced not only by the literary conventions and worldview

named Prove in the land of the Wagrians, where a *veche* gathered, can serve as an analogy (cf. *Helmoldi presbyteri Bozoviensis Cronica Slavorum*, edd. B. Schmeidler, MGH SSrerGerm in usum scholarum, Leipzig 1937 [further: Helmold], I, 84). See: L.P. Słupecki, *Slavonic Pagan Sanctuaries*, Warsaw 1994, p. 161; K. Modzelewski, *Barbarzyńska Europa…*, p. 375 f.; S. Rosik (with cooperation of K. Wachowiak), *W lesie gaj, ale święty. Uwagi o urządzeniu i funkcjonowaniu głównego sanktuarium w ziemi starogardzkiej (na podstawie przekazu Hemolda z Bozowa, XII w.)*, [in:] *Studia z historii społecznej*, ed, M. Goliński, S. Rosik, Wrocław 2012 (= Scripta Historica Medievalia 2), p. 153–158; S. Rosik, *The Slavic Religion…*, p. 330 ff.

[417] See, especially: K. Modzelewski, *Barbarzyńska Europa…*, *passim*.

[418] *Ibidem*, p. 17 ff.

[419] Already in the Chronicle of Fredegar from the 8th c. (*Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii scholastici libri IV cum continationibus*, ed. B. Krusch, [in:] MGH SSrerMerov 2, Hannover 1888, IV, 68), and later in the chronicles of Adam of Bremen (*Magistri Adam Bremensis Gesta Hammmaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*, ed. B. Schmeidler, MGH SSrerGerm in usum scholarum, Leipzig 1917 [further: Adam], schol. 30) and Helmold of Bosau (Helmold I, 16). The information contained in those works indicates that the authors disapproved of degrading the Slavs by labeling them as such. See L.A. Tyszkiewicz, *Słowianie w historiografii wczesnego średniowiecza…*, p. 138 ff.; S. Rosik, *The Slavic Religion…*, p. 237, 289 ff.

of the authors, but also by their various purposes, e.g., the paraenesis or theological interpretation of history. These works also refer to non-literary areas of the cultural interpretation of the world of the barbarians, something that manifests itself in the attitude towards them in political contacts or religious practices and beliefs, especially in the context of the Christianizing missions that were carried out on their territories. These spheres of activity are tightly connected, in turn, with the source heritage in the form of various liturgical and legal regulations, both church and state ones[420]. Separately discussed should be diplomatic and epistolographic materials concerning the world of the barbarians and also its relics within the societies and cultures embraced by Christian monarchies. References to the *Barbaricum* in iconography can be of importance as well[421].

All those various interpretations of the world of the barbarians – especially in narrative sources and cosmography – express how they were encountered in the socio-cultural environment of their neighbours and at the same time "domesticated" in the intellectual life of the relevant circle of European civilization, which they co-created as well. Initially this took place through external interactions and eventually by being incorporated into European civilization, together with their own input and creative reception of its elements. A pivotal moment here occurred when the societies of the *Barbaricum* came under the rule of a Christian monarchy – in the case of the West Slavs both foreign expansion and local state-forming processes were possible. In both situations what was characteristic was the emergence of a system of authority that was based on centres repeatedly referred to in the contemporary sources with the term *civitas*. What is important, this word was also used to describe tribal centres. The changes in the meaning of *civitas* noticeable in the medieval sources coincided with the decline of tribal structures in favour of the state- and town-forming transformations.

[420] The instructions for neophytes in western Pomerania given by Otto of Bamberg are worth mentioning here. See below, p. 439 f.

[421] A clear-cut example are the depictions of the Prussians on the famous Gniezno Doors from the 12th c. (see below, p. 248 f.).

2. The key to recognizing civilizational changes in the basin of the Vistula and Odra rivers in the Early Middle Ages: *civitas* (from *The Bavarian Geographer* to *Thietmar's Chronicle*)

Marie Bláhová and Stanisław Rosik

The main source for studies of the Slavic tribes inhabiting the territories of the future early Piast Poland and Pomerania is *The Bavarian Geographer*, or *Descriptio civitatum et regionum ad septentrionalem plagam Danubii*[422], until recently dated almost unanimously to the mid-9th c.[423] The number of centres called *civitas* was given for most of the peoples included in the description. During the discussions over the past generations it has been suggested that the term does not necessarily refer to a specific centre, stronghold, or settlement – but the whole district[424]. However, this interpretation is not well supported by research into the genesis of the record, created in a late Carolinian milieu.

[422] *Descriptio civitatum et regionum ad septentrionalem plagam Danubii*, ed. B. Horák, D. Trávniček, [in:] *iidem*, *Descriptio civitatum et regionum ad septentrionalem plagam Danubii (t. zv. Bavorský geograf)*, "Rozpravy Československé Akademie Věd" 66, 1956, 2, p. 2 f.; *Descriptio civitatum et regionum ad septentrionalem plagam Danubii*, ed. L. Havlík, [in:] Magnae Moraviae fontes historici 3. Diplomata, epistolae, textus historici varii, ed. D. Bartoňková, L. Havlík, I. Hrbek, J. Ludvíkovský, R. Večerka, Brno 1969, p. 285–291. It is worth mentioning that the Byzantine accounts on the Slavs (precisely *Sklavenoi*) from the 6th and 7th c. refer to those territories as well, see below, p. 552 f.

[423] See H. Łowmiański, *O pochodzeniu Geografa bawarskiego*, "Roczniki Historyczne" 20, 1951–1952, p. 9–23; B. Horák, D. Trávniček, *Descriptio civitatum et regionum…*, p. 5 ff. J. Nalepa, *Geograf Bawarski*, [in:] *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich. Encyklopedyczny zarys kultury Słowian od czasów najdawniejszych do schyłku wieku XII* [further: SSS], vol. 2, ed. W. Kowalenko, G. Labuda, T. Lehr-Spławiński, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1964, p. 93 f. Recently, the trend may be noticed to revise the time the work had been written or edited in its final version and move the chronology to the 10th century. For this discussion see: J. Nalepa, *O nowszym ujęciu problematyki plemion słowiańskich u Geografa Bawarskiego. Uwagi krytyczne*, "Slavia Occidentalis" 60, 2003, p. 9–63, esp. p. 10; S. Rossignol, *Überlegungen zur Datierung des Traktates des sog. Bayerischen Geographen anhand paläographischer und kodikologischer Beobachtungen*, [in:] *Der Wandel um 1000. Beiträge der Sektion zur slawischen Frühgeschichte der 18. Jahrestagung des Mittel- und Ostdeutschen Verbandes für Altertumsforschung in Greifswald, 23. bis 27. März 2009*, ed. F. Biermann, Th. Kersting, A. Klammt, Langenweissbach 2011 (= Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Mitteleuropas 60), p. 305–316.

[424] B. Horák, D. Trávniček, *Descriptio civitatum et regionum…*, p. 3; H. Łowmiański, *O identyfikacji nazw Geografa bawarskiego*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze" 3, 1958, p. 6. Maybe even a neighborly community hypothetically named "opole" (about "opole" see: K. Modzelewski, *Chłopi w monarchii wczesnopiastowskiej*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1987, p. 26–36, 173–192).

Although Isidore of Seville (d. in 630) still defined *civitas* in the ancient way, as a community of citizens (*cives*)[425], e.g., a town or a city, already in his days, in the neighbouring realm of the Franks a different tendency was present, one clearly visible in the work of Gregory of Tours who treated *civitates* above all as the centres of state and church administration together with the dependent areas[426]. Similarly, in numerous documents from the Merovingian period the term referred to the administrative centres of earlier, Gallo-Roman origin[427]. In later historiographic sources, in turn, such as the Chronicle of Fredegar from the 8th century, *civitas* appears mainly in reference to fortified centres[428], and thus to strongholds on the Slavic territories[429].

This direction of interpretation seems to be the most accurate in the case of *The Bavarian Geographer*[430], which is indicated also by the premises in the same text, where it mentions the power of some

[425] Isidor Hispalensis, *Etymologiarum libri XX*, Book XV, *De aedificiis et agris*, chap. 2: *De edificiis publicis*: "Civitas est hominum multitudo societatis vinculo adunata, dicta a civibus, id est ab ipsis incolis urbis [pro eo quod plurimorum consciscat et contineat vitas]. Nam urbs ipsa moenia sunt, civitas autem non saxa, sed habitatores vocantur…", http://www.enciclopedia-dacica.ro/?operatie=subiect&locatie=izvoare_latine&fisier=Isidorus_Hispalensis_-_Etymologiarum_libri_XX [18.1.2015]. Cf. V. Smith, *Civitas (Roman)*, [in:] *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, London 1875, p. 291–293; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Civitas [9.11.2011]; *Der neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike*, ed. H. Cancik, H. Schneider, vol. 2: *Ark–ci*, Stuttgart–Weimar 1996, col. 1224. See: M. Bláhová, *Proměny termínu civitas…*, p. 18–20. A similar understanding of the term *civitas* in reference to the urban communities appears in the description of Pomeranian towns from the 12th c. and later from the 13th c. regarding the towns located under German law.

[426] M. Bláhová, *Terminologie sídlišť v pramenech doby merovejské*, [in:] AUC phil. et hist. 5, Z pomocných věd historických 4, Praha 1980, p. 7–47.

[427] *Ibidem*, p. 28–30, 35.

[428] *Ibidem*, p. 17.

[429] See W. Schlesinger, *Burg und Stadt*, [in:] *Aus Verfassungs- und Landesgeschichte, Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von Theodor Mayer dargebracht von seinen Freunden und Schülern*, vol. 1: *Zur Allgemeinen und Verfassungsgeschichte*, Lindau–Konstanz 1954, p. 147 f.; H. Andersson, *Urbanisierte Ortschaften und lateinische Terminologie. Studien zur Geschichte des nordeuropäischen Städtewesens vor 1350*, Göteborg 1971, p. 22; M. Bláhová, *Evropská sídliště v latinských pramenech období raného feudalismu*, Praha 1986, p. 75; *eadem*, *Proměny termínu civitas…*, p. 20 f.; S. Rossignol, *Civitas in Early Medieval Central Europe - Stronghold or District?*, "The Medieval History Journal" 14, 2011, 1, p. 76–80.

[430] See commentary in: *Descriptio civitatum et regionum ad septentrionalem plagam Danubii…*, ed. L. Havlík, p. 285 ff.; S. Rossignol, *Civitas in Early Medieval Central Europe…*, p. 85–89; S. Rosik, *O "rozpoznawaniu" civitas w świecie słowiańskich plemion (tzw. Geograf Bawarski a łacińskie przekazy z XI–XII w.). Uwagi do dyskusji nad kształtowaniem się pojęcia grodu*, [in:] *Funkcje grodów w państwach wczesnośredniowiecznej Europy Środkowej. Społeczeństwo, gospodarka, ideologia*, ed. K. Chrzan, K. Czapla, S. Moździoch, Głogów–Wrocław 2014, p. 37–42.

tribes in connection with *civitas* (or *urbs*)[431]. From the perspective of the Kingdom of the East Franks, who kept extending their influence in the lands of their neighbours the evaluation of their military potential was quite significant. In relation to the lands neighbouring with future Poland and Pomerania, the description mentions the Prussians[432] as well as the Rus'[433] and Slavic tribes of the future Ruthenia and its steppe neighbours. The most reliable data in the *The Bavarian Geographer* refers to the area of Polabia (Elbeland), Bohemia, and Moravia.

In reference to the territories of Early Piast Poland, the southern part, beginning with the areas of future Silesia, appears to be quite optimistic. Later written sources confirm the presence of the tribes mentioned in *The Bavarian Geographer* – namely, the Dziadoszanie (20 *civitates*) and Ślężanie (15 *civitates*), wheres the Golęszyce (5 *civitates*) are confirmed in the toponomastic material, as are the *Opolini* hypothetically interpreted as Opolanie (in connection to the town of Opole). The *Lupiglaa* (30) remain a mystery[434]. The list is complemented by the "Lower Silesian" tribes named Trzebowianie (*Trebouane*)[435] and *Pobarane*[436], later mentioned in the Prague

[431] *Expressis verbis* the defensive character of the "towns" was mentioned in the case of the mysterious people of *Sittici* (the Scythians?). It was also said that the Bulgars were so powerful that they did not need many *civitates*. Cf. *Descriptio civitatum…*, p. 2 f. See S. Rosik, *O "rozpoznawaniu" civitas…*, p. 38 f.

[432] Already in this period the Vistula was considered the western border of the Prussian lands, which is indicated by the 9th-century account of the sailor named Wulfstan, known from the work King Alfred the Great. Wulfstan identified the river as a border between the land of the Prussians (*Witland*) and the Slavs (*Weonodland*). Cf. *Otera norweskiego i Wulfstana periplus*, [in:] MPH 1, ed. A. Bielowski, Lwów 1864, p. 11.

[433] *Ruzzi* (cf. *Descriptio civitatum…*, p. 2 f.). The Scandinavian Rus' could have been perceived at that time as a "khaganate" gradually extending their sovereignty over the Slavic tribes, see e.g., W. Duczko, *Ruś Wikingów. Historia obecności Skandynawów we wczesnośredniowiecznej Europie Wschodniej*, transl. N. Kreczmar, Warszawa 2007, p. 17 ff., 169 ff.

[434] See *Descriptio civitatum…*, p. 2 f. The seats of *Lupiglaa* are sometimes associated with the Głubczyce Plateau (e.g., J. Tyszkiewicz, *Geografia historyczna Polski w średniowieczu. Zbiór studiów*, Warszawa 2003, p. 39 ff.), but this is rather a free association with the name Głubczyce, S. Rosik, *The formation of Silesia (to 1163). Factors of regional integration*, [in:] *The long formation of the Region Silesia (c. 1000–1526)*, ed. P. Wiszewski, Wrocław 2013 (= Cuius regio? Ideological and Territorial Cohesion of the Historical Region of Silesia (c. 1000–2000) 1), p. 49.

[435] The so-called Prague Document is a counterfeit of the foundation charter of the diocese in Prague (973), dated to the 1086. See: *Codex diplomaticus Silesiae*, ed. K. Maleczyński, vol. 1, Wrocław 1951, no 8, p. 25.

[436] *Ibidem*.



Map 1. The tribes between the Carpathian and Sudeten mountains and the Baltic, as mentioned by the Bavarian Geographer

Document (from 1086). The latter, interpreted as the Bobrzanie living in the areas situated on the Bóbr river[437], are thought to be neighbours of the tribe known from *The Bavarian Geographer*, the Bieżuńczanie (2 *civitates*)[438], who shared a border with

[437] This is the traditional interpretation see. e.g., L. Tyszkiewicz, *Plemiona słowiańskie we wczesnym średniowieczu*, [in:] *Słowiańszczyzna w Europie średniowiecznej*, vol. 1, ed. Z. Kurnatowska, Wrocław 1996, p. 51 f.; W. Korta, *Historia Śląska do roku 1763*, ed. M. Derwich, Warszawa 2003, p. 48–51. At the end of the 20th century, an alternative proposal appeared to hypothetically combine the name *Pobarane* with archaeologically confirmed settlements on the Obra river on the border zone between Silesia and Greater Poland (S. Moździoch, *Społeczność plemienna Śląska w IX–X wieku*, [in:] *Śląsk około roku 1000. Materiały z sesji naukowej we Wrocławiu w dniach 14–15 maja 1999 roku*, ed. M. Młynarska-Kaletynowa, E. Małachowicz, Wrocław 2000, p. 25–71).

[438] *Besunsani*; cf. *Descriptio civitatum…*, p. 2 f. Based on Thietmar's chronicle, in their neighborhood the following tribes were to be located: *Zara* between the rivers Bóbr and

the Lusatians. From the area of the future Małopolska (Lesser Poland), the tribes named Wiślanie[439] and Lędzianie (98 *civitates*)[440] can be found in the discussed source, and further east is the tribe of Bużanie (131 *civitates*), who were probably named due to their location on the Bug river[441].

The number of *civitates* attributed to the "Silesian" tribes can be considered the most plausible, at least concerning the order of magnitude, which cannot be said about the information on the *Glopeani*, hypothetically located in the area of Greater Poland or Kuyavia (on Lake Gopło as the alleged Goplans) – 400 *civitates*[442]. The number seems to have a symbolic meaning used to emphasize abundance and it is possible that in this part of the text the name of the tribe was given *pars pro toto*, talking collectively about a vast and less recognized area. We can explain in a similar way the large number of 70 *civitates* associated with each of the two tribes that are hypothetically connected with Pomerania: *Prissani* as presumably the Pyrzyczanie, whose existence has no other written confirmations[443], and *Velunzani*

Nysa Łużycka, and *Selpoli* (hypothetically Słupianie in Polish), west of the second river. See L. Leciejewicz, *Słowianie zachodni. Z dziejów tworzenia się średniowiecznej Europy*, Wrocław 1989, p. 61 f.; see also D. Kalhous, *The Anatomy of a Duchy: The Political and Ecclesiastical Structures of Early Přemyslid Bohemia*, Leiden–Boston 2012 (= East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450, 19), p. 63 f.

[439] *Vislane* – cf. *Descriptio civitatum…*, p. 2 f. The mention on the land called *Visle* in the description of Germania of King Alfred, cf. *Króla Alfreda opis Germanii*, [in:] MPH 1, ed. A. Bielowski, Lwów 1864, p. 13, and also that of the powerful pagan prince in *Wisle* from *The Life of St. Methodius* (*The Pannonian Legend*), are also hypothetically associated with that tribe (see: *Żywot ś. Metodego*, [in:] *ibidem*, chap. 11, p. 107).

[440] *Lendizi* – cf. *Descriptio civitatum…*, p. 2 f. Their presence is confirmed i.a. by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik, English transl. R.J.H. Jenkins, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 1, Washington 1967, chap. 9, p. 56; chap. 37, p. 168; cf. *Z Konstantyna Porfirogenety. O zarządzie państwa*, [in:] MPH 1, ed. A. Bielowski, Lwów 1864, p. 16, 42).

[441] *Busani* – *Descriptio civitatum…*, p. 2 f.; see L. Leciejewicz, *Słowiańszczyzna zachodnia*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1976, p. 65.

[442] *Descriptio civitatum…*, p. 2 f.; D. Poppe, *Glopeani*, [in:] SSS, vol. 2, p. 107 f.; L. Leciejewicz, *Słowiańszczyzna zachodnia…*, p. 62.

[443] *Descriptio civitatum…*, p. 2 f. See e.g., H. Łowmiański, *O identyfikacji nazw Geografa bawarskiego*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze" 3, 1958, p. 1–22; G. Labuda in: *Historia Pomorza…*, vol. 1, p. 293; J.M. Piskorski, *Pomorze…*, p. 50. The mention on an annual celebration that attracted people and a *veche* that was supposed to have taken place during the mission of St. Otto of Bamberg in 1124 indicate that a kind of tribal organization connected with the Pyrzyczanie/Pyritzans could have existed. See P. Boroń, *Zgromadzenie ludowe w Pyrzycach w 1124 roku. Relikt plemienny czy wiec grodowo-miejski*, [in:] *Wieki stare i nowe*, vol. 1, ed. I. Panic, M.W. Wanatowicz, Katowice 2000 (= Prace Naukowe Uniwersytetu Śląskiego 1916), p. 30–54.

interpreted as the Wolinians (Volinians)[444], well confirmed in later sources[445] and associated with the Veletian zone[446].

Regardless of the accuracy of the proposed assumption regarding the possible amplification of the number of *civitates* of the aforementioned tribes, it must be stated – especially taking into consideration the archaeological material – that there were more concentrations of settlement in the area of Poland and Pomerania than mentioned in *The Bavarian Geographer.* We have to bear in mind that in terms of the accuracy of the numbers of tribes given and their names, the Slavic territories could have been treated unequally. We also have to take into account that some of the communities of uncertain localization also lived in the discussed area, one stretching from the Carpathians to the Baltic Sea[447].

Indicating the military value of those *civitates* as the most plausible factor that dictated their mention in *The Bavarian Geographer* does not

444 *Descriptio civitatum…*, p. 2 f. One of the arguments that supports the identification of *Velunzani* with the Volinians is the version of Wolin's name – "Velunecz" – in *The Chronicle of Greater Poland* from the 13th c.; see e.g., L. Leciejewicz, *Wolinianie*, [in:] SSS, vol. 6, p. 564; A. Wędzki, *Uelunzani*, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 248; J.M. Piskorski, *Pomorze…*, p. 50.

445 Their existence is confirmed by Widukind of Corvey (Widukind III, 69) and Adam of Bremen (Adam II, 19). The information on the people of "Wltaba" who have a huge "city of twelve gates" in Ibrahim ibn Yaqub's account of his travel from ca. 965 can be also related to them (L. Leciejewicz, *Początki nadmorskich miast…*, p. 26, 165; H. Bollnow, *Studien zur Geschichte der pommerschen Burgen und Städte im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, Köln–Graz 1964, p. 8 f.; J. Strzelczyk, *Mieszko I*, Poznań 1992, p. 43 f.; W. Filipowiak, *Wollin – ein frühmittelalterliches Zentrum an der Ostsee*, [in:] *Europas Mitte um 1000…*, vol. 1, p. 154). What is striking in the account is using numbers that are prone to symbolic interpretation, and what's more, it is known from a few centuries later records, which negatively impacts the evaluation of the reliability of the description's details.

446 *Livilni*, hypothetically identified with Wolin, in the work of Thietmar (IV, 33) is the town associated with the Lutici (Veleti). Despite the discussions whether the Volinians belonged to the Veletian/Lutician Federation or not, it is difficult to deny the they kept close contacts with the Veleti (see e.g., G. Labuda, *Wolinianie – plemię pomorskie czy wieleckie?*, [in:] *Studia nad etnogenezą Słowian i kulturą Europy wczesnośredniowiecznej*, vol. 2, ed. G. Labuda, S. Tabaczyński, Wrocław 1988, p. 65–76). The Veleti themselves are also well confirmed in *The Bavarian Geographer* (cf. *Descriptio civitatum…*, p. 2 f.), which is worth noting, considering e.g., the expansion of the West-Pomeranian Duchy to their territories in the 12th c.

447 In the discussion on the origins of *The Bavarian Geographer* a compilation of several descriptions is taken into account (see. J. Nalepa, *Geograf Bawarski*, [in:] SSS, vol. 2, p. 93 f.; S. Rossignol, *Überlegungen zur Datierung…*, p. 307–310), which could explain the irregularity in accuracy of particular parts of the text. In the area of the future Piast monarchy, based on assumptions, e.g., the tribe named *Verizane* (10 *civitates*) is also located, maybe even in Pomerania, however, an alternative concept associates them with Bohemia. See L. Leciejewicz, *Słowiańszczyzna zachodnia…*, p. 62 f.; A. Wędzki, *Uerizane*, [in:] SSS, vol. 6, p. 248 f.



Il. 2. Przytoń. A stronghold from ca. 900 AD – bird's eye view



Il. 3. Starogard Łobeski. A stronghold from the second half of the 10th century

close the discussion on their functions. Worth considering is the possibility that among those centres there were communities of neighbours hypothetically called "opole". Moreover, we have to bear in mind that further strongholds might have appeared as a result of the erosion of this kind of tribal structures; in that case they would be the seats of local leaders who endeavored to build their own realms[448]. Here one may speak about the formation of the phenomenon of the "great neighbour", a ruler dominating over the rest of the tribal community, pursuing to establish a monarchy[449]. In the case of some tribes, which is clearly illustrated by the example of the Obodrites between the 8th and 12th c., the tendency to form a monarchy was of constant character, and was connected with the will to subordinate the neighbouring tribes, and sometimes also to join together with the political and religious zone of *Christianitas*[450].

Similar elements can be found in the traditional model of the origins of Poland, as cultivated in scholarship since the 19th c., which is based on the assumption that the state was formed as a result of the unification of neighbouring tribes by the ruler of the Polans. However, in the last three decades this approach has been challenged, and at this stage of research what seems most probable is that the early Piast monarchy emerged as an alternative to the tribal structures[451]. The formation of a network of strongholds in the statehood's cradle in Greater Poland in the second quarter of the 10th c. was of fundamental meaning for the genesis of the Polish monarchy. Even if they were founded upon the basis of earlier settlements, as a whole they comprised a new post-tribal organization.

448 This was the interpretation of the emergence of smaller strongholds around the stronghold in Chodlik, functioning and dominating in the Chodlik Valley in the 8th c. (see A. Pleszczyński, *Chodlik civitas – charakter i losy pewnej słowiańskiej wczesnośredniowiecznej wspólnoty zajmującej Kotlinę Chodelską (VIII–X w.)*, [in:] *Polska – Pomorze – sąsiedzi…*, p. 35–51). Analogous phenomenon seems to confirm this in the case of the Wkrzanie tribe in the 11th/12th c. building a strong centre of power in Stolpe on the Odra river, located peripherally in relation to the centre of their ecumene. See F. Biermann, *Datierung, Kontext und kulturhistorische Einordnung der Gräber von Stolpe*, [in:] *Das slawische Gräberfeld von Stolpe…*, p. 301–314.

449 K. Modzelewski, *Wielki krewniak…*, p. 47–71.

450 T. Skonieczny, *Przeobrażenia społeczno-ustrojowe w kręgu obodrzycko-wieleckim…*, p. 142–157, 167–169.

451 The existence of the proto-Polish tribe of Polans (in general, quite hypothetical, yet long taken for granted without any discussion) has been questioned recently, see below, p. 179 f.

Within this organization the ideological primacy of Gniezno developed and was confirmed by establishing the archbishopric there in 1000[452]. Gniezno's standing is proved by the inscription *civitas Gnezdun* on the coins of Bolesław Chrobry[453], and most probably also by the late-11th-century summary of the document from about 990 called *Dagome iudex*. *Civitas Schinesghe* (Gniezno?) is mentioned in it together with the dependent territories (Latin *pertinentiae*). In this case *civitas* is understood as a centre of state and church administration and perhaps the reference to the capital also embraced the directly subordinated areas[454].

Whatever the case, the reason for gaining such great significance by Gniezno was its original location within the network of strongholds that emerged before the baptism of Mieszko I, and its expansion marked the civilizational *novum* in the areas ruled by the Piasts. The process of extending this structure sometimes meant the acquisition of existing centres, including future seats of bishoprics, such as Wrocław, where a new stronghold was founded, or Cracow, taken from the Czechs. On the other hand, some tribal centres were deprived of their earlier significance. One clear example is the stronghold of Chodlik in the Lublin region, where at least from the 8th c. the centre of the Chodlik Valley was located. It declined in the late 10th c. together with the expansion of the Piast monarchy to that area[455].

What is important, tribal centres of this kind – apart from their defensive function, including the role of a refuge for local people – served as places where trade and crafts were pursued[456]. Therefore, they can be perceived as the cores of the early towns that developed

452 Broadly on this issue: R. Michałowski, *Zjazd gnieźnieński. Religijne przesłanki powstania arcybiskupstwa gnieźnieńskiego*, Wrocław 2005.

453 See S. Suchodolski, *The beginnings of Polish coinage in the light of recent research*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" 59 ["Polish Numismatic News" 9], z. 1–2, p. 72. The coin minted by the monarch, playing the role of a display of power, clearly emphasizes in this case the status of Gniezno as the capital.

454 According to one of the prevailing hypotheses, in this case *civitas* meant also the territories around Gniezno, and the mentioned *pertinentiae* would have encompassed the adjusting provinces (see below, p. 282 ff.). This concept of *civitas*, as a centre together with the subordinate areas, existed since Late Antiquity through the whole Middle Ages (e.g., counties in Hungary) or dioceses. More on the subject: *Lexicon latinitatis medii aevi Hungariae*, vol. 2/1, Budapest 1991, p. 137 f.; cf. M. Bláhová, *Proměny termínu civitas…*, p. 32.

455 A. Pleszczyński, *Chodlik civitas…*, p. 35–51.

456 In the case of Chodlik there were as many as three rings of fortifications whose origins and function have been discussed. Its significance as a centre of crafts was raised e.g., by metallurgy; *ibidem*.

in the areas occupied by the Baltic Slavs. A great example of this is Wolin, from the 9th century the main centre of the Volinians. It most probably gained – under the name *Livilni* – the label of *civitas* already in Thietmar's chronicle, in the beginning of the 11th c. However, it should be emphasized that the wider context of this work shows that using this term in the case of a given centre was not necessarily connected with the presence of crafts and trade or its larger population. The famous Lutician Radogošč is referred to as *urbs* and *civitas* in the chronicle, even though only the temple of Svarožič was there. In this context *civitas* (and *urbs*) mean in most cases a fortified centre of power, in political and religious aspects[457].

In the case of Wolin those functions were combined with a concentration of crafts and trade, which was not exceptional among Pomeranian and Lutician towns in the 11th and 12th c.[458] Considering the socio-economic conditions, it became natural to use the term *civitas* in reference to a community of inhabitants, "citizens" (*cives*), which meant classifying them in an urban category[459]. Those early towns became the social background for the formation – after the transformation wrought by Christianization – of "the new shape of the world" in Pomerania. They were particularly well prepared for this function, due to the multigenerational tradition of openness to external contacts, not only within the realm of *Christianitas.* Especially famous for being open to "foreigners" was Wolin, where many of them settled. In Pomerania enclaves of foreigners

457 Thietmar (VI, 25) emphasized the primacy of the temple in Radogošč over the other temples of the Lutici. See S. Rosik, *O "rozpoznawaniu" civitas…*, s. 39; see also: S. Rossignol, *Die Burgen der Slawen in den lateinischen Quellen des 9. bis 11. Jahrhunderts*, [in:] *Siedlungsstrukturen und Burgen im westslawischen Raum: Beiträge der Sektion zur slawischen Frühgeschichte der 17. Jahrestagung des Mittel- und Ostdeutschen Verbandes für Altertumsforschung in Halle an der Saale, 19. bis 21. März 2007*, ed. F. Biermann, Langenweissbach 2009 (= Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Mitteleuropas 52), p. 34 f.; M. Bláhová, *Proměny termínu civitas…*, p. 24.

458 More on the subject: L. Leciejewicz, *Początki nadmorskich miast…*, *passim*; *idem*, *Miasta Słowian północnopołabskich*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1968. See also below, p. 137 ff.

459 The meaning of the Slavic word "gród" (stronghold) turned out to be wide as well, analogously to *civitas.* The etymology refers to a fenced, defensive place (as a Latin *castrum* the location called *Zitarigroda* = "Stary Gród"/"Old Stronghold", was defined in the life of St. Otto of Bamberg), however, it has become the term used for towns (e.g., the Russian "gorod"). It is possible that already in the 12th c. the capital Starigard (= "Stary Gród"/"Old Stronghold") in Wagria was treated in that manner. Helmold (I, 12) translated its name into Latin as *antiqua civitas*, which well corresponds with the character of the centre, being a fortified political and ecclesiastical as well as trade centre at that time.

have been archaeologically recognized (more on this subject soon), just as in the case of their Prussian neighbors[460].

3. The urbanization of Pomerania in the early Middle Ages

MARIAN RĘBKOWSKI

Compared with Greater Poland and other lands making up the state of the early Piasts, the lands situated on the Baltic differed in many respects, which is substantiated by the unique pace of the development of local communities. On the one hand this was reflected by the early origins of urbanization processes[461], and on the other by the longer duration of a tribal social organization and Slavic paganism, tantamount to a delay in forming the structures of early-state power[462].

The observation above also means that the first centres of trade and craft production appeared on the Baltic in a tribal setting, long before the Pomeranian duchy was formed. The reason of this phenomenon was the fact that Slavic communities living on the Baltic established relations with the Scandinavians and thus overcame economic autarky. The Scandinavian expansion, which began in the second half of the 8th century, resulted also in the emergence of a uniform economic zone along the Baltic littoral inhabited by different ethnic groups. This zone existed till the end of the Viking Age, i.e., until more or less the mid-11th century[463].

460 A great example is Truso, most likely discovered in the 1980s. – M.F. Jagodziński, *Truso. Między Weonodlandem a Witlandem*, Elbląg 2010.

461 See L. Leciejewicz, *Początki nadmorskich miast…*, *passim*; *idem*, *Zur Entwicklung von Frühstädten an der südlichen Ostseeküste*, "Zeitschrift für Archäologie" 3, 1969, p. 182–210; W. Łosiński, *W sprawie genezy osiedli wczesnomiejskich u Słowian nadbałtyckich*, "Slavia Antiqua" 35, 1994, p. 101–128; *idem*, *Zur Genese der frühstädtische Zentren bei den Ostseeslawen*, [in:] *Burg – Burgstadt – Stadt. Zur Genese mittelalterlicher nichtagrarischer Zentren in Ostmitteleuropa*, ed. H. Brachmann, Berlin 1995, p. 68–91.

462 See J. Dowiat, *Pochodzenie dynastii zachodnio-pomorskiej i ukształtowanie się terytorium księstwa zachodnio-pomorskiego*, "Przegląd Historyczny" 45, 1954, p. 268–276; R. Kiersnowski, *W sprawie początków organizacji państwowej na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" 61, 1954, 4, p. 160–168; M. Rębkowski, *Jak powstało Pomorze? Studium tworzenia państwowości we wczesnym średniowieczu*, Warszawa 2020.

463 W. Łosiński, *Rola kontaktów ze Skandynawią w dziejach gospodarczych Słowian nadbałtyckich*, [in:] *idem*, *Pomorze Zachodnie we wczesnym średniowieczu. Studia archeologiczne*, Poznań 2008, p. 144 ff.

The existence of the zone is well substantiated by archaeological sources, which demonstrate the influx of a considerable amount of Arabic silver (dirhams) to the lands surrounding the Baltic[464] and the emergence of specific places of trade and craft production, whose essence is best rendered by the German word *Seehandelsplatz*, i.e., an emporium, a port-of-trade, etc. in English[465]. They had a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural character, which is indicated not only by the artefacts excavated within their boundaries, but also by the diversity of funerary rites recorded in the cemeteries situated in their vicinity.

The settlements were established along the Baltic's coastal zone, close to the open sea with easy access by waterways. These were places of long-distance trade exchange, which is substantiated by the nature of the finds discovered there. Apart from trade, the settlements were places of intense, specialized craft production (e.g., comb-making, amber processing, founding of bronze decorations, glassmaking, etc.). Contrary to the contemporary settlements of local Slavs, the emporia, as a rule occupying an area of a dozen or even several dozen hectares, differed in its very regular spatial organization with extensive, rectangular building plots existing in some locations. Similarly as in Scandinavia, the emporia were established either at the initiative of local political authorities or at least they enjoyed their patronage.

[464] W. Łosiński, *Chronologia napływu najstarszej monety arabskiej na terytorium Europy*, "Slavia Antiqua" 31, 1988, p. 93–181; *idem*, *W sprawie rozwoju gospodarki towarowo-pieniężnej na ziemiach polskich we wczesnym średniowieczu w kontekście dziejów obrotu pieniężnego w strefie nadbałtyckiej*, part 1, "Archeologia Polski" 35, 1991, 2, p. 287–309, part 2, "Archeologia Polski" 36, 1992, p. 235–264; S. Brather, *Frühmittelalterliche Dirham-Schatz- und -Einzelfunde im südlichen Ostseeraum. Die Anfänge der Gewichtsgeldwirtschaft bei den Westslawen*, [in:] *Archäologie als Sozialgeschichte. Studien zu Siedlung, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im frühgeschichtlichen Mitteleuropa. Festschrift für Heiko Steuer*, ed. S. Brather, Ch. Bücker, M. Hoeper, Rahden 1999, p. 179–197. Recently D. Adamczyk, *Srebro i władza. Trybuty i handel dalekosiężny a kształtowanie się państwa piastowskiego i państw sąsiednich w latach 800–1100*, Warszawa 2018, p. 144 ff.

[465] In the extensive literature see e.g., J. Callmer, *Urbanization in Scandinavia and the Baltic Region c. AD 700–1100: Trading places, Centres and Early Urban Sites*, [in:] *The Twelfth Viking Congress, Developments Around the Baltic and the North Sea in the Viking Age*, ed. B. Ambrosiani, H. Clarke, Stockholm 1994 (= Birka Studies 3), p. 50–90; M. Bogucki, *Viking Age ports of trade in Poland*, "Estonian Journal of Archaeology" 8, 2004, p. 101 ff.; H. Jöns, *Ports and emporia of the southern coast from Hedeby to Usedom and Wolin*, [in:] *Wulstan´s Voyage. The Baltic Sea region in the early Viking Age as seen from shipboard*, ed. A. Englert, A. Trakadas, Roskilde 2009 (= Maritime culture of the North 2), p. 160–181; S. Kleingärtner, *Die frühe Phase der Urbanisierung an der südlichen Ostseeküste im ersten nachchristlichen Jahrtausend*, Neumünster 2014 (= Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte und Archäologie der Ostseegebiete 13).

In the Slavic environment the political authority controlling the early-urban settlements most probably comprised local tribal elites[466].

The oldest settlements of this type on the Slavic shores of the Baltic existed in Polabia, where they were established after the mid-8th century. They were Reric, known from Frankish sources, ultimately identified in Groß Strömkendorf on the Bay of Wismar, and the settlements in Rostock-Dierkow, Ralswiek on Rügen, and Menzlin on the Peene, situated in the estuary of the Odra river. They are unanimously assigned to the oldest phase in the urbanization of the southern coast of the Baltic[467]. After its decline, they were replaced by such centres as Hedeby at the base of the Jutland peninsula and Truso – situated on the right, Prussian bank of the Vistula in its estuary[468].

A little later than Hedeby, i.e., ca. mid-9th century, a similar trading and craft production settlement appeared in the Odra estuary on the island of Wolin[469]. Its remains were discovered at the site known as Stare Miasto (Old Town) situated on the Dziwna strait, between the Szczecin Lagoon and the Baltic. The settlement flourished soon after the demise of similar settlements situated in the western part of the Slavic coast of the Baltic, which appeared during the first phase of urbanization (Groß Strömkendorf, Rostock-Dierkow)[470]. Similarly

[466] More on the subject M. Bogucki, *Viking Age emporia around the Baltic See – a cul-de-sac of European Urbanization?*, [in:] *Patterns of Early Medieval Urbanization*, ed. A. Buko, M. McCarthy, Warszawa 2010, p. 160 f.

[467] See jointly S. Kleingärtner, *Der Seehandelsplatz von Rostock-Dierkow*, [in:] *Kulturwandel im Spannungsfeld von Tradition und Innovation. Festschrift für Michael Müller-Wille*, ed. S. Kleingärtner, U. Müller, J. Schoschkewitz, Neumünster 2013, p. 89–106; also: S. Kleingärtner, *Die frühe Phase der Urbanisierung…, passim*.

[468] On Hedeby in general, see H. Jankuhn *Haithabu. Ein Handelsplatz der Wikingerzeit*, Neumünster 1986; B. Maixner, *Haithabu. Fernhandelszentrum zwischen den Welten*, Schleswig 2010. On Truso see M.F. Jagodziński, *Truso. Między Weonodlandem a Witlandem*, Elbląg 2010; *idem*, *Truso – legenda Bałtyku / The legend of the Baltic* Sea, Elbląg 2015.

[469] There is extensive bibliography for Wolin. More important among recently published works: W. Filipowiak, *Some Aspects of the Development of Wolin in the 8th–11th Centuries in the Light of the Results of new Research*, [in:] *Polish Lands at the Turn of the First and Second Millennia*, ed. P. Urbańczyk, Warszawa 2004, p. 47–74; W. Filipowiak, M. Konopka, *The identity of a town. Wolin, Town–State. 9th–12th centuries*, "Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae" 13, 2008, p. 243–288; *Wolin wczesnośredniowieczny*, vol. 1–2, ed. B. Stanisławski, W. Filipowiak (= Origines Polonorum 6–7), Warszawa 2013–2014; *Wolin – the Old Town*, vol. 1–2, ed. M. Rębkowski, Szczecin 2019. On the identification of an emporium see M. Rębkowski, *Central Settlement of Medieval Wolin*, [in:] *Wolin – the Old Town*, vol. 1: *Settlement Structure, Stratigraphy and Chronology…*, p. 135 ff.

[470] S. Kleingartner, *Die frühe Phase der Urbanisierung…*, p. 82–85.

as the latter, the settlement in Wolin developed in connection with the existence of the Baltic economic zone of the Viking Age.

The area of the settlement in Wolin at the peak of its spatial development is estimated to have been ca. 6–9 hectares. From the mid-9th century it was surrounded by a semi-circular defensive earthen rampart, while from the side of the Dziwna strait it was enclosed with the harbour quay. Its interior was densely built up with streets laid out in wood, running perpendicularly to the strait's shore and the quay. The regular plan is substantiated by the uniform orientation of all building structures erected in various construction types, as discovered during the excavations. Despite several periodic changes, the settlement functioned in this form until the end of the 11th century[471].

Wolin underwent a period of intensive development from the mid-10th century, which is substantiated by intensification of craft production, especially glassmaking, amber processing, and horn processing, and the influx of a great amount of silver to the island[472]. The reasons for Wolin's prosperity may be seen in the change of communication routes in the Odra estuary and the demise of the craft production and trading settlement in Menzlin on the Peene. For at least the next several decades, until ca. mid-11th century, Wolin was the main centre of craft and trade in the estuary of a great inland communication route, i.e., the Odra river. It is quite probable that it exported all handicraft products to the hinterland and imported products of the forests (hides, furs, wax), grain, and salt produced on the Slavic coast of the Baltic as well as – most probably – slaves.

The evidence of economic prosperity in the Odra estuary at that time is the expansion of the settlement towards the strait during the 10th century and establishment of other settlements along the bank of the Dziwna in the south and north of Stare Miasto [the Old Town], each of which must have had a quay. The total length of quays in the second half of the 10th

[471] M. Rębkowski, *Central Settlement of Medieval Wolin…*, p. 137–146.

[472] Among recent works on crafts see e.g., *Wolin wczesnośredniowieczny*, part 1, p. 201–290; E. Cnotliwy, S. Słowiński, *Pozostałości pracowni grzebienniczych nowo odkrytych w Wolinie*, "Materiały Zachodniopomorskie" NS 12, 2016, p. 247–362; *Wolin – the Old Town*, vol. 2: *Studies on Finds…*, *passim*; on coin finds: M. Bogucki, *Coin finds from Wolin and its hinterland*, [in:] *Economies, Monetisation and Society in the West Slavic Lands 800–1200*, ed. M. Bogucki, M. Rębkowski, Szczecin 2013 (= Wolińskie Spotkania Mediewistyczne 2), p. 345–358.



Il. 4. Wolin: products and semi-products from amber



Il. 5. Wolin: a cross-shaped fitting



Il. 6. Wolin: a wooden figure of a dragon (a wolf?) carved in Scandinavian style

century is estimated to have been several hundred metres if not one kilometre[473]. Another important place in the complex was a settlement on Srebrne Wzgórze [Silver Hill], situated several hundred metres towards the north and at least in part surrounded by a rampart. It probably emerged in the 10th century, but because the results of excavations have not been published, it is impossible to speculate as to its character; yet the concentration of silver hoards and evidence of craft production is very telling[474].

During the 10th century another phenomenon emerges in Wolin, one very characteristic for such emporia – namely, the appearance of cemeteries where the dead were buried following different funerary rites[475]. A barrow cemetery existed in the south of Stare Miasto in Wolin on Wzgórze Wisielców [Hanged Men's Hill]. In the second half of the 10th century a spacious flat cemetery appeared in the north of Stare Miasto, functioning throughout the 11th century, where cremated burial and skeleton graves were excavated. Recently a cemetery with characteristic Slavic graves of the Alt Käbelich type was identified several hundred metres to the west of Stare Miasto[476].

The spatial arrangement of the settlement in the 9th-11th centuries was alien to the Slavic environment and differed substantially from the sizes and arrangement of local strongholds; yet there are distinct structural similarities to the emporia of the Ribe, Birka, and Hedeby type[477]. However, the culture of their inhabitants was in many ways typi-

473 A. Janowski, *Harbours of early medieval Wolin in the light of recent research*, [in:] *Economies, Monetisation and Society in the West Slavic Lands…*, p. 45–58.

474 See jointly W. Łosiński, *Dokonania – koncepcje – interpretacje*, [in:] *Pomorze Zachodnie we wczesnym średniowieczu…*, p. 33 f.; J. Wojtasik, *Srebrne Wzgórze w Wolinie – wstępne wyniki badań z lat 1961-1969*, „Materiały Zachodniopomorskie" 45, 1999 [2000], p. 321–384. On discovered hoards M. Bogucki, *Coin finds from Wolin and its hinterland…*, p. 345–347.

475 The examples are the cemetery complexes in Birka and Hedeby, see e.g., A.-S. Gräslund, *The Burial Customs. A study of the graves on Björkö*, Stockholm 1980 (= Birka 4); U. Arents, S. Eisenschmidt, *Die Gräber von Haithabu*, Neumünster 2010 (= Die Ausgrabungen in Haithabu 50).

476 J. Wojtasik, *Cmentarzysko wczesnośredniowieczne na wzgórzu "Młynówka" w Wolinie*, Szczecin 1968; H. Zoll-Adamikowa, *Wczesnośredniowieczne cmentarzyska ciałopalne Słowian na terenie Polski*, part 1: *Źródła*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1975, p. 252–269. The last of the listed cemeteries was discovered a few years ago by Wojciech Filipowiak.

477 Slavic strongholds of the region have been discussed accurately by W. Łosiński, *Osadnictwo plemienne Pomorza (VI–X wiek)*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź 1982, p. 99 ff. On spatial layout of the emporia e.g., S. Jenssen, *The Vikings of Ribe*, Ribe 1991; B. Ambrosiani, H. Clarke, *Birka and the Beginning of the Viking Age*, [in:] *Studien zur Archäologie des Ostseeraumes. Festschrift für Michael Müller-Wille*, ed. A. Wesse, Neumünster 1998, p. 33–38; B. Maixner, *Haithabu. Fernhandelszentrum zwischen den Welten…*, *passim.*

cal of the culture of local Slavs. Considering the cultural diversification of the cemeteries in Wolin, the different techniques of erecting houses, and an inventory of a dozen (several dozen for the whole settlement complex) objects of foreign origin, we have to take into account the fact that next to the Slavs other people of different ethnicity and culture were present in Wolin, probably traders and possibly craftsmen[478]. This would have been typical of the contemporary emporia on the Baltic, which had a multi-ethnic character, this fact highlighting the role played by the Scandinavians in Wolin in the 10th century[479]. This is partially confirmed by the accounts from the second half of the 11th century made by Adam of Bremen, who wrote about the presence of people from other parts of Europe in Slavic Jumne, equated with Wolin[480].

However, by no means can the settlement in Stare Miasto be equated with Jomsborg, the Vikings' mythical stronghold mentioned in Scandinavian sagas from subsequent years[481]. It is much more probable that it was situated in another part of this spacious settlement complex or within a settlement complex so far undiscovered, whose remains are somewhere in another part of the island of Wolin.

478 See W. Duczko, *Obecność skandynawska na Pomorzu i słowiańska….*, p. 25–30; W. Filipowiak, M. Konopka, *The identity of a town…*, p. 268–271; B.M. Stanisławski, *Jómswikingowie z Wolina-Jomsborga...*, *passim*; *idem*, *Norse culture in Wolin-Jómsborg*, [in:] *Scandinavian Culture in Medieval Poland…*, p. 193–246. Interestingly, metal objects are practically absent, especially women's jewellery, cf. W. Duczko, *With Vikings or without? Scandinavians in early medieval Poland. Approaching an old problem*, [in:] *Scandinavian Culture in Medieval Poland…*, p. 213; A. Janowski, *Metal Finds*, [in:] *Wolin – the Old Town*, vol. 2: *Studies on Finds…*, p. 47–88.

479 Contrary to the opinions expressed in some of the quoted works, interpretation of Scandinavian finds on the Pomeranian coast of the Baltic is not at all unambiguous. Cf. L. Leciejewicz, *Normanowie nad Odrą i Wisłą w IX–XI wieku*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" 100, 1993, 4, p. 49–62; W. Łosiński, *Rola kontaktów ze Skandynawią w dziejach gospodarczych Słowian nadbałtyckich…*, *passim*; L. Gardeła, *Vikings in Poland. A critical overview*, [in:] *Viking Worlds. Things, Spaces and Movement*, ed. M.H. Ericsen, U. Pedersen, B. Rundberger, I. Exelsen, H.L. Berg, Oxford–Philadelphia 2015, p. 213–234, and especially the critical text by J. Sikora, *Skandynawowie a ziemie polskie w badaniach archeologicznych*, [in:] *Wikingowie w Polsce? Zabytki skandynwskie z ziem polskich*, ed. M. Bogacki, A. Janowski, Ł. Kaczmarek, Gniezno–Szczecin 2019, p. 31–72.

480 Adam II, 22; cf. R. Kiersnowski, *Legenda Winety. Studium historyczne*, Kraków 1950, p. 6 ff.

481 See R. Kiersnowski, *Legenda Winety…*, p. 55 f.; J. Morawiec, *Vikings among the Slavs. Jomsborg and the Jomsvikings in Old Norse Tradition*, Wien 2009 (= Studia Medievalia Septentrionalia 17); *idem*, *Wolin/Jómsborg w średniowiecznej literaturze skandynawskiej*, [in:] *Wolin wczesnośredniowieczny…*, part 1, p. 304–320; B.M. Stanisławski, *Jómswikingowie z Wolina-Jomsborga…*, *passim*.

It is highly likely that other trading and craft production settlements functioned on the Baltic coast between the Odra and Vistula estuaries even though none have been excavated yet. They may have been situated on the estuary sections of the rivers flowing into the Baltic, which were convenient communication routes leading into the hinterland. A good example here is the Bardy-Świelubie settlement complex situated on the Parsęta river, a little more than ten kilometres from the river's outlet into the sea. There was a barrow cemetery in the vicinity of this huge Slavic stronghold erected in the 8th century, which performed the function of the main centre of local tribal power. Apart from local people, foreigners were also buried under the barrow mounds, which is substantiated by the decorations typical of the elites from Scandinavia, more particularly of central Sweden, excavated in the graves – as well as individual inhumation burials recorded between the barrows, so alien for the funerary rites of the contemporary Slavs. The conjecture that the use of the cemetery was connected with the existence of a trading and craft settlement in the vicinity, functioning with the permission of a local political authority (a stronghold) is very plausible[482].

The settlements described above were not the only form of an early-urban centre on the Pomeranian coast of the Baltic in the 9th–10th centuries. Actually, two different genetic patterns of such settlements existed, differing in the manner of space arrangement. The first was the trading and craft settlements of the type discovered in Wolin, alien to the local environment, that were established under the influence of Scandinavians penetrating these lands. The other was that of certain Slavic strongholds situated in the coastal area, which in times of economic prosperity also became centres of trade and craft production[483].

[482] W. Łosiński, *Srebrny wystrój odzieży z wczesnośredniowiecznego cmentarzyska w Świelubiu w powiecie kołobrzeskim*, [in:] *Studia Archaeologica Pomeranica*, Koszalin 1974, p. 159–175; *idem*, *Bardy-Świelubie, ein Siedlungskomplex im unteren Parsęta-Flussgebiet*, "Archaeologia Polona" 16, 1976, p. 199–219; *idem*, *Osadnictwo plemienne w dorzeczu Parsęty*, [in:] *idem*, *Pomorze Zachodnie we wczesnym średniowieczu…*, p. 72 f.; H. Zoll-Adamikowa, *Wczesnośredniowieczne cmentarzyska ciałopalne Słowian…*, p. 226–235; W. Duczko, *Obecność skandynawska na Pomorzu i słowiańska…*, p. 31–33.

[483] L. Leciejewicz, *Zur Entwicklung von Frühstädten an der südlichen Ostseeküste*, "Zeitschrift für Archäologie" 3, 1969, p. 182–210; *idem*, *Die Stammesburgen als Ausgangspunkt der frühen Stadtentwicklung an der pommerschen Ostseeküste*, [in:] *Society and trade in the Baltic during the Viking Age*, ed. S.O. Lindquist, Visby 1985 (= Acta Visbyensia 7), p. 171–184; and especially W. Łosiński, *W sprawie genezy osiedli wczesnomiejskich…*, *passim*.

A good example of such evolution is the stronghold in Kołobrzeg. It was erected ca. 880 on the right bank of the Parsęta river, 4 km from the river's outlet into the sea. The stronghold, whose area did not exceed 1 hectare, was erected after the demise of the stronghold in Bardy mentioned above, when the main centre of tribal authority was shifted closer to the sea. Characteristically, very soon, i.e., at the beginning of the 10th century, craft workshops (horn and amber processing) began to function in the stronghold and the products of foreign origin appeared there, which testifies to intensive trade exchange[484]. Identical phenomena were observed in Szczecin, situated on the left bank of the Odra[485].

The view is accepted by S. Messal, *Skandinawische Kolonien an der südlichen Ostseeküste. Zur Siedlungsgenese der früh- und hochmittelelaterlichen Emporien im südlichen Ostsseraum*, [in:] *Häfen im 1. Millennium AD. Standortbedingungen, Entwicklungsmodelle und ökonomische Vernetzung*, ed. S. Kalmring, L. Werther, Mainz 2017 (= RGZM–Tagungen 3), p. 111–126.

[484] L. Leciejewicz, M. Rębkowski, *Kołobrzeg – an early town on the Baltic coast*, [in:] *Polish lands at the turn of the first and the second millennia…*, p. 33–46; *Kołobrzeg. Wczesne miasto nad Bałtykiem*, ed. L. Leciejewicz, M. Rębkowski, Warszawa 2007; see also W. Łosiński, E. Tabaczyńska, *Z badań nad rzemiosłem we wczesnośredniowiecznym Kołobrzegu*, Poznań 1959.

[485] W. Łosiński, *Szczeciński ośrodek miejski w dobie przedlokacyjnej*, "Archeologia Polski" 38, 1993, 2, p. 285 ff.; *idem*, *Początki wczesnośredniowiecznego Szczecina*, [in:] *idem*, *Pomorze Zachodnie we wczesnym średniowieczu…*, p. 106 ff.

II

Foreigners in Pomerania and among the early Piasts (Interpretations of archaeological finds)

Władysław Duczko

Foreignness, like familiarity, belongs to the fundamental categories that determine the character of human relationships. The scientific literature concerning these issues in regard to the past is truly rich, which reflects what an important role foreignness, along with various and complex forms of identity connected with it, plays in the lives of individuals and societies[486]. Archaeological studies on foreignness are based on interpretations of fragmentary traces of people and their

[486] H. Ahrweiler, *Byzantine Concepts of the Foreigner. The Case of the Nomads*, [in:] *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*, Dumbarton Oaks 1998, p. 1–15; J. Bonarek, *Romajowie i obcy w kronice Jana Skylitzesa. Identyfikacja etniczna Bizantyjczyków i ich stosunek do obcych w świetle kroniki Jana Skylitzesa*, Toruń 2003; W. Duczko, *Akulturacja. Przypadek Skandynawów epoki wikingów*, [in:] *Przeszłość społeczna. Próba konceptualizacji*, ed. S. Tabaczyński *et al.*, Poznań 2012, p. 605–613; G. Halsall, *Otherness and Identity in Merowingian Cemetery*, [in:] *Entanglent Identities and Otherness in Late Antique and Early Mediewal Europe*, ed. J.L Quiroga, M. Kazanski, V. Ivanisevic, Oxford 2017 (= BAR IR 2852), p. 189–198; S. Jones, *Etniczność. Podejście teoretyczne i implikacje metodologiczne*, [in:] *Przeszłość społeczna…*, p. 635–656; Ch. Lübke, *Fremde im östlichen Europa, Von Gesellschaften ohne Staat zu verstaatlichten Gesellschaften (9.–11. Jahrhundert)*, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2001, p. 7–32; E. Nowicka, *Swojskość i obcość jako kategorie socjologicznej analizy*, [in:] *Swoi i obcy*, ed. *eadem*, Warszawa 1990, p. 5–53; P. Pranke, *Swoi czy obcy? Obraz relacji pierwszych Piastów z przedstawicielami dynastii oraz arystokracji imperium Ludolfingów*, [in:] *Obcy*, ed. W. Dzieduszycki, J. Wrzesiński, Poznań 2012 (= Funeralia lednickie. Spotkanie 14), p. 89–104; B. Zientara, *Populus – gens – natio. Z zagadnień wczesnośredniowiecznej terminologii etnicznej*, [in:] *Cultus et cognito. Studia z dziejów średniowiecznej kultury*, ed. S.K. Kuczyński, Warszawa 1976, p. 673–682; F. Znaniecki, *Studja nad antagonizmem do obcych*, "Przegląd Socjologiczny" 1, 1931, p. 158–209.

material culture from the distant past. That is, unlike anthropologists and ethnologists, who carry out their studies based on living people and cultures, we archaeologists study what has been dead for centuries.

The identification of a "foreign" element in archaeological material may be done by scholars who know the source material well enough to distinguish as potentially foreign an object that differs in shape, decoration, or production technique. However, this is only initial recognition, since broader knowledge on the cultural context to which the item belongs must be taken into account in order to ensure accurate identification.

Moreover, different methods of DNA analyses as well as strontium analysis performed on human skeletons provide particularly vast research possibilities for archaeological studies. Thanks to them, we may determine with increasing certainty whether the examined bone remains were of local or foreign origin. At the current stage of research we are generally far from obtaining information on the exact place of origin of an examined person; the databases are still too poor to allow that. However, it seems that in the long run both methods shall bring about considerable progress in studies on the ethnic structure of early societies.

Nonetheless, even today it is possible to gain much insight into these areas, and this is well illustrated by the studies of archaeological material from Pomerania and the Poland of the first Piasts.

1. Pomerania

Being a part of the southern littoral of the Baltic Sea, Pomerania belonged to the Scandinavian economic zone, which dynamized the whole region in the Middle Ages. The attempts to gain control over Pomerania by the first historic Piasts show how important this area, with its access to the sea, was for them. The eastern part, with Gdańsk and the mouth of the Vistula, was simply taken, as there were no local organizations that would have been able to defend it. However, the situation on the western side was different. The more numerous, better organized, and economically better developed societies there became objects of desire for the Piasts, who at the early stage of building their power had to constantly organize raids and pursue territorial expansion.

When discussing foreigners in Slavic Pomerania, we should start with the issue of the appearance of the Slavs in that area. The proponents of the autochthonous theory claim that they had been there "forever", while their opponents, allochthonists, see the Slavs as newcomers from the east who appeared in the west in the 7th century at the latest. The origin of the Slavs is a puzzle in science, which cannot manage to establish which of the alternative hypotheses is more probable. Let us leave the search for a solution to this problem for future generations of scholars, and focus here for a moment on the traces of foreigners that were left in Pomerania in the Migration Period – that is, in the 5th and 6th centuries.

The Scandinavians left their traces in the area of Koszalin, in the form of deposits – specifically, hoards placed in the ground as religious sacrifices that consisted of golden items, such as necklaces and pendants, most often golden bracteates, which were decorations typical of Denmark at that time. Weapons found in graves at cemeteries in the vicinity of Słupsk evidence the presence of people from the island of Bornholm. Deposits of gold Byzantine coins, *solidi* earned by mercenaries during the wars in the south of Europe, should be considered the property of the Scandinavians who often enough buried them at the mouth of the Odra and the Vistula rivers before pressing on northward. The hoards ceased to be deposited in the ground in the first decades of the 6th century, after which we find no traces of the Scandinavians in the area of Polish Pomerania until the 9th century[487].

The Viking Age (from the early 8th to the end of the 11th century) was typified by the exceptional mobility of the Scandinavians. Those were not only centuries of raids, but also of colonization and, above all, of creating both local and long-distance trade networks. The activity within such networks left traces in the form of crafts-and-trade settlements called emporia, at least four of which emerged (some of them already in the first half of the 8th century) in the area of present-day Mecklenburg and Vorpommern. Those were centres found-

[487] H. Machajewski, *Skandynawskie elementy kulturowe na Pomorzu Zachodnim z okresu wędrówek ludów (II połowa IV – początek VI)*, "Przegląd Archeologiczny" 40, 1992, p. 71–96; *idem*, *Skandynawskie penetracje południowej sfery Morza Bałtyckiego w pradziejach*, [in:] *Rzeki i ludzie*, ed. M. Brzostowicz, M. Przybył, J. Wrzesiński, Poznań–Ląd 2015, p. 28–48.

ed by the Danes, recognizable on the basis of their telltale material culture. In Pomerania there were no such classic emporia, although there was one remarkable trade centre founded by the Wolinians on their island at the mouth of the Odra, on the Dziwna strait.

Wolin, thanks to the abundance of archaeological material and accounts in Icelandic sagas that describe a Scandinavian military group called *Jómsvikingar* – who established their headquarters in *Jom-Julin*, identified with Wolin – has drawn the attention of scholars. The frequent excavations carried out during both the German period and the Polish period after 1945 have allowed much knowledge on the history of the site to be gained[488]. Nonetheless, this does not mean that our present knowledge is sufficient. The destruction of cemeteries and settlements, along with the incompleteness of the excavations, do not allow strong conclusions regarding the presence of foreigners in Wolin.

When it comes to Wolin's cemeteries, one should be careful when trying to determine which graves belong to foreigners. It is often forgotten that Wolin was part of the Veletian cultural zone where the funeral rite without graves prevailed. Archaeologists who try to determine the number of foreign graves usually conclude that there are very few such burials, because in the numerous graves available for research there are no items of foreign origin. However, we should not forget that part of the graves from Viking Age cemeteries, where cremation dominated, was not equipped in any way. This research problem shall be further discussed, when describing the cemetery in Świelubie in the vicinity of Kołobrzeg.

And what was Wolin? One thing is clear: the research suggests that Wolin was not a Danish type of emporium known from the western Slavic coast. Its foundation was a local initiative and, slowly developing from a medium-sized marketplace, in the 10th century and the first decades of the 11th century it attained the status of a huge crafts-and-trade centre known across the whole Baltic Sea region.

Foreigners become visible in Wolin only at the end of the 9th century. In the beginning this concerns small amounts of objects of Scandinavian origin, but this was but a prelude to intensive northern influences that became significant for the way Wolin functioned from the mid-10th century. The fact that the centre on the Dziwna

[488] B. Stanisławski, *Jómswikingowie z Wolina-Jómsborga..., passim*.

strait had become a part of the Scandinavian trade network, in which the main means of exchange was Islamic silver, dirhams, is evidenced by numerous hoards of silver deposited in the ground that were discovered on Silver Hill and in the closest vicinity of Wolin. Bullion deposits belonged to the traditional Scandinavian religious-magical rites practiced throughout the whole first millennium of our era and therefore, hoards appearing in the Viking Age in different parts of Europe, including the Piast realm, should be perceived as material traces of Scandinavian influence[489].

The more intensive presence of the Scandinavians in Wolin is visible in archaeological material dated to the period from the 960s through the first decades of the following century. This presence was extensive and differentiated, as seen in the large amounts of traded goods as well as craft production, military objects, settlement character, and funeral practices. Its features noticeably distinguish Wolin from the Danish emporia in Mecklenburg and Vorpommern where whole families lived, which can be recognized by women's decorative accessories and also classic forms of burials, such as stone ships, sometimes forming long fleets, which is clearly visible in Menzlin an der Peene, ca. 100 km from Wolin. The lack of female accessories in Wolin is the underlying feature that allows some to draw the far-reaching conclusion that groups of men from the north, representing merchants and warriors, lived here[490].

These groups were connected with Denmark, which is visible in the trade goods occurring there in the largest amounts. The Danes were traders who exported phyllite and soapstone to Wolin, which were used to produce whetstones and vessels. The rocks came from Norway, whose southern part was under Danish rule and where Kaupang, a Danish trade emporium, was located. The Danish presence in Wolin is evidenced by individual finds, especially a piece of wood with a runic inscription. It cannot be considered an item purchased in Scandinavia as an exotic curiosity – rather, this is the trace of a Scandinavian living and working in Wolin.

[489] W. Duczko, *Zebrać, zdeprecjonować, schować i zostawiać. O skarbach srebrnych Skandynawii okresu wikingów (To collect, depreciate, hide and forget. About hoards of silver in the Viking Age Scandinavia)*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" 45, 2005, p. 205–218.

[490] W. Duczko, *Viking Rus. Studies on the Presence of Scandinavians in Eastern Europe*, Leiden–Boston 2004, p. 9; *idem*, *Viking-age Wolin (Wollin) in the Norse context of the southern coast of the Baltic Sea*, "Scripta Islandica" 65, 2014, p. 148.

The physical presence of the Scandinavians is represented by objects related to the religious cult. At this point, we need mention a collection of small wooden figurines characteristic of the tradition of the people of the north, found within buildings interpreted as Scandinavian dwellings. Apart from these figurines, there is also the famous "Światowid", a small wooden figurine in the shape of a whetstone, on top of which there are four human faces. Its Slavic origin has not been questioned since it discovery, despite the fact that it hails from the sphere of Germanic religiosity (including Danish beliefs), which has its roots in the Celtic world[491].

Danish influences at the mouth of the Odra river were connected with the power of King Harald Bluetooth who from the mid-10th century attempted to build a Christian kingdom through both the unification of the territory under his rule and political expansion in which trade played an important role. Coins minted by this ruler as well as high quality decorations ornamented with filigree and granulation[492], manufactured in the royal goldsmiths' workshops, occur in the hoards discovered in Wolin and its vicinity. Works of goldsmiths' art, especially those in the Hiddensee style, were extremely prestigious among the Scandinavians and their presence in different parts of Europe indicate Harald's political significance[493]. His personal relationship with the centre on the Dziwna strait must have been strong, because when his son Sweyn raised a rebellion against the tyranny of his father, Harald, wounded in battle, sought safety in Wolin, where he eventually died in 987.

The relations of Wolin with Denmark manifest themselves also through the works of art manufactured there, ones originating from the British isles, where the Danes and Norwegians settled and where interlace ornamentation emerged based on rings and chains, combining Irish, Anglo-Saxon, and Scandinavian elements[494]. In Wolin this kind of ornamentation occurs mainly on knife handles and its popularity went beyond the island, reaching the area of western Pomerania and even Silesia (specifically, the city of Wrocław) and the Piast domains,

[491] W. Duczko, *Obecność skandynawska…*, p. 26.

[492] *Idem*, *The filigree and granulation work of the Viking Period*, Stockholm 1985 (= Birka 5).

[493] *Idem*, *Kungar, thegnar, Tegnbyar, juveler och silverskatter. Om danskt inflytande i Sverige under senvikingatid*, "Tor" 27, 1995, 2, p. 625–662.

[494] W. Duczko, *Obecność skandynawska…*, p. 2–29.

where it can be deemed the earliest Polish art, which I called "the Pomeranian school of Scandinavian-insular ornamentation" (see further).

Leaving Wolin, heading east of the Odra river, we find ourselves in Pomerania, where traces of foreigners are visible in sufficiently high degree to understand that this part of the Baltic coast was frequently visited by the Scandinavians. At the mouth of the Odra river lies Kamień Pomorski, where a handle decorated in the style known from Wolin and two animal bones with runic inscriptions were found. Those two bones comprise important evidence of the Scandinavian presence in Kamień. And this is by no means all. For until 1945 it was here in a church that a case was kept with the relics of St. Cordula, consisting of twenty bone elements in the Mammen style, being a high-class work of art made by Danish artists. It is unknown when the case arrived in Kamień, however, its uniqueness and quality suggest a time when Danish influences were still strong – namely, the turn of the millennium, during the reign of the son of Harald Bluetooth, Sweyn Forkbeard.

Production of goods decorated in the Wolin style was confirmed during the excavations on the island of Żółte on Lake Zarańskie, near Drawsko Pomorskie. The site was used from the 9th to the 11th century and its character was unique: the surface was covered with stones and the circuit was lined with a wooden construction. Discovered in the water surrounding the island was a large collection of military objects (axes and spearheads), two horse skeletons, and twenty-five wooden spoons with ornaments known from Wolin. The arrangement of the settlement has no analogies in the Slavic world. The closest comparisons can be found in the British Isles, in the crannogs[495]. And thus we have a lot of foreign elements for one small island. How did this foreignness find its way to Lake Zarańskie? The scholars involved in the research of the island and the settlements around the lake perceive the mix of foreign elements as a result of influences from Wolin – and it seems they are right.

The area located at the outlet of the Parsęta river into the Baltic Sea has a special place in studies into the presence of foreigners in Pomerania. The salt deposits found here attracted people who exploited them,

[495] W. Chudziak, R. Kazimierczak, *Zdobnictwo przedmiotów z Żółtego na Pomorzu Zachodnim jako przykład tzw. pomorskiej szkoły ornamentyki skandynawsko-insularnej*, "Archaeologia Historica Polona" 21, 2013, p. 7–24.

including foreigners, as well, who in the early 9th century settled close to the stronghold in Bardy and whose dead were buried in nearby Świelubie[496]. Those foreigners were again Scandinavians and the size of the population living there has long been a subject of dispute resulting from the lack of acceptance of the physical presence of Germanic people, as well as insufficient knowledge on the material culture of Scandinavia in the Viking Age. Another problem long delaying a solution was the inability to recognize which Scandinavians lived in Bardy. Only a more in-depth analysis that I carried out allowed for certain identification: in the graves in Świelubie were buried women and men from Sweden proper – namely, the central area of Lake Mälaren[497]. The forms of women's decorative accessories and men's military equipment as well as the funeral rite leave no doubt but that those people represented a higher social status and were members of the elites who ruled Birka, a trade emporium on the island of Björkö.

What were the Swedes doing in Pomerania? This question is not easy to answer. It is partly connected with establishing a precise chronology of their graves. Those graves that provided archaeological material are dated with certainty to the 9th century; however, there were over a hundred graves at the cemetery in Świelubie and only 1/3 have been excavated. The number of the examined graves is insufficient to be able to state whether a Swedish society existed there throughout the entire 9th century, or only in its first or second half.

Sweden proper lies far from western Pomerania, so there must have been a special circumstance that drew the Swedes here. One of the possibilities is that the Swedes who had settled in Truso, a Scandinavian emporium at Lake Drużno, became interested in the salt deposits at the mouth of the Parsęta river, which could have happened as early as in the early 9th century. The second such situation could have occurred ca. 850/860, when the Swedes began to conquer the east coast, which ended ca. 890 along with their gaining control over Hedeby, the Danish emporium in Schleswig, where the Swedish dynasty settled for a few decades. This brief presentation of hypotheses will suffice for now; other publications will offer closer familiarization with these matters.

[496] W. Łosiński, *Badania archeologiczne w Świelubiu i Bardach, pow. Kołobrzeg, 1964*, "Sprawozdania Archeologiczne" 18, 1966, p. 161–172.

[497] W. Duczko, *Obecność skandynawska…*, p. 31; *idem*, *Skandynawowie nad rzeką Parsętą. Problem wikińskich grobów na cmentarzysku w Świelubiu na Pomorzu Zachodnim / Scandinavians on the banks of the Parsęta River. Viking Graves in the Cemetery at Świelubie in Western Pomerania*, „Archeologia Polski" 58, 2020, p. 131–187.

Ending this overview of issues related to the presence of foreigners in Pomerania in the Early Middle Ages, it is worth noting that there are many other objects that can confirm that presence, e.g., the stone grave in the form of a ship that once existed near Świelubie, in Rusinowo on the Mołstowa river; the numerous hoards in which Danish coins and decorations were found; as well as several poorly preserved cemeteries where Viking swords were discovered.

2. Foreigners present among the early Piasts: the 10th century

It was in the 10th century that the realm of the Piasts coalesced. Who were the Piasts? The chronicler Gallus Anonymous, a foreigner of still – despite the scholarly discussion that has been ongoing for generations – unclear origin who gloriously praised Bolesław III the Wrymouth, told a story about a peasant named Piast from Gniezno, or rather from the surroundings of the stronghold, who seized power and thus succeeded Popiel, the earlier ruler of the area. In the early 12th century the Piasts, "natural rulers" of the Polish Kingdom, were considered one with their people, and not to be foreigners, as they sometimes were perceived in the 19th century and even later by historians who have claimed that the Polish state must have been built by the Scandinavians, because the Slavs were not "state-forming"[498].

Identification of the name "Dagome", known from an ablation document surviving in a regest (summary) called *Dagome iudex* (presumably from ca. 990), ostensibly with the Nordic name *Dag*, has long been the main point in attempts to prove Mieszko's northern origin[499]. The issue has yet to be satisfactorily solved. However, let us leave the problem aside in order to focus on the ethnic aspect of the Piast domain under the rule of Mieszko I – namely, the central part of present-day Wielkopolska (Greater Poland).

Written sources remain silent on the people who inhabited the area in the tribal period. The opinion common in the historiography of the twentieth century, that the names used to define the state

[498] A. Wierzbicki, *Jak powstało państwo…*, *passim*.

[499] See J. Strzelczyk, *Mieszko I*, Poznań 1992, p. 61 f.

of Bolesław I the Brave *Polenia*, *Polania*, *Polonia*, appearing in sources from the turn of the 11th century, prove the existence of a tribe called the Polans, is a hypothesis based on arguments strongly undermined by their critics. Equally difficult to accept are the attempts at identifying the name *Glopeani*, recorded in *The Bavarian Geographer* from ca. mid-9th century, with the tribe of the Goplans, and even – as some historians have wished – with the Polans[500].

This lack of reliable written accounts regarding the people from the area of the Piast realm stands in stark contrast to the state of early medieval written sources concerning the neighbouring Polabia, for which we have information on dozens of smaller and larger Slavic tribes, ones that are listed by name. This might indicate that German authors, especially chroniclers, had relatively little interest in the lands east of the Odra river.

Information that Mieszko I was the ruler of the *Licikaviki*, given ca. 970 by the Saxon chronicler Widukind of Corvey, encourages scholars to juggle different hypotheses, identifying them once as the Lubuszanie in the west, another time as the Lendians /Lędzianie (*Lendizi* in *The Bavarian Geographer*), and implicitly also as *Litzike* (mentioned by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetus) in the east. In turn, for the contemporary Jewish traveller from Arabic Spain, Abraham ben Jacob (usually known as Ibrahim ibn Jacob in Arabic), the Piast realm was the state of Mieszko and nothing more, which – as he emphasized – he got to know from Emperor Otto I during their meeting in 965. Nevertheless, Mieszko's Slavic ethnicity was confirmed by one of the Saxon obituaries, where, besides his highest titles, he was called *Sclavus*, which emphasized his Slavic origin[501].

From the perspective of the current state of historical research, the issue of the ethnicity of the population in the Piast domain is simple: it was Slavic. When in the mid-10th century the Piasts decided on expanding their territory to the west, they attacked the dense network of settlements in the area of the middle Obra river, destroyed the strongholds, and, presumably, resettled part of the population in Gniezno Land, thereby gaining control over the territories that culturally belonged to the Sorbs who lived in Lusatia, west of the Odra river. In building

[500] See above, p. 131

[501] A. Pleszczyński, *Niemcy wobec pierwszej monarchii piastowskiej (963–1034). Narodziny stereotypu. Postrzeganie i cywilizacyjna klasyfikacja władców Polski i ich kraju*, Lublin 2008, p. 81 f.

their realm, the Piasts incorporated foreign peoples into their domain. They did the same in the mid-980s when Mieszko I grabbed the area of future Śląsk (Silesia) from Bohemian rule and shortly thereafter took over Małopolska (Lesser Poland) – centred on Cracow, also Bohemian until that time[502]. When Mieszko died in 992, he left his central domain, called the Gniezno State, along with numerous conquered lands. From this perspective only this domain was deemed their "own", the property of the dynasty, while other lands were "foreign".

But how can we find those "true" foreigners under the rule of Mieszko I, those who came from outside his monarchy? It is difficult to answer this question on the basis of archaeology, as there are no cemeteries that date back to the time of his rule. Despite the fact that he himself was a Christian, he did not manage to change the traditional form of burial among his people. This means that the baptism of Mieszko I was a personal conversion, connected with his first Christian wife, Dobrawa, from Bohemia. After her death, he married Oda from Germany, who was taken from a convent. Apart from the foreign wives, foreign bishops (Jordan and Unger) also came to Mieszko, and – though this is not stated in written sources – probably Saxon architects who built his palaces. In his army of a few thousand men there were certainly foreigners as well, whose presence is confirmed by several finds of Viking swords at some sites.

Within the area of Mieszko's domain other foreigners than those mentioned above also appeared and their presence can be traced from the mid-10th century. These traces include silver hoards – specifically, collections of silver coins and jewellery hidden in the ground. The hoards in Pomerania are evidence of Scandinavian influences, and the same conclusion can be drawn regarding their presence in the Piast domain in Greater Poland. Coins, initially only Islamic dirhams, came from Eastern Europe where the Rus' – Scandinavians, mostly Swedes – were active, but from the second half of the 10th century Saxon coins more often appeared.

Jewellery in these hoards represents the style that formed in relation to the goldsmith traditions of Great Moravia, where the art of the Slavic elites flourished in the 9th century. After the fall of the Great Moravian state, many gold- and silversmiths moved to Přemyslid Bohemia where

[502] See below, p. 261.

they produced silver jewellery characteristic only of them; others headed east *via* Hungary before reaching Rus', where jewellery marvelously developed as a field of art[503]. Jewellery produced in Rus' and Bohemia reached the Piast state, where some of it was deposited in the ground as hoards. The pieces of jewellery, decorated using the refined techniques of granulation and filigree, that can be admired in Polish hoards from the 10th century, are all of foreign origin.

Therefore, thanks to jewellery the relationships were confirmed between the first Piasts and the south – Moravia and Bohemia. Moreover, it is assumed that the Moravians themselves were present in Poland at that time – at least in one place: the village of Morawy, north of Bodzia near Włocławek. This is suggested not only by the name of the place, but also by an unusual find of an absolutely characteristic item – namely, a *gombik*, a Great Moravian outfit decoration[504].

Some hoards from the Piast domain contain fragments of Scandinavian jewellery, however, only in one hoard, the one from Borucin near Aleksandrów Kujawski, were there objects of Rus' origin: a pendant with four volutes, a classic Danish accessory, and further a *kaptorga* made in Bohemia, golden beads from Rus' and also fragments of fittings of a drinking horn of eastern origin, in the Khazar-Rus style[505].

Bohemian *kaptorgas* were also discovered in a grave in the cemetery in Dziekanowice on the shore of Lake Lednica, on an island of which Mieszko had a residence. Apart from the *kaptorgas,* a necklace with a silver cross pendant in the Hiddensee style was found[506]. At the time it was placed in the grave (in the first half of the 11th century) it was already old, which might indicate the presence of Scandinavian women from around Harald Bluetooth at the court of Mieszko I.

In this context, it is worth emphasizing the great significance of Wolin at the mouth of the Odra at that time; the town was a crafts-and-trade centre visited by foreigners, mostly Scandinavians, probably only

503 W. Duczko, *Post-wielkomorawski fenomen. Wczesnośredniowieczna sztuka złotnicza w Środkowej i Wschodniej Europie*, [in:] *Inspiracje i funkcje sztuki pradziejowej i wczesnośredniowiecznej*, ed. B. Gediga, A. Grossman, W. Piotrowski, Biskupin–Wrocław 2018, p. 107–119.

504 W. Duczko, *Moce wikingów. Światy i zaświaty wczesnośredniowiecznych Skandynawów*, Warszawa 2016, p. 147, fig. 3.4.23.

505 L. Rauhut, *Wczesnośredniowieczny skarb ze wsi Borucin, pow. Aleksandrów Kujawski*, "Wiadomości Archeologiczne" 22, 1955, p. 55–63.

506 *Srebrny naszyjnik z kaptorgami i krzyżowatą zawieszką z Dziekanowic*, ed. J. Wrzesiński, A. Wyrwa, Dziekanowice–Lednica 2012.

the Danes, who had connections with Harald Bluetooth. Mieszko I was certainly aware of the great importance of Wolin and endeavored to settle there. Did he succeed? We know nothing for sure, but rather not. However, even if he did conquer Wolin, we would not be able to recognize traces of his rule in the town using archaeological methods for one simple reason: in Mieszko's realm no material culture characteristic only of that area existed. What was foreign and originated from Wolin were products of the Pomeranian school of Scandinavian-insular ornamentation. Beautiful examples of products of this school were found in such Piast centres as Giecz, Gniezno, and Santok, however, they appeared also after a long hiatus in 12th-century Gdańsk. This kind of art must have been considered to be representative and remarkable, since it remained fashionable for such a long period.

3. Foreigners in the Poland of Bolesław Chrobry

The ascension to power of Bolesław Chrobry (the Brave), after the death of his father, Mieszko I, in 992, commenced a new period in the formation of the Piast state. The thirty-three years of Bolesław's rule involved lengthy wars with the Germans, Bohemians, and Rus' – but this was also the time when Christianity established itself in the realm of the Piasts for good. This is most significant for archaeologists, for the great source void (namely, the lack of Christian cemeteries), came to an end with Bolesław. Hereafter we have skeletons, a research material whose analysis allows for the identification of foreigners.

From the late 10th century through the first quarter of the following century a number of cemeteries with burials of the elites of Bolesław Chrobry's realm appear. They form a line along the left bank of the Vistula: Lutomiersk near Łódź; Bodzia near Włocławek; and further Pień, Kałdus, and Ciepłe in the Pomeranian voivodeship[507]. In these cemeteries are chamber graves in which men with

507 A. Nadolski, A. Abramowicz, T. Poklewski, *Cmentarzysko z XI wieku w Lutomiersku pod Łodzią*, Łódź 1959; *Bodzia. A Late Viking-Age Elite Cemetery in Central Poland*, ed. A. Buko, Leiden–Boston 2015 (= East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450, 27); A. Drozd, A. Janowski, D. Poliński, *Wczesnośredniowieczne groby komorowe na cmentarzysku w Pniu koło Bydgoszczy (badania 2005–2007)*, "Acta Archaeologica Pomoranica" 3, 2009, p. 351–366; W. Chudziak, *Wczesnośredniowieczne cmentarzysko w Kałdusie (stan. 4)*, Toruń 2010 (= Mons Sancti Laurentii 5); Z. Ratajczyk, *The cementary in Ciepłe*

swords and belts as well as women with silver jewellery were buried. The furnishings indicate that some of these people may have come from Rus' to the east[508]. Strontium analyses carried out on teeth taken from several graves in Bodzia and Ciepłe confirmed the Scandinavian origin of the buried.

In the graves in Bodzia there is a category of jewellery – silver beads decorated with granulation and *kaptorgas* with filigree and granulation – representing advanced artistic quality that may compare to traditional jewellery from Scandinavia or, as in our case, Rus'-Bohemian goldsmithing, from where most of the jewellery pieces seem to have originated[509]. The strongest Scandinavian influences are visible in Kałdus, where items – a cone and a lead cross – with runic inscriptions were found.

The deceased buried in chamber graves are considered to have been Varangians, Scandinavian mercenaries hired by the Kievan dukes, Vladimir the Great and Yaroslav the Wise[510]. Their presence in Poland is associated with the seizure of Kiev by Bolesław Chrobry in 1018, which seems to be only partly justified, as Bolesław had direct connections with the north, from where he could have brought his mercenaries.

Mercenaries served as defensive troops – most probably in 1038/1039 when they defended Ostrów Lednicki, the holm in Lake Lednica, against the Bohemian Duke Břetislav. This is to be confirmed by the large number of military finds acquired from the lake, among which axes and spears with Scandinavian decorations of blade and spearhead sleeves predominate[511]. Had all these weapons really fallen into the water during one battle? It is not certain. We have to bear in mind that if the Varangians had been at Lednica's largest holm, they must have cultivated their venerable traditions of offering a por-

– current research results, [in:] *Scandinavian Culture in Medieval Poland*, ed. S. Moździoch, B. Stanisławski, P. Wiszewski, Wrocław 2013 (= Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies 2), p. 323–351; *Ciepłe. Elitarna nekropola na wczesnośredniowiecznym Pomorzu Wschodnim*, ed. S. Wadyl, Gdańsk 2019.

508 W. Duczko, *Status and Magic. Ornaments used by the Bodzia Elites*, [in:] *Bodzia*. A *Late Viking-Age Elite Cemetery…*, p. 202–221.

509 W. Duczko, *Post-wielkomorawski fenomen…, passim.*

510 P. Żmudzki, *Najemnicy na Rusi i w krajach sąsiednich w X–XII w.*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" 111, 2004, 4, p. 5–28.

511 *Broń drzewcowa i uzbrojenie obronne z Ostrowa Lednickiego, Giecza i Grzybowa*, ed. P. Sankiewicz, A.M. Wyrwa, Lednica 2018 (= Biblioteka Studiów Lednickich Fontes 1).

tion of their weapons to their gods[512]. The studies on the weapons from Lednica are still ongoing, but they reveal that they are of Scandinavian origin to a large extent. Detailed studies will surely provide more information on the warriors who used them. We may expect that they will confirm that these were foreigners.

In conclusion: foreigners in Pomerania and in the realm of the early Piasts were mostly Scandinavians. Only in south-east Poland do we encounter groups of foreigners from other areas. In Przemyśl, at a partly excavated cemetery, graves have been discovered in which Magyars were buried, usually dated to the late 9th century, but rather one century younger[513]. Another group of Magyars settled in a small stronghold near Opatów, which is clearly indicated by the finds[514]. These areas were conquered by Mieszko I, so he and his warriors were foreigners there, which, in the context of all the above reflections, is a clear example revealing that research on foreignness in the Early Middle Ages is characterized by multiple perspectives on the phenomenon.

512 W. Duczko, *Viking Rus…*, p. 251.

513 M. Florek, *Węgrzy w Przemyślu. Historia alternatywna*, [in:] *Varia Sententiae. Księga jubileuszowa Działu Archeologii Muzeum Okręgowego w Rzeszowie*, ed. J. Podgórska-Czopek, Rzeszów 2010, p. 101–127.

514 M. Florek, *Materials of Hungarian provenience from the turn of the 11th century from Lipnik, Opatow District, Świętokrzyskie Province. Contribution to the study on foreign settlement in Early Medieval Lesser Poland*, "Acta Archaeologica Carpathica" 52, 2017, p. 209–233.

III

'Dangerous liaisons': The coalescence of the Piast state seen against the background of relations between the Interior and Pomerania

Sławomir Moździoch and Andrzej Pleszczyński

This chapter deals with questions that are basic for interpreting the attitude of the state ruled by the Piast dynasty, which came into being in the 10th century and expanded in the subsequent centuries, toward the Baltic zone – otherwise termed the Pomeranian zone[515]. We are convinced that the mutual role of the areas situated deeper within the country (the Interior) and those lying directly on the Baltic Sea (Pomerania) was of high importance for the social, political, and economic phenomena unfolding at the dawn of the Polish state and of Pomeranian statehood, as well as in the first centuries of the historical existence of both areas and their adjacent territories. In order, however, to correctly depict the history of the Interior and the history of Pomerania, along with their mutual relations, one has to (re) consider certain key concepts of historical analysis and description. What we primarily have in mind is the phenomenon of the state, the approach to its territory and its administration, population, and ideologies: altogether, the intangible matters of high significance to

[515] Sławomir Moździoch's contribution to this chapter draws on his research as presented in: S. Moździoch, *From a Tribe to a State*, [in:] *The Past Societies. Polish lands from the first evidence of human presence to the Early Middle Ages*, ed. P. Urbańczyk, vol. 5: *500–100 AD*, ed. M. Trzeciecki, Warszawa 2016, p. 123–168.

any community framed into a state, oftentimes more strongly binding the people than anything else. These problems will be elaborated and discussed below in the sequence as enumerated.

1. The state and the 'early' state: theories and description criteria

Studies penned by historians and archaeologists dealing with the relations between the Piast rulers and Pomerania in the 10th and 11th centuries use such labels as 'the Piast state', 'Mieszko's state', 'Bolesław's state', often doing so automatically, without reflecting on the actual meaning of these terms.[516] However, the basic difficulty in discussing the beginnings of the Piast state, as well as all the other early political organizations[517] consists in a disagreement between Polish and German mediaevalists (who are, quite obviously, the most frequent partner to their Polish peers) with respect to understanding this particular term in reference to the European Middle Ages. German scholarship describes the early mediaeval socioeconomic structures as rulerships or dominions (*Herrschafts*)[518], or 'personal-bond states' (*Personenverbandstaat*)[519], leaving the use of the term 'state' (*Staat*) for modern-era realities[520].

[516] For example: T. Manteuffel, *Polska wśród nowych państw Europy*, [in:] *Polska pierwszych Piastów: państwo, społeczeństwo, kultura*, ed. *idem*, Warszawa 1974, p. 16: "full-fledged state organism"; and: K. Modzelewski, *Chłopi w monarchii wczesnopiastowskiej…*, p. 274 ff., where a large passage on the Piast state.

[517] More broadly on the problem, see: *The early state*, ed. H.J.M. Claessen, P. Skalník, Paris–New York 1978; *The early state, its alternatives and analogues*, ed. L.E. Grinin, R.L. Carneiro *et al.*, Volgograd 2004; M. Tymowski, *Geneza i funkcjonowanie wczesnych form państwowości na tle porównawczym*, Warszawa 1992.

[518] W. Pohl, *Herrschaft*, [in:] *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, vol. 14, Berlin, New York 2003, p. 443–457. This 'discord' is somewhat apparent as the Polish *państwo* (state) is derived from *pan* (lord, master) – identically as the German *Herr/Herrschaft*. The point is, obviously, what we understand by these linguistic tags (the tags themselves being of importance as well).

[519] W. Pohl, *Personenverbandstaat*, [in:] *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, vol. 22, Berlin–New York 1999, p. 614–618. The term *Personenverbandstaat* stands for a state being an agreement of persons; the problem is similar to that indicated in footnote 518 above.

[520] For a brief summary of the dispute on the term '*Staat*' in German mediaeval studies, see Ch.H.F. Meyer, *Zum Streit um den Staat im frühen Mittelalter*, "Zeitschrift des Max-Planck-Instituts für Europäische Rechtsgeschichte" 17, 2010, p. 164–175. The stance of German mediaeval studies is well reflected by H. Boockmann's statement: "Den Staat als ein alle Menschen eines großen Gebietes erfassendes politisches Gebilde hat es im Mittelalter niemals und nirgends gegeben". However, this opinion is disputable, with its generality.

Awareness of the mutability of the terms related to early states and their divergence from those functioning in later periods, leads to diverse interpretations of the same mediaeval records. Hence, using the term 'rulership' or 'dominion' [Polish: *władztwo*], with a personal association, or 'state' [*państwo*] in a modern meaning, with respect to the polity of the Piasts, may deeply influence our attempt at understanding Polish-Pomeranian relations and a number of other questions in the history of Poland in the period. When one deals with personal rulership only, the Polish-German rivalry, so emphasized in recent centuries, may be pushed into the background; the discussion of the confrontation between the Piasts' state and the German state in the Middle Ages may lead to a completely different thematic scope, in contrast to the overly simple – and, basically, ahistorical understanding of the issue; this has in fact been the case rather often[521].

This particular problem (among others) was debated at a meeting of historians and archaeologists held in 2010 at the German Historical Institute in Warsaw[522]. The views dominant in German mediaeval studies were recounted by Eduard Mühle. Among the key points of his address, the following were particularly significant:

- there was no such entity as a territorial state in the Middle Ages; the system of power and authority was founded then upon personal bonds;
- the functions of the said system in the early Middle Ages were different than those in the late mediaeval period;
- the people subjected to power were not familiar with such as abstract notion as 'state', as if something detached from the ruler as a concrete individual; the term *regnum* (= 'state', 'kingdom', 'administration') used by authors of the records mainly referred to the people being in close contact with the ruler (*rex*).

Each of these issues is ambiguous enough to have raised enormous controversy.

The opinions prevailing among Polish mediaevalists were aptly summarized by Jerzy Strzelczyk, who stressed that although

[521] See e.g.: *Niemcy – Polska w średniowieczu. Materiały z konferencji naukowej zorganizowanej przez Instytut Historii UAM w dniach 14–16 XI 1983 roku*, ed. J. Strzelczyk, Poznań 1986.

[522] The third meeting was held on 1st June 2010: "3. Joachim-Lelewel-Gespräch: Was war das frühpiastische *regnum* – oder gab es im frühen Mittelalter Staaten?" A large report on it: http://www.dhi.waw.pl/fileadmin/user_upload/pdf/Veranstaltungen/Lelewel/Bericht_deutsch.pdf. (9.01.2016).

the name 'Poland' appears in none of the records before the turn of the millennium, the 'state' of Mieszko and Bolesław Chrobry (Boleslaus the Brave) is hidden under names such as 'the country of Mieszko', 'the duke of the North', *civitas Schinesghe*, *Gnezdun civitas*[523]. Its residents were referred to as the 'Vandals', or the *Licicaviki*, which attests to the poor grasp of the observers describing the realities from the outside, and can be explained in terms of the dynamic character of the process whereby the early state emerged.

In Strzelczyk's opinion, the German mediaevalists' argument that the *regna* of the time were founded on multi-grade personal relations is an unproved hypothesis; the possible existence of a state in the late 10th and early 11th century is not precluded because of the fact that the power structures in the early mediaeval period functioned under different rules than in the late Middle Ages. Furthermore, Strzelczyk believes that arguments of a lack of 'state consciousness' and no differentiation between the ruler and the state are assumptive only, and can by no means be verified based on written sources, at least in respect to early mediaeval Poland.

At that same meeting, Przemysław Urbańczyk, archaeologist, proposed a set of features to define the early mediaeval state, such as the stabilization of the centre of power, territorial expansion from such a central area, the existence of a dynastic and state-related tradition, use of supranational nomenclature enabling political identification of the state, mintage with an unambiguous political declaration of authority, plus a dozen other criteria whose application to early social organizations seems practically impossible, given the scarcity of source-based information, and the multiplicity and complexity of these proposed criteria.

Two years after the Warsaw meeting, in 2012, a conference was held in Poznań to discuss aspects of the 'early state' institution[524]. Again, it turned out that considerations on the origins and beginnings of early mediaeval states, spun on analysis of written and archaeological sources, are, for many reasons, difficult, while interpretations of such sources tend to be incompatible. Discussion on the meaning

523 For more on these phrases, see A. Pleszczyński, *The Birth of Stereotype: Polish Rulers and Their Country in German Writings c. 1000 A.D*, Boston–Leiden 2011, p. 10 ff.

524 *Instytucja "wczesnego państwa" w perspektywie wielości i różnorodności kultur*, ed. J. Banaszkiewicz, M. Kara, H. Mamzer, Poznań 2013.

of the term 'state' has, not without reason, been going on for almost two and a half thousand years: begun by philosophers, it was followed up by representatives of increasingly numerous disciplines of science, joined in the last century by state and state theory scholars. Sociologists, anthropologists, historians, as well as archaeologists would most frequently point to the following traits of early states:

- sovereign power over a defined territory;
- power over a group of people sizeable enough for statehood to come into being;
- a complex social structure (two strata as a minimum: the ruling and the ruled);
- an administration enabling the power elite to run, or administer, the state;
- an armed force ensuring the existence and functioning of a state;
- a developed manufacturing ensuring a production surplus;
- an ideology to legitimize the authority and power.

Most of these features are comprised in the definition of state proposed in 1909 by Franz Oppenheimer[525]. Apart from versatility, simplicity is a strong point of this concept. According to its author, essential for the early state is the power of a small group of warriors over the populace inhabiting a territory whose limits are clearly defined. Oppenheimer stressed the importance of administrative structure (a management system), with functionaries of the apparatus as its indispensable element. No less essential is the ideological legitimization of power[526].

It is interesting why Polish scholars so strongly defend the use of the term 'state' in reference to the Piast age, whilst most of their German peers believe that statehood is a matter of the modern era, at the earliest. The attitude of both Polish and German mediaeval scholars is partly based on non-substantive reasons. Before World

525 F. Oppenheimer, *Der Staat*, Jena ³1929, p. 23. This concise definition was almost wholly taken over by Oppenheimer from a 1885 study by L. Gumplowicz, *Grundriss der Soziologie*, Wien 1885, p. 116.

526 P. Urbańczyk, *Władza i polityka we wczesnym średniowieczu*, Wrocław 2000, p. 72; N. Yoffee, *Myths of the archaic state. Evolution of the earliest cities, states, and civilizations*, Cambridge 2004, p. 37 ff.; also: D.V. Kurtz, *The Legitimation of early inchoate states*, [in:] *The Study of the State*, ed. H.J.M. Clackson, P. Skalnik, Hague 1981, p. 177–200; M. Tymowski, *The origin and structures of political institutions in pre-colonial Black Arfrica: dynastic monarchy, taxes and tributes, war and slavery, kinship and territory*, New York 2009, p. 9 f.

War II and to this day, 'the state', with its tradition deeply embedded in the past, has played a key role in the Poles' consciousness, including in Polish social, political, and historical thought; this is partly rooted in the struggle of several generations to regain their people's erased state and statehood.

The history of the discussions on the use of the notion of 'state' in German historiography is complex, and dates back to the 1930s and 1940s. In Timothy Reuter's opinion, the Germans' rude awakening from their dreams of greatness and glory contributed after WWII to their altered view of the history of mediaeval Germany, and provided them with incentives for building a new model of the reality of yore. In opposition to Marxist scholars from East Germany, West Germans endeavoured to emphasize the polycentric character of mediaeval Germany. Interestingly, as the concept of a shared Europe based on a sui generis nationalism gradually began to decompose in favour of a resumption of national ideas, critical opinions against the intransigence of adherents of the *Personenverbandstaat* idea with respect to mediaeval dominions appeared in German science as well. Among the critics were law historians such as Karl Kroeschell[527], and mediaevalists – if only to name Hans-Werner Goetz[528] and Jörg Jarnut[529]. In 2011, a publication came out whose authors mostly admitted the use of the term *Staat* in relation to the early Middle Ages, which was regarded by its reviewer as breaking a paradigm that had been dominant in German mediaeval studies for almost fifty years by then[530]. As J. Strzelczyk remarked, as a historiographical construct,

[527] K.A. Kroeschell, *Verfassungsgeschichte und Rechtsgeschichte des Mittelalters*, [in:] *Gegenstand und Begriffe der Verfassungsgeschichtsschreibung*, ed. R. Kosseleck, Berlin 1983, p. 47 ff.; also: *idem*, *Führer, Gefolgschaft und Treue*, [in:] *Die Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte in der NS-Zeit, ihre Vorgeschichte und ihre Nachwirkungen*, ed. J. Rückert, D. Willoweit, Tübingen 1995, p. 73 f.

[528] H.-W. Goetz, *Staatsvorstellung und Verfassungswirklichkeit in der Karolingerzeit, untersucht anhand des 'Regnum'-Begriffs in erzählenden Quellen*, [in:] *Zusammenhänge, Einflüsse, Wirkungen*, ed. J.O. Fichte, K. Göller, K. Heinz, Berlin 1986, p. 229–240.

[529] J. Jarnut, *Anmerkungen zum Staat des frühen Mittelalters: Die Kontroverse zwischen Johannes Fried und Hans-Werner Goetz*, [in:] *Akkulturation. Probleme einer germanisch-romanischen Kultursynthese in Spätantike und frühem Mittelalter*, ed. D. Hägermann, W. Haubrichs, J. Jarnut, C. Giefers, Berlin–New York 2004 (= Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 41), p. 504–509.

[530] W. Pohl, V. Wieser, *Der frühmittelalterliche Staat. Europäische Perspektiven*, Wien 2009 (= Denkschriften / Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 16). For a review of this publication, see Ch.H.F. Meyer, *Zum Streit um den Staat…*, p. 164–175.

the idea of *Personenverbandstaat* was not welcomed by British mediaevalists, either[531].

Evading the term 'state' is, to an extent – whether deliberately or unconsciously; aptly or inequitably – an attempt at building a new history, without the researcher being involved in state terms. The discussion on the definition of state in the Middle Ages, an age with which so many people can identify themselves nowadays, can turn into a discussion on the sense of a national history. Rather than the establishment of 'personal relations' between Mieszko I and his retinue (*drużyna*) in the 10th century, it was the emergence of Poland that works as a factor of strengthening the group identity of the community residing between the Odra (Oder, in German) and the Bug rivers.

The changing fate of the term state (Germ. *Staat* / Polish *państwo*) in Central European mediaeval studies has been associated with ideological and political changes and transitions. Its 'nationalistic' ring was particularly needed by the nations that were rebuilding their national identity after the First as well as the Second World War. In Germany, in turn, attempts were made to weaken the sense of national identity, in favour of involvement in the building of a European project. Is this the reason why the statement "kein Staat im Mittelalter" ("there was no state in the Middle Ages") was so consistently adhered to in West German mediaeval studies, and most emphatically from the 1960s onwards? If so, what should the recent resumption of the term 'state' mean in a historiography that attaches so much attention to terms or notions? Does it mark a gradual resumption of the old national pride?

In fact, we do not need to answer this question for our present purpose. Rather, as we have tried to emphasize, it is worth bearing in mind that a set of notions used in historiography to describe the world of the past and which can be drawn or deduced from the historical records is, paradoxically, part of the present. This circumstance raises a number of complications and prevails in that the researcher's description will always be, to a degree, subjective and approximate. This is obviously not to say that the attempt to reach for the past and learn about the fortunes and vicissitudes of our ancestors, and to understand the mechanisms of social change, is pointless or nonsensical. No society has ever existed in this world, nor indeed might one exist, without reference to

[531] T. Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages. C. 800-1056*, London 1991; S. Reynolds, *Fiefs and vassals. The medieval evidence reinterpreted*, Oxford–New York 1994.

history, even though our knowledge of the latter is handicapped. In any case, back to our core problem, it is entirely apparent from the observations made above how important is our awareness of the meaning of the terms in use. What is more, among the many definitions of the given notion, the one that, for one reason or the other, is the most important for the argument being constructed has to be chosen.

All in all, in line with the tradition of Polish mediaeval studies, we stand for upholding the term 'state' when describing the early mediaeval period and define it in accordance with Oppenheimer's aforementioned theory. Although it was formulated many years ago, it is not only sufficiently simple and comprehensive, but relatively well elaborated, and thus can be considered the best for our present purpose.

2. Territory

While remaining less than fully satisfied with having defined the early state, let us turn now to defining the territory (the first of the 'Oppenheimer state' features), or the stage of the events on which the Piasts' state was forming and, subsequently, the Pomeranian statehoods emerged.

Most scholars situate the early Piast state in the area between the Odra and the Bug, the Baltic coastal area in the north, and the mountains of the Sudeten and Carpathian ranges in the south – that is, roughly in line with the description known as *Dagome iudex*[532]. Since this record is interpreted in various ways, the details of the borders of Mieszko's country are subject to controversies[533]. Concerning however the general shape of the state and its location, there is no controversy.

The realm of the Piasts covered a largely lowland territory. Along its lines of latitude, the area has no natural borders: the lowlands

[532] For a broader discussion on this document, see: G. Labuda, *Stan dyskusji nad dokumentem 'Dagome iudex' i państwem 'Schinesghe'*, [in:] *Civitas Schinesghe cum pertinentiis*, ed. W. Chudziak, Toruń 2003, p. 9–17 (includes more reference literature). The same publication discusses different concepts of the reach of the *civitas Schinesghe* (by M. Dulinicz, *Mazowsze we wczesnym średniowieczu. Jego związki z "państwem gnieźnieńskim"*, [in:] *Civitas Schinesghe cum pertinentiis*, ed. W. Chudziak, Toruń 2003, p. 89–119). Cf. P. Urbańczyk, *Mieszko…*, p. 369 ff.

[533] The reach of the *civitas Schinesghe* described therein has most frequently been reconstructed in the form as recently published by Z. Kurnatowska, *Początki i rozwój państwa*, [in:] *Pradzieje Wielkopolski*, ed. M. Kobusiewicz, Poznań 2008, p. 326, with 'pertinence areas' added thereto in diverse ways.

stretch from the east of today's Ukraine across to Lower Saxony. Only the marshes of Polesia in the east and the moraines separating Pomerania from the Interior and Mazovia (Mazowsze) from the area inhabited by the Prussians posed an obstacle to human travel. Upland areas appear in the south of Poland; at their southernmost edge, they rise up to the mountain ranges of the Sudetes and Carpathians.

Only in the areas of the Wrocław Plain, the Głubczyce Plateau, the Cracow-Częstochowa Upland, and the Lublin Upland do we encounter heavy fertile soils, formed upon a clay or loess substratum. In the remainder of the territory, light soils on a sandy substratum prevail. Taking a look at the archaeological maps of settlement[534], we can see that Slavic farmers initially prefered these light soils in cultivation, owing to the primitive implements with which they cultivated the land and the prevalence of cattle farming combined with slash-and-burn cultivation. All this resulted in a considerable mobility of settlement[535]. That Slavs easily moved around in the early tribal phase is confirmed by the fact that relatively few traces of fixed settlements appear compared to the large spaces occupied by those people and by the lack of large and long-used graveyards.

By the late 10th century, the territory of the Piasts' state was composed of the basins of the Odra and the Vistula, the two large rivers flowing into the Baltic Sea. In the north, adjacent to it was the area of Pomerania, periodically controlled by the Piasts, largely associated with the rivers of the Baltic littoral. The fluvial network of the Interior (i.e., the Piast state's territory excluding Pomerania) was favourable to transport and movement particularly along a north-south axis and in certain latitudinal sections. The morphology of the area and the fairly dense network of rivers made the inland area relatively easily accessible, in spite of its considerable forestation. In contrast to this, in Pomerania, the rivers facilitated contact with the coastal area whilst inhibiting east-west movement, which was much easier by sea. Pomerania was separated from the inland by considerable forest areas located in morainic lands with very poor soils, which fact posed severe obstacles to the development

[534] J. Poleski, *Grody plemienne i wczesnopaństwowe w Małopolsce*, [in:] *Początki sąsiedztwa. Pogranicze etniczne polsko-rusko-słowackie w średniowieczu*, ed. M. Parczewski, S. Czopek, Rzeszów 1996, p. 109–119; *idem*, *Wczesnośredniowieczne grody w dorzeczu Dunajca*, Kraków 2004.

[535] For Pomerania; to be more specific, the Wolin–Kamień territory; see W. Łosiński, *Osadnictwo plemienne Pomorza…*, p. 56–61.

of extensive agriculture in these areas[536]. This combination of openness to the sea and difficult access to the inland areas contributed to the formation of the region's characteristic cultural features and its separation, of a sort, from the Interior[537].

The early mediaeval period was a time of a relatively mild climate, which only a few hundred years later, during the Small Ice Age (16th to 18th centuries), began to change, bringing about considerable cooling. Although the beginning of the early Middle Ages (6th to 7th century) saw a periodical humidification of the climate, with rising water levels, they began to lower again from the 8th century onwards, in step with the advance of warming and drying, and only from mid-10th century on did they start moving up again[538]. In the Noteć river catchment, the water level began going up not until the latter half of 11th century[539]. A similar rhythm of changing water relations was identified for the valley of the Odra; a faster growth of the water level occurred there beginning with the year 1280, as is confirmed by (among other things) analysis of annual ring growths in local oaks. The same cycle of water level fluctuation was recorded for the Vistula river in the Fordon Valley, in the whole of Lesser Poland, and – based on archaeological and natural observations (hydrological, geomorphological, and palynological) – in the other regions of Poland as well.

The low level of waters in the 8th to 10th centuries enabled settlement in fluvial valleys, which, apart from the necessary access to water, ensured easy access bog ores, commonly used in iron production at that time, and clay, used to insulate the huts and make vessels. Fertile and easy-to-cultivate land was a priority, though.

536 In the relations with the Piast state, the primeval forests separating Pomerania and Greater Poland certainly played an important part. The author of the Life of St. Otto of Bamberg describes the area as a "horrid and very extensive wilderness" – *Die Prüfeninger Vita Bischof Ottos I. von Bamberg nach der Fassung des Großen Österreichischen Legendars*, ed. J. Petersohn, MGH SSrerGerm. 71, Hannover 1999 [further: Vita Prieflingensis], III, 1.

537 W. Łosiński, *Pomorze bardziej słowiańskie, czy bardziej "bałtyckie"*, [in:] *Ziemie polskie w X wieku…*, p. 119–141; notices and analyses this point (in one of his more interesting articles).

538 E.g., W. Chudziak, R. Kaźmierczak, *Wyspa w Żółtym na Jeziorze Zarańskim w okresie wczesnego średniowiecza – "brama" do Pomorza Zachodniego*, [in:] *Pradoliny pomorskich rzek: kontakty kulturowe i handlowe społeczeństw w pradziejach i wczesnym średniowieczu*, ed. M. Fudziński, W. Świętosławski, W. Chudziak, Gdańsk 2017, p. 330.

539 W. Chudziak, E. Siemianowska, *Z badań nad systemem komunikacji we wczesnym średniowieczu*, [in:] *Pradoliny pomorskich rzek…*, p. 296.

The location of settlements in river valleys fostered the animal husbandry model. Noteworthy is the fact that in Pomerania, in contrast to the Interior, iron ores did not appear in significant amount, whereas iron was the basis of the functioning of early states: it was a strategic material used in the manufacture of weapons and horse tack.

The discussion goes on regarding the degree of the development of Polish lands at the threshold of the early Middle Ages. Although in the palynological profiles made (in scarce numbers) in the area of Poland, an increase in the quantities of cereal pollens is noticeable beginning with the 6th–7th century this is not a radical increase. Pollen diagrams confirm that settlement and cereals cultivation in the lower section of the Odra developed in the later phase of the early Middle Ages. Yet the dynamic development of husbandry, with its accompanying deforestation, began in this region not until the 12th century; in other regions, such as in Chełmno Land, it was not until the early 13th century that it started.

The results of palynological analysis from the north-eastern (Chełmno Land) as well as south-western (Lubusz/Lebus Land) edge of the Interior have demonstrated that the scale of anthropogenic transformations of the natural environment was still relatively slight until the end of the 8th century[540]. In the opinion of paleobotanists and archaeozoologists, the communities inhabiting these areas in the earlier phase of the early mediaeval period conducted a type of husbandry that was prevalently based on animal breeding and hunting rather than land cultivation. The essential role of forest management is indicated by the considerable share (in excess of 20 percent, at times) of the bones of wild animals in the overall animal bone finds from the earliest phase of the early Middle Ages in Lubusz Land[541]. This mix significantly changed, with domes-

540 A.M. Noryśkiewicz, *Historia roślinności i osadnictwa ziemi chełmińskiej w późnym holocenie. Studium palinologiczne*, Toruń 2013, p. 134; K. Milecka, *Tło środowiskowe osadnictwa w rejonie stanowiska 1 w Zawadzie na podstawie wyników analizy palinologicznej*, [in:] *Wczesnośredniowieczna osada w Zawadzie, stan. 1, gm. Zielona Góra. Studia interdyscyplinarne*, ed. B. Gruszka, Zielona Góra 2014, p. 44 f.

541 D. Makowiecki, *Wyniki badań archeozoologicznych szczątków kostnych z wykopalisk w Gnieźnie, stanowisko 22*, [in:] *Wyniki analiz specjalistycznych materiałów wczesnośredniowiecznych z gnieźnieńskiego zespołu osadniczego*, ed. M. Kara, Gniezno 2012, p. 153–252; D. Makowiecki *et al.*, *Nowiniec, stan 2 – wczesnośredniowieczny gród na pograniczu śląsko-łużyckim w świetle badań interdyscyplinarnych*, Zielona Góra 2012.

tic animal bones prevailing, not until after the Piast state and its stronghold-based organization had formed.

Summing up these few remarks on the present state of research into the natural environment of the early mediaeval Interior, it can be concluded that its climatic conditions and, consequently, its other elements were extremely beneficial to settlement between the 7th/8th and 13th/14th centuries. The mildness of the climate that prevailed in the "small climatic optimum", manifesting itself in smaller temperature differences between summers and winters and thus in a longer vegetation period, enabled cultivation of vineyards until the 14th century.

The farming and environmental situation in Pomerania was different to that prevalent in the Interior. In general, there were fewer good to very good, easy to cultivate, soils in comparison to the inland areas; these were accessible only in the fluvial valleys. This situation, unfavourable to the development of settlement, was offset by the influence of the Baltic. On the one hand, the sea alleviated the climate, which was not quite acute anyway, and was conducive to its humidity, which is favourable to vegetation. Thus, even the poorer soils yielded a relatively good harvest. On the other hand, the sea supplied the inhabitants of the coastal area with foods inaccessible to those dwelling in the Interior: sea fish, particularly herring, were an important dietary element for residents of Pomerania and, at least from the 11th century, an important commodity exported to the Interior[542].

The picture of early Slavic settlement in the territory between the Odra and the Bug, as reconstructed on the basis of archaeological sources, features a rather small number of settlements dispersed along watercourses. In the last forty years, only thirty-nine sites related to the period have been discovered in Lesser Poland[543]. The biggest residential areas discovered consisted of a dozen-or-so huts. Similarly meagre was the occupation of the other regions of Poland in the initial phase of the early Middle Ages; we can read, for example, about a "low density of the population of the entire area of what was to become Greater Poland"[544]. The borderland of Silesia, Greater Poland, and the Lubusz Land, where several

[542] D. Makowiecki, *Historia śledzia w wykopaliskach zapisana*, [in:] *Śledź a sprawa polska*, ed. A. Chludziński, Pruszcz Gdański, 2015, p. 9–32.

[543] J. Poleski, *Małopolskie grody V–X wiek. Studium archeologiczne*, Kraków 2013, p. 35.

[544] Z. Kurnatowska, *Wielkopolska w X wieku i formowanie się państwa polskiego*, [in:] *Ziemie polskie w X wieku…*, p. 102.

dozen early Slavic sites have been identified in recent years, was rather unique[545]. However, only a dozen of them are remnants of residential areas, with a few dozen or more fragmented pieces of ceramics having been discovered; the other ones are individual sites, by no means attesting to a permanent settlement trend[546].

Settlements mainly cropped up in the valleys of bigger rivers – the Vistula, the Odra, the Warta, their numerous tributaries, and in wetland areas. River valleys, and borderlands of valleys and moraine plateaus, were prefered due to the focus on animal husbandry. It was not until the 10th century, or perhaps in the late 9th, that settlements began to shift towards upland areas, which was related both to the climate change (also affecting water relations) and to the increasingly changing economic model, already then predominated by agriculture.

The dynamism in the development of early mediaeval settlements is not easy to define due to the meagre source base. The period's numerous settlement points plotted in archaeological maps of the Interior are, in fact, the places where one to a few clay vessel shells have been found. The reasons behind the appearance of so numerous pieces of information on single finds of early mediaeval vessel fragments are multiple. On the one hand, small fragments of prehistoric vessels were once misinterpreted as 'early mediaeval'; on the other, a considerable number of single finds might have been a natural effect of the Slavs' mobility in the period concerned.

In both cases, one may assume that the actual number of stable and long-lasting settlements was much lower than the number of spots on archaeological settlement maps. Areas where such spots appear densely next to one another create the semblance of a strongly developed settlement network already in the older phases of early mediaeval development. But this in fact was not the case, and no complex social organization that might have merged the human settlements, which were basically distributed as enclaves, is identifiable in the period under discussion.

[545] B. Gruszka, E. Pawlak, P. Pawlak, *Zespoły ceramiczne ze starszych faz wczesnego średniowiecza na wybranych stanowiskach środkowego Nadodrza w świetle najnowszych wyników datowań przyrodniczych*, "Archeologia Polski" 58, 2013, 1–2, p. 171–198.

[546] Cf. critical remarks on settlement analyses mainly based on results of surface research – S. Moździoch, *Refleksje na temat stanu wiedzy archeologicznej o śląskim wczesnym średniowieczu*, [in:] *Stan i potrzeby badań nad wczesnym średniowieczem w Polsce – 15 lat później. Materiały z konferencji naukowej, Toruń 20-22 października 2003 roku*, ed. W. Chudziak, S. Moździoch, Toruń–Warszawa 2006, p. 189–206.

3. The populace, its origin, and early social organization

The debate concerning the origin of the inhabitants of Polish lands, combined with controversies over the genesis of the Slavs, has been ongoing for centuries now. The disputes between the autochthonists (that is, adherents of the view whereby the Slavs emerged in the territory of today's Poland) and the allochthonists (who believe that the Slavs originally arrived from outside) alone would suffice for an extensive dissertation[547]. Herein, we will neglect this particular question. Contemporary genetic testing of fossil DNA, which has been performed for about three decades, yields but inconclusive results. Thus, it is still too early for any clear-cut argument – all the more so, as the problem has hitherto been poorly debated; historians have taken no serious interest in it, in fact. One may be tempted, however, to formulate certain general remarks of importance to the considerations being spun. Apart from information on the similarity of prehistoric and mediaeval populations, the most important remark would be that considerable genetic similarity has been observable between the populace of Polish areas, that of the eastern and central areas of Germany as well as southern Scandinavia, particularly Norway. As it seems this attests to what sociologists, for that matter, had postulated long ago[548] – namely, that human biology does not have to be closely associated with ethnicities and the culture of human communities. Yet there is an even more important ascertainment: archaeogenetic research has shown that Polish and Pomeranian communities were always in close touch with Scandinavia and the trans-Odra areas, and also with the region inhabited by Baltic peoples and, primarily, with eastern Europe, whilst less so with the trans-Carpathian areas. It is evident how a defined shape of geographic space fostered movement, transport, and contacts (not always peaceful ones) between communities settled on the vast lowland space stretching from the Dnieper river across to western Germany.

Our knowledge of that time and the changes taking place then is quite meagre. One thing though is certain: from the mid-fourth century until the late 9th century the climate was chilling. The 5th century saw

[547] A. Buko, *The Archeology of Early Medieval Poland. Discoveries – Hypotheses – Interpretations*, Leiden–Boston 2008, p. 55–60.

[548] A. Brah, M.J. Hickham, M. Mac an Ghaill, *Thinking Identities: Ethnicity, Racism and Culture, (Introduction)*, Basingstoke 1999, p. 100–119.

a sort of climatic disaster, with very frosty winters and cool summers[549]. It can even be presumed that the exodus of the Huns from the steppes of central Asia and the other migrations of the time were connected to the climatic change, which ultimately led to shortages of food. Roman records report numerous plagues that tormented the Empire's population in its declining years[550]. They must have affected the areas beyond the limes, as well, including the lands of Central Europe.

Although just a very small fraction of the population would emigrate from the region in search for better living conditions within the Roman Empire, these plagues did contribute to the fact that settlements became considerably thinned out. The region's people, living in new, more primitive conditions, could not – for hundreds of years – attain the settlement density from before the 5th-century's calamities. With time, however, the climate improved. The structures of the new communities toughened, and development occurred. As a result, from the 8th to 10th centuries, the number of settlements increased by at least fifty percent compared to the preceding period[551]. In the pre-Piast period (9th to mid-10th century), people gradually filled in the settleable areas, having to face the challenges of a primitive husbandry that required not only arable land but also vastly larger forested areas[552].

A process occurred at this very time, as part of which 'familial societies' bonded by kin relations organized themselves (in tandem with the demographic development and as settlement niches were getting populated) into 'territorial societies' that were socially diverse and proto-politically structured groups with a simple, and rather unstable structure of power. The split of the territories inhabited by the Slavs "per varias familias et loca" was observed in the mid-6th century by Jordanes; the importance of clan lineage for the Slavs is attested by the longevity of its social functions[553].

[549] N. Brown, *History and Climate Change. A Eurocentric perspective*, London–New York 2001, p. 85 ff.; W. Behringer, *Kulturgeschichte des Klimas. Von der Eiszeit bis zur globalen Erwärmung*, München 2007, p. 92 ff.

[550] J. Stannard, *Diseases of Western Antiquity*, [in:] *The Cambridge world history of human disease*, ed. K.F. Kiple, Cambridge 2008, p. 262–270; *Encyclopedia of plague and pestilence. From ancient times to the present*, ed. G.C. Kohn, New York 2008, p. 323.

[551] W. Łosiński, *Osadnictwo plemienne Pomorza…*, p. 145–166.

[552] *Idem*, *Pomorze – bardziej słowiańskie…*, p. 126.

[553] K. Tymieniecki, *Społeczeństwo Słowian lechickich. Ród i plemię*, Lwów 1928; E. Stankiewicz, *Slavic kinship terms and the perils of the soul*, "American Folklore Society" 71, 1958, p. 115–122; L.Z. Rymaszewski, *Prawo bliższości krewnych w polskim prawie ziemskim do końca XV wieku*, Wrocław 1970.

Consequently, the records show two criteria for the identification of groups of Slavs in the early mediaeval period: tribal (ancestral) and territorial. The former has often been subject to criticism due to the lack of a precise definition of 'tribe' or its overly simplified identification in the literature with ethnos[554]. It is quite undeniable, however, that early mediaeval sources used the names of tribes to denote the communities dwelling in specified territories whenever describing Slavs, regardless of the actual purpose of such descriptions[555].

The formation of territorial communities is a process that is hard to trace, owing to the laconic character of relevant mentions in written sources and the ambiguity (and scarcity, too) of archaeological data. Only from time to time are differences discernible in the material culture between the supposed tribe-occupied territories. Such is the case, for instance, with Silesia, in the area once inhabited by the tribe of Dziadoszanie, whose ceramic vessels assumed squat, bi-conical forms. In the south, in the areas once inhabited by the Ślężanie, slender vessels, with a prevalent clearly S-shaped profile line, are encountered[556]. This is also due to the fact that such was the course of the line dividing the two zones of western Slavdom, identifiable based on features of vessel ceramics: the northern, Tornow-Klenica zone, and the southern, Danube-Chodlik zone[557]. Moreover, Pomerania differed from the Interior by its higher frequency of ceramics of the Feldberg type, or Gołańcz, Bardy, Kędrzyno types. Later on, a different characteristic form of vessel, which German researchers have named the Menkendorf type, appeared there. Its appearance in the Interior is usually associated with a northern (Pomeranian) influence. It was probably one of the very few differences in the material culture, since in the opinion of Adam of Bremen (second half of the 11th century), "the Bohemians, the Poles, and the Pomeranians do not differ between themselves in customs, language, or attire"[558].

Associating certain elements of material culture with given tribes is a risky approach not only in terms of methodology, but also due

[554] P. Boroń, *Słowiańskie plemię. O pojęciu i jego rozumieniu w polskiej historiografii*, [in:] *Viae historicae. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana prof. Lechowi A. Tyszkiewiczowi*, ed. M. Goliński, S. Rosik, Wrocław 2001, p. 206 ff.; P. Urbańczyk, *Władza i polityka…*, p. 69–106.

[555] Ch.R. Bowlus, *Franks, Moravians, and Magyars. The Struggle for the Middle Danube, 788–907*, Philadelphia, Pa. 1995.

[556] J. Lodowski, *Dolny Śląsk na początku średniowiecza (VI-X w.). Podstawy osadnicze i gospodarcze*, Wrocław 1980, p. 156.

[557] L. Leciejewicz, *Słowiańszczyzna zachodnia…*, p. 56, fig. 4.

[558] Adam II, 21.

to the fact that tribal names only sporadically appear in written sources; they are rarely found in 9th-, 10th-, and 11th-century texts. In 1962, as part of his publication of a map showing the distribution of the names of the presumptive tribes, Stanisław Zajączkowski remarked that "the results of archaeological research hitherto conducted make it impossible to reconstruct onetime tribal divisions on a countrywide scale"[559]. Less than thirty years later, a similar map was presented by Lech Leciejewicz[560], combining the tribal names known from written sources and early mediaeval settlement clusters. This considerably corrected the locations proposed earlier by historians, which were erroneous not only owing to the lack of archaeological confirmation of settlements, but also because features of the geographical environment that excluded settlement had tended to be ignored[561]. Since then, at least a dozen such scholarly maps of tribal geography have been published. They reinforce the conviction of mediaevalist milieux that the socioeconomic structures in the Interior were considerably advanced, and this, in turn, has led to theories of the functioning of tribes, or even states (e.g., the alleged state of the Wiślanie [Vistulans]).

The most recent literature has challenged the former hypotheses whereby the tribes of Polans (Polanie) and Goplans (Goplanie) were situated in Greater Poland. Although in the opinion of Gerard Labuda, "it is obvious that the tribal name of the Polans and of the country, Poland, which referred to the later historical Greater Poland – that is, Old Poland – must have dated to the latter half of the 9th century"[562], in fact, the name is first recorded, in diverse forms, not until the early 11th century (in the *Lives of Saint Adalbert*, the *Annals of Quedlinburg*, and *Chronicon* of Thietmar of Merseburg)[563]. Hence, Przemysław Urbańczyk's argument that the 'tribe' of Polans is a creation of historians, and the name 'Polans' (Polanie) is connected only with the Piast state, denoting its inhabitants[564]. This thesis, though it may be correct

[559] S.M. Zajączkowski, *Podziały plemienne Polski w okresie powstania państwa. Geografia plemienna ziem polskich*, [in:] *Początki państwa polskiego…*, vol. 1, p. 81.

[560] L. Leciejewicz, *Słowianie Zachodni…*, p. 64.

[561] Cf., for instance, the map of tribes in: J. Wyrozumski, *Historia Polski do roku 1505*, Warszawa 1983, p. 78, fig. 1.

[562] G. Labuda, *Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego*, vol. 2, Poznań 1988, p. 78.

[563] A. Pleszczyński, *The Birth of* a *Stereotype…*, p. 139 ff.

[564] P. Urbańczyk, *Trudne początki Polski*, Wrocław 2008, p. 317.

with regard to the period preceding the late 10th century, raises certain doubts. There are 'Polans' in the early 12th-century Ruthenian *Tale of Bygone Years*, whom – along with the Mazovians and the Pomeranians – are mentioned as an ethnic (possibly, tribal) group, rather than as inhabitants of the state of the Piasts[565]. We apparently have to assume that there was a fluidity to 'tribal' organization, as it could relatively quickly emerge and then fade away, in spite of the name which would suggest permanence and, in a way, the family-based origin of the people forming it. However, a similar mystification is found in the case of 'nation' – that is, when it is assumed that the individuals composing a nation all have common ancestors.

This ascertainment by no means diminishes the trouble with the tribes known from written records, for they simply cannot be plotted on a map showing early mediaeval settlements. Such is the case with the 'Glopeani' (the Goplans?) mentioned in *The Bavarian Geographer*[566]; even the simple association of this name with Lake Gopło seems dubious[567]. A similar case concerns the 'Łęczycanie' and 'Sieradzanie', both placed in central Poland[568]: created by mediaevalists, no such tribes have been reflected in archaeological research[569]. Similar problems are encountered for Lesser Poland, the region believed to have been populated by the large tribe of the Wiślanie (Vistulans), with their centre in Cracow, and the Lędzianie (Lendians), whose larger stronghold centres were said to be in Przemyśl and Lublin.

An enormous literature has accumulated concerning the Vistulans and the Lendians, although the name *Vuislane* is only to be found in *The Bavarian Geographer*[570], and the Lendians should probably be referred to areas east of the Bug river[571]. Its synonymity with the name "Lachowie"/"Lachy" is not confirmable archeologically. Michał Parczewski, who made such endeavours, aptly commented that "none of the documents made in mediaeval Poland, and none of the traditions taken note of by later scholars, ever mentions a tribe called Lędzianie"[572]. The 'tribes' such as 'Sandomierzanie', or even 'Lublinianie' are a complete mystification[573].

As far as Silesian lands are concerned, the considerations of historians are better grounded in written sources. Dispersed settlements in the area of Opole in Silesia might correspond with the tribe of *Opolini* (Opolans? [Opolanie]) mentioned by *The Bavarian Geographer*. This argument is based on the fact that the *Opolini* people are mentioned in the source before the Gołęszyce *(Golensizi)* tribe, which might mean that they neighboured each other; and, furthermore, on the similarity to the locality name of Opole – which, however, first appears in written sources in the early 13th century. Certain linguistic arguments speak in favour of locating the Gołęszyce in the Głubczyce Plateau and the Polish-Bohemian borderland[574].

No tribal names have survived from the region of Mazovia; the only one known, the Mazovians (Mazowszanie), often featuring in maps of early-Polish tribes, dates to the 11th century and basically referred to the residents of the entire area as a region in the state of the Piasts, rather than to an early tribal structure.

Taking a closer look at the arguments tabled in favour of a given location for tribal names, it turns out that only the location of the Dziadoszanie, whose abodes were situated in the ancient valley of the Odra, in the vicinity of Głogów and in Lower-Silesian For-

565 *The Russian Primary Chronicle. Laurentian Text*, ed. and transl. S.H. Cross, O.P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, Cambridge Mass. 1953, p. 53: "Thus some came and settled by the river Morava, and were named Moravians, while others were called Czechs. Among these same Slavs are included the White Croats, the Serbs, and the Carinthians. […] the latter came and made their homes by the Vistula, and were then called Lyakhs. Of these same Lyakhs some were called Polyanians, some Lutichians, some Mazovians, and still others Pomorians".

566 Z. Kurnatowska, *Początki i rozwój państwa…*, p. 306.

567 *Eadem*, *Wielkopolska w X wieku i formowanie…*, p. 103. None of the attempts made by linguists to replace the name *Glopeani*/Goplanie with 'Głobjanie' can add piece of archaeological evidence to a dense settlement in eastern Greater Poland; see: M. Łuczyński, *Prapolski etnonim 'Glopeani' (Głos w dyskusji)*, "Slavia Occdentalis" 72, 2015, p. 121–124.

568 K. Tymieniecki, *Pisma wybrane*, Poznań 1956; S.M. Zajączkowski, *Studia nad terytorialnym formowaniem ziemi łęczyckiej i sieradzkiej*, Łódź 1951, p. 70.

569 J. Sikora, *Polska Centralna we wczesnym średniowieczu w świetle badań archeologicznych i osadniczych*, "Slavia Antiqua" 48, 2007, p. 121–159.

570 A. Buko, *The Archeology of Early Medieval Poland…*, p. 78 ff.

571 *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De administrando imperio…*, p. 168 f.

572 M. Parczewski, *Problem Lędzian a kształtowanie się polsko-ruskiej rubieży etnicznej*, [in:] *U źródeł Europy Środkowo-wschodniej: pogranicze polsko-ukraińskie w perspektywie badań archeologicznych*, ed. M. Dębiec, M. Wołoszyn, Rzeszów 2007, p. 161–176.

573 A. Buko, *The Archeology of Early…*, p. 77; *idem*, *Początki Sandomierza*, Warszawa 1998, p. 24 ff.; M. Florek, *Lublin między VIII a XII wiekiem w świetle badań archeologicznych*, "Rocznik Lubelski" 43, 2017, p. 13–42.

574 J. Szydłowski, *Wczesnośredniowieczne grodzisko w Lubomi, pow. Wodzisław Śląski, po trzech sezonach wykopaliskowych (1966–1968)*, "Sprawozdania Archeologiczne" 22, 1970, p. 173–191; J. Szydłowski, W. Pierzyna, *Lubomia gród plemienny Gołęszyców*, Bytom 1970; S. Moździoch, *Społeczność plemienna Śląska w IX–X wieku*, [in:] *Śląsk około roku 1000*, ed. M. Młynarska-Kaletynowa, E. Małachowicz, Wrocław 2000, p. 25–71.

ests, and the Ślężanie (*Silensi*), whose dwelling area can be identified as the Wrocław Plain, are confirmed by written and archaeological sources[575]. The locations of the Wiślanie (Vistulans) and the Gołęszyce (*Golensizi*) remain less certain – and the other supposed "tribal" locations remain but the guesswork of archaeologists and historians.

Pomerania's tribal geography is grasped in mediaeval written sources mainly in relation to the north-Polabian region of Hinter Pomerania (Vorpommern); our knowledge of western, central, and eastern Pomerania is much poorer. It is assumed that there was a conglomerate of tribes that never achieved political unity[576]. J. Piskorski's statement "…as a matter of fact, we know nothing about the north-western border of the Polans' state even in the 10th and early 11th century"[577] is equally applicable to the tribal geography of Pomerania and a number of related concepts produced by historians[578]. For in spite of the scarcity of available sources, scholars have proved unable to keep their rich imaginations in scientific check in their works on tribal Pomerania. And this fact, rather than myself, is to blame for the interpretative chaos one can sense while reading this chapter.

The extensive reconstruction of tribal geography created by 19th- and 20th-century historians and archaeologists has reinforced the widespread conviction that the organization of societies in the Interior, as well as in Pomerania, was considerably advanced, and thus provided a framework for the evolutionary vision of a 'tribe into state' path. This reconstruction is founded upon a dubious source base. Archaeology has not confirmed any developed settlement clusters that might have formed the basis for the origin and development of tribal and supratribal, chieftain, etc. organizations; rather, it has indicated a long period of settlement instability under sparse population conditions.

4. Toward a historical state

The earlier Polish historical literature often featured the motif of determinism, a concept according to which socio-historical processes were

[575] S. Rosik, *The formation of Silesia (to 1163)…*, p. 47 ff.
[576] J.M. Piskorski, *Pomorze…*, p. 30 f.
[577] *Ibidem*, p. 73.
[578] *Ibidem*, p. 30–99.

heading toward a final point as if they were entities or beings subject to birth, development, and death. Often consciously, though sometimes not, the assumption was that individual stages in the 'lives' of these processes were driven by some special kind of logic. Putting aside the soundness of such discourse[579], let us note that the conclusion of these processes (at least partly imagined) could be driven by the narrative created by the given scholar. As for the subject-matter and period concerned, the final chord of the social change occurring in the early mediaeval period was, obviously, the formation of the state of the Piasts, within its 'natural' borders, coinciding with those of post-war communist Poland. In historical reflection, teleology is by no means characteristic only of the past, or of the Marxist historiographical school. After all, when thinking about the past, it is not easy to avoid asking about the reasons and purpose of the social phenomena under analysis.

Today, in spite of our enormous ignorance with respect to the early Middle Ages in Central Europe, we know beyond any doubt that the Piasts' state was emerging in a space that had no strictly defined natural borders. What is more, we know very well that the state did not have to emerge at all; the territory of what finally became Poland was not culturally homogeneous, and was not inhabited by 'pre-Polish' tribes. A border did exist – one not too clear, though significant – across the areas situated on the Vistula and on the Odra that separated the area of western Slavdom into two spaces: the northern, lowland space and the southern, upland. The former linked Greater Poland, the northern part of Lower Silesia, and Mazovia, to Pomerania and the trans-Odra territories inhabited by the Baltic Slavs. The latter encompassed the uplands of the south of Poland-to-be, which culturally were connected more with the trans-Carpathian areas, basically those on the Danube, than with those in the north[580].

This split is well reflected in the differences in the construction of houses. Overground huts, composed of dovetailed logs, prevailed

[579] Such a line of thinking has been informed by Hegelianism which formed part at that time in 'the only right' Marxist doctrine; yet there is a broader context to the problem: L. Kołakowski, *Main Currents of Marxism. Its Rise Growth and Dissolution*, vol. 1–3, Oxford 1978, vol. 1: *The Founders*, p. 81 ff.; vol. 2: *The Golden Age*, p. 115 ff., vol. 3: *The Breakdown*, p. 264 ff.
[580] J. Strzelczyk, *Od Prasłowian do Polaków*, Kraków 1987, p. 17; A. Buko, *The Archeology of early…*, p. 63 ff., 84 ff.; S. Moździoch, *From a Tribe to a State*, [in:] *The Past Societies. Polish lands from the first evidence of human presence to the Early Middle Ages*, vol. 5: *500–1000 AD*, ed. P. Urbańczyk, M. Trzeciecki, Warszawa 2016, p. 126.

in the north – while square-shaped semi-dugouts were dominant in the south[581]. According to Marek Dulinicz[582], aboveground houses were prefered in the northern zone where settlement was unstable due to frequent changes of abode, where people remained in search of new areas to live. This is true for Pomerania as well as for Greater Poland and Mazovia. Despite the many years of research, the realities of life in Slavic farmer communities within the Interior, as well as in the area of Pomerania, remain poorly recognized, particularly if compared to settlement in the lands situated south of the Sudeten and the Carpathian mountains.

Strongholds (castle-towns) are much better known to us, and this is thanks to more intense research and the better condition in which they have survived. This is important as burgwalls appeared in large numbers across Slavdom's territory in the early mediaeval period. The records emphasize their special association with Slavic culture[583]. Dendrochronological analyses suggest that the beginnings of more intensive construction of strongholds in the Interior can be dated to the 9th century; in fact, using traditional date-stamps (ceramics, small finds), the dating covers the 8th century, too. Some, though rather few, strongholds might have been built earlier, in the 6th and 7th centuries, especially in the north of Poland[584].

The functions of strongholds have been interpreted in diverse ways. The entrenchments would point to their military role. Large-area facilities would have been built to protect members of the community in the event of invasion. Castle-towns with small inside areas are interpreted as those with a residential function – for instance, as the seats of tribal elites. Some were regarded as sites of worship, surrounded by a palisade wall or earthworks[585].

581 P. Donat, *Slawische Siedlung und Landesausbau im nordwestlichen Mecklemburg*, Stuttgart 1999.

582 M. Dulinicz, *Kształtowanie się Słowiańszczyzny Północno-Zachodniej. Studium archeologiczne*, Warszawa 2001, p. 212.

583 The phenomenon is attested by a number of sources, incl. the *Bavarian Geographer*, where the groups of Slavs are arranged by the strongholds (*civitates*) they owned; Scandinavian sagas, where Rus' – the country of Slavs – is called the 'country of strongholds' (*gardariki*); or, the Byzantine texts telling us that the area in Asia Minor allocated to the Serbs displaced from the Balkans was called the 'strongholds of Serbs' (*Gordoservon*), K. Predrag, *Settlement of the Slavs in Asia Minor During the Rule of Justinian II and the Bishopric Των Γορδοσερβων*, "Београдски историјски гласник / Belgrade Historical Review" 5, 2014, p. 33–42; O. Pritsak, *The Origin of Rus': Old Scandinavian Sources Other than the Sagas*, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1981, p. 346, 396.

584 A. Buko, *The Archeology of Early…*, p. 84 ff.

585 *Ibidem*, p. 117.

The emergence of networks of strongholds, in their archeologically graspable form, is very important as it establishes the moment when territorial communities, whether spontaneously or influenced by external impulses, attained readiness for joint action not only in view of tangible short-term utilitarian purposes, but in view of other ends, as well. It was probably then that individuals capable of managing such entered the scene. Latin sources label such a leader a *dux* or *rex*[586]. Such a man became a representative and exponent of the community. It was he who was the main user of the strongholds, and the duty rested upon him to direct the group's actions when faced with impending threat. If a stronghold was composed of several segments, usually the best-stockaded section, with representative buildings, belonged to such ruler. And it was he who bound the locals to support the castle and city and to guard and defend it.

As we know, people of foreign origin resided or appeared from time to time in some of the strongholds – as, for instance, in Czerchów (not far from Łęczyca), which was established in the late 9th or early 10th century. Several items of horse-riding equipment have been found there, along with pieces of weaponry, ornaments, and commodity money of Great Moravian provenance; this, in the opinion of Tomasz Jurek, attests to the presence of refugees from Moravia[587]. It was not until the 10th century that the neighbouring castle-town of Łęczyca, built in the 8th or 9th century, featured traces of permanent use. It could have been used as an assembly site, but it could also have been a place for occasionally gathering cattle, horses, or slaves. And it was not until the 10th century that a permanent garrison appeared in it, probably originating from the Varangians. The presence of Normans in the Łęczyca stronghold is connected with the Piast age[588].

586 *Intitulatio III: Lateinische Herrschertitel und Herrschertitulaturen vom 7. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. H. Kleinschmidt, K. Lohrmann, B. Merta, A. Scharer, B. Schneidmüller, Wien–Köln–Graz 1988; these terms or titles were similar in meaning until late 10th century; it was only later on that, in Central Europe, *dux* began denoting a ruler without crown and anointment, while *rex* would stand for a king by the emperor's or pope's favour. Elsewhere in Europe, this differentiation was understood in a different way – P. Boroń, *Kniaziowie, królowie, carowie…, passim*.

587 M. Trojan, *Grodzisko w Czerchowie na tle lokalnej sytuacji osadniczo-kulturowej we wczesnym średniowieczu*, [in:] *Archeologia o początkach Łęczycy*, ed. R. Grygiel, T. Jurek, vol. 2, Łódź 2014, p. 653–677.

588 T. Jurek, *Pierwsze wieki historii Łęczycy*, [in:] *Początki Łęczycy*, vol. 3: *W kręgu historii i historii sztuki*, ed. R. Grygiel, T. Jurek, Łódź 2014, p. 7 ff.

In some of the examined castle-towns, no considerable settlement layer has been found that might have been formed because of permanent inhabitation. For example, the results of research into certain hill-forts in Lesser Poland dating to the tribal period have demonstrated that these facilities were inhabited by small groups of people, if inhabited at all[589].

It is worth noting that although the region of Pomerania was separated from the Interior with a border situated in a terminal-moraine settlement void already the early Middle Ages, in the late 8th century it was from Pomerania that an impulse for civilization change in the Interior arose. This impulse had to do with the influence of the Scandinavians. Insofar as the people of Pomerania were, in the initial phases of the early mediaeval period, the object of invasions from the north, beginning with the late 8th century these people entered into a *sui generis* symbiosis with the Norman invaders. Specifically, we can observe highly-advanced cooperation between the newcomers and the locals both as far as peacetime life and military activity are concerned. Traces of Scandinavians inhabiting Pomeranian strongholds are identifiable, as is the fact that Pomeranian Slavs participated in the long-range exchange of the Normans, as well as in their invasions – including of the Interior.

Strongholds functioning as trading posts emerged along the Baltic littoral from the middle of the 8th century and operated until the latter half of the 10th. Associated with the emergence and functioning of Baltic-area exchange sites are the numerous early finds of silver treasure troves[590]. There are also written records associated, in one way or another, with this matter. For instance, Charlemagne's capitulary published in 805 in Diedenhofen and the customs tariff of Rafelstetten compiled in 903/905 for the East Frankish King Louis IV contains information about commercial contacts between Western Europe and the Slavic world[591]. The Diedenhofen collection of laws includes a ban on the sale of weapons to the Slavs; the Rafelstetten tariff determines the amounts of customs duties, including fees for

[589] J. Poleski, *Wczesnośredniowieczne grody w dorzeczu…*, p. 151.
[590] A. Buko, *The Archeology of Early Medieval…*, p. 211 ff.
[591] M. Hardt, *Zwischen Bardowick und Erfurt – Handel und Verkehr an den nördlichen Grenzkontrollorten des Diedenhofener Kapitulars Karls des Großen von 805,* [in:] *Auf dem Wege zur mittelalterlichen Stadt in Thüringen*, ed. H.-J. Beier, P. Sachenbacher, Langenweißbach 2014 (= *Beiträge zur Frühgeschichte und zum Mittelalter Ostthüringens* 5), p. 71–82.

slaves transported by Jewish merchants. The same tariff also mentions a fair of the Moravians – a site or area where the Franks and the Slavs probably traded with each other in weapons and people, the two most important commodities. The Baltic-region and Great Moravian (Danubian) agglomerations certainly functioned as important intermediaries in such long-distance trading.

The question comes to mind at this point – why did no such site for commercial exchanges emerge in the Interior? There were no doubt several overlapping reasons, among them that the territory was remote from the trade routes of importance – and that no strong and sizeable stratum of warriors and merchants evolved there, with the result that local communities had no means to defend themselves against invasions from the outside. Hence, they were repeatedly attacked.

Several decades after the emergence of craftsmanship and commercial centres in the Baltic coastal region (this being the important civilization-related characteristic of 8th- and 9th-century Pomerania) and the formation of settlement agglomerations in Moravia and Slovakia, a change took place in the Interior – namely, the construction of strongholds began. As it seems, this was related to the investments made by Pomeranian communities and to the construction of large Great Moravian strongholds. Given these circumstances, the effort taken by those dwelling in the Interior might have imitated the solutions known from neighbouring areas considered more highly-developed that provided the elites in the Polish Lowland with sought-for luxury commodities.

There are other presumptions as regards the flood of stronghold investments that the Interior saw in the late years of the 8th century.

Among them is the export of slaves, for apart from hides of furbearing animals, slaves were the only available and fairly common means of payment for goods supplied from the outside. Slaves demanded by Arab markets were used for this purpose along with herds of cattle and horses exported to closer distances. The similarity in the layout of certain large strongholds in the south of Poland to African kraals, which were designed for such purposes, is a not far-fetched analogy[592].

[592] A. Rio, *Slavery after Rome, 500-1100*, Oxford 2017 (= Oxford studies in medieval European history); J. Korpela, *Slaves from the North: Finns and Karelians in the East European slave trade, 900–1600*, Boston–Leiden 2018.

The smaller defensive structures, built up along rivers (as modern-time forts in Africa), could protect the tradesmen who drove several hundred or more slaves, or herds of horses and cattle. To what degree they were acquired by hunting and sold by locals is not to be guessed. Nor can it be resolved which of the stronghold fortifications were built in order to protect communities against external attack, and which of them were actually sites for the concentration and protection of kidnapped humans and herds of cattle and horses acquired in the same way, or caught live, or bought up.

In any case, the contrast between the relatively sparse population of the Interior and its rather dense strongholds network is puzzling. There are many unknowns here. The dating methods available, though not-quite-precise, have hitherto made it impossible to determine whether the facilities located close to one another, at a distance of a few kilometers, in fact functioned at the same time. Regardless of any relevant nuances, the mass appearance of strongholds and intensified trading in slaves (Slavic and other) were strictly correlated functionally, not only temporally.

There is a civilization change behind the construction of a considerable number of strongholds. It consisted in the formation of better-organized proto-state communities. This phenomenon was certainly associated, in one way or the other, with trading in people, in particular. The latter activity led to solidarities between groups that drew profit from participating in the slave trade, while also strongly binding communities threatened by invasions and kidnappings. It cannot be precluded that, depending on the circumstances, the aggressors and their victims might have swapped roles.

The problem is that there are so many uncertainties, apart from the fact that trading in slaves continued over centuries and came to an end only with the Christianization of elites. While keeping aspects of this phenomenon sharply in mind, let us look at a few discoveries of early mediaeval objects whose character prompts various interpretations. And let us begin with the stronghold in Moraczewo, in Greater Poland, whose beginnings are dated to the early 9th century. The remains of a large building (floor-area approx. 150–200 sq. m.) have been disclosed there. Among them are layers of crushed ceramics, including scraps of large vessels used to keep food items and numerous animal bones with traces of biting.

The building has been recognized as an assembly hall where men of means had their feasts. However, the lack of any other traces of permanent residence in the castle or houses, or of more numerous finds of 'luxury' objects, raises questions. Perhaps the hall was, essentially, a lodging that enabled the slave-transporting caravans to have a fairly comfortable respite. We encounter a similar situation with the castle-towns built in the 10th century along the Barycz river at a distance of five to eighteen kilometres from one another. Their form, it is believed, replicated an *a priori*-determined pattern whose major characteristics included a circular clearing with a diameter of 25–35 m (rarely, up to 50 m).

These objects are hypothetically ascribed the role of sacral-and-political headstones of the communities, conditioning their existence. At the same time, they seem to have been assembly sites and repositories of collective goods[593]. Some scholars, however, identify these objects as 'stopping places' of a sort, for transports of slaves along the route linking the Prosna river (the town of Kalisz) and the Odra[594]. The chronology of these strongholds is not fully clear; most probably, they functioned in the latter half of the 10th or early 11th century. If so, the Piasts would have inspired their construction. With such a network of forts, the Piasts would have been able to capably transport slaves (or, possibly, captives).

The construction of some strongholds in the region of Mazovia is also hypothetically associated with water transport rather than local settlement structures. So, they would have formed a similar system of stopover forts which most probably date to the 11th century (i.e., the time of the Piasts), following up the idea known and put into practice in the preceding centuries[595].

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[593] K. Chrzan, *Uwagi do studiów nad osadnictwem wschodniego dorzecza Baryczy od 2 poł. IX do poł. XI w.*, [in:] *Funkcje grodów w państwach wczesnośredniowiecznej Europy Środkowej. Społeczeństwo, gospodarka, ideologia*, ed. K. Chrzan, S. Moździoch, K. Czapla, Wrocław–Głogów 2014, p. 191–225.

[594] K. Wachowski, *Ziemie polskie a Wielkie Morawy. Studium archeologiczne kontaktów w zakresie kultury materialnej*, "Przegląd Archeologiczny" 29, 1981, p. 187. Trading in humans is attested in as late as 12th c.; for instance, Helmold of Bosau wrote of Pomeranians selling herds of Polabians to Poles, Bohemians, and Danes – Helmold II, 101.

[595] J. Ościłowski, *Uwarunkowania geograficzne lokalizacji grodów na południowym Mazowszu (X–połowa XIII w.). Problematyka badań interdyscyplinarnych*, "Rocznik Muzeum Mazowieckiego w Płocku" 20, 2016, p. 71–118.

In the context of this inquiry, it is worth adding that some small lowland strongholds, as well as large upland ones, could have been stopover stations for the captive slaves driven southward (or, northward). Marek Jankowiak explains the difference in the sizes of the strongholds, in this particular case, by the different transport conditions in the lowland and upland landscape[596]. In the lowland areas, the axis of transportation was a river, which allowed the traders to escort smaller groups of slaves; in the upland territory, given the land transport conditions, much larger groups of people could be gathered and managed[597]. It is worth recalling, however, that a few dozen years ago, with respect to the stronghold of Gilów, Lower Silesia, Józef Kaźmierczyk explained the purpose of the numerous rampart systems as enclosures for sizeable herds of cattle driven along trade routes.[598]

Archaeological finds scattered across the Polish Lowland dating to the so-called tribal period evidence the presence in this territory of aliens – Avars, then Franks, Saxons, Moravians, Magyars, and finally, Scandinavians[599]. Most of the relevant objects come from the second half of the 8th century, and they have mostly been discovered in Lesser Poland and in Silesia; only a few have been found in the Interior's northern zone. In the 8th- and early-9th-century hill-forts (Biskupin and Lubomia, for example), one encounters hooked spurs, which originated in the West European environment[600]. The meaning of these objects is potentially interpretable in a variety of ways: as testimonies of trade or objects epitomizing the armed presence of invaders.

A special role in the history of southern Poland was most certainly played by political and economic contacts with Danubian areas, for they experienced a highly dynamic civilizational development at that

[596] https://www.academia.edu/1764468/Dirhams_for_slaves_Investigating_the_Slavic_slave_trade_in_the_10th_century.

[597] J. Poleski, *Małopolska w VI–X wieku*, Kraków 2013, p. 167, fig. 103; *idem, Kleinpolen im 8.-10. Jahrhundert. Bemerkungen zur Beziehungen zwischen Kleinpolen und Böhmen, Mähren, Slowakei und Ungarn,* [in:] *Central Europe in 8th–10th centuries: International Scientific Conference, Bratislava, October 2–4, 1995 = Mitteleuropa im 8.–10. Jahrhundert*, ed. D. Čaplovič, Bratislava 1997, p. 17 f.

[598] K. Jaworski, J. Kaźmierczyk, *Z nowszych badan nad konstrukcjami obronnymi grodziska z IX–X w. w Gilowie koło Niemczy,* "Śląskie Sprawozdania Archeologiczne" 31, 1990, p. 249–262.

[599] J. Poleski, *Małopolska w VI–X wieku…*, fig. 103.

[600] *Ibidem*, p. 169.

time. The imports from the territory of Great Moravia are not, and indeed cannot be the basis for stating that political structures related to the Great Moravian state existed there[601] – all the more so that a number of other southern elements have been found in this territory, ones attesting to influences of the Avars and, subsequently, the Magyars[602], and even Khazars[603].

Among the finds of Great Moravian origin, elements of equestrian equipment, discovered mainly in hill-forts, prevail[604]. Moreover, in Moravia, *bradatica* axes (so named due to their peculiar shape) were manufactured[605]. A dozen-or-so such finds are known from strongholds across the territory of Poland (incl. those of Barkowice Mokre and Czerchów). Ornaments and everyday use objects are single specimens of objects suspected of Great Moravian provenance (lunulae, iron implements), with no certainty as to their actual origin or dating[606]. The prevalence of weapons suggests that are traces of warriors repeatedly having visited the place.

The Interior was thus an object of expeditions organized in the 9th and 10th centuries from Moravia, probably mainly in order to acquire slaves; possibly also for the purpose of receiving tributes from subdued local communities cooperating with the Moravians[607]. The Bohemians continued a tradition of this sort[608]. However, they had competitors, as from the end of the 9th century, and certainly in the 10th, Polish lands were increasingly penetrated by the Scandinavian element. Scandinavians became an important part of the Piasts' retinue (in the chieftain's service) that oversaw the network of strongholds of the emerging state's territorial and treasury organization. The finds pointing to infiltration from Scandinavian and Varangian warriors

[601] J. Poleski, *Kleinpolen im 8.-10. Jahrhundert…*, p. 15–26.

[602] *Idem, Kontakty Wielkich Moraw z z plemionami zamieszkującymi ziemie południowej Polski*, [in:] *Środkowoeuropejskie dziedzictwo cyrylo-metodiańskie*, ed. A. Barciak, Zabrze 1999, p. 22 f., fig. 6, 7; A. Buko, *Małopolska "czeska" i Małopolska "morawska"*, [in:] *Ziemie polskie w X wieku…*, p. 150.

[603] A. Buko, *Małopolska "czeska" i Małopolska "morawska"…*, p. 149.

[604] J. Poleski, *Małopolska w VI–X wieku…*, p. 181.

[605] E. Lisowska, *'Bradatica' from the Strzelińskie hills*, "Sprawozdania Archeologiczne" 69, 2017, p. 409–419.

[606] J. Poleski, *Małopolska w VI–X wieku…*, p. 182 f.

[607] A.P. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom. An Introduction to the Medieval History of the Slavs*, Cambridge 1970, p. 135 f.

[608] M. Matla, *Pierwsi Przemyślidzi i ich państwo (od X do połowy XI wieku): ekspansja terytorialna i jej polityczne uwarunkowania*, Poznań 2008.

(the latter denoting Scandinavians from Rus' and Sweden) more numerously appear in the Interior in the first half of the 10th century, particularly in the form of silver deposits, which were a material manifestation of votive practices rooted in the culture of the Baltic zone[609].

As the example of Bruszczewo tells us[610], it was probably in the 8th or 9th century that small territorial communities might have existed, along with fortified seats of local chieftains; however, they were seemingly rather scarce. The very fact that strongholds were built tends to be indicated as proof of the existence of local elites. While not prejudging the problem, we do need note that the strongholds usually comprise no larger residential structures that might have been the seats or residences of elitist circles, such as magnates or tribal dukes[611].

Among the few exceptions of early strongholds with halls, a 200 sq. m structure discovered in Stożne[612], along with the one in Moraczewo, can be taken as examples. The matter becomes more complicated, though, given the lack of numerous finds of luxury objects whose appearance would have resulted from long-distance trading pursued by tribal elites. We know of no richly equipped graves dating to the period; indeed, in the discovered burial grounds, the differences in the funeral accessories are slight.

The debate on the origins of early mediaeval states has been underway for long now, and in spite of increasingly numerous – mostly, contradictory – attempts to explain the reasons behind the phenomenon that emerged in the region in the 10th and early 11th centuries, the question remains open[613]. In any case, as regards the Interior, we are certain that a political organization developed in its area, based on a permanent territorial administration functioning on the basis of stronghold districts that had emerged by the middle of the 10th century. At that time, the new stronghold complexes related to the stable

[609] D. Adamczyk, *Silber und Macht: Fernhandel, Tribute und die piastische Herrschaftsbildung in nordosteuropäische Perspektive (800–1100)*, Wiesbaden 2014.

[610] Z. Kurnatowska, *Początki i rozwój państwa…*, p. 318.

[611] With regard to Lesser Poland (Małopolska), cf. J. Poleski, *Małopolska w VI–X wieku…*, p. 195.

[612] The discovery goes to the credit of B. Gruszka, *Obiekt z początków średniowiecza w Stożnem, stan. 2, pow. zielonogórski*, "Slavia Antiqua" 51, 2010, p. 227–267.

[613] L. Leciejewicz, *Nowi członkowie łacińskiej wspólnoty kulturowej między Łabą a Wisłą*, [in:] *Przełomy w historii. XVI Powszechny Zjazd Historyków Polskich. Pamiętnik*, vol. 1, ed. K. Kawalec *et al.*, Toruń, p. 111–119; see also: *The neighbours of Poland in the 10th century*, ed. P. Urbańczyk, Warszawa 2000.

territorial state that initially existed only in central Lesser Poland, had a different role than before: they were stopover sites for the ducal retinue and, at the same time, residences of the power elite's members.

In what ways the farmers supported the warrior groups, we do not know. The earliest sources enabling us to identify the stronghold organization, sometimes referred to as 'ancillary', in the form of a network of settlements whose dwellers provided stronghold residents with a variety of products and specialized benefits or performances, date to the late 12th century. It seems that such organization emerged in the 11th century at the earliest, in the aftermath of the Central European statehood crises. Earlier on, as is suggest by the Rus' texts, or the earlier ones written in the Danube area, the warriors would cyclically tour the area under their control and were supported during these journeys by farmer communities, from whom they collected goods (commodity money) and durable foods. In Rus', where such an ancillary organization was unknown, this long-lasting custom was called *poludye*[614].

The sources of the stronghold organization, which was far more reasonable as a system than the extensive *poludye*, are unknown[615]. In the 13th and 14th centuries, an age whose records are able to better depict social and economic phenomena, organization and control of commercial exchange was another important role of the stronghold hubs gathering the elite – apart from administrative and judicial tasks. It was at the foot of the strongholds that fair sites emerged, being for the authorities an instrument of control and distribution[616]. These places, supplemented with worship structures and compulsory participation in religious rituals, became a transmission medium of information between the ruling stratum and the subjects[617]. Along

[614] Y.M. Kobishchanov, *'Polyud'ye': Yavleniye otechestvennoy i vsemirnoy istorii*, Moskva 1995.

[615] M. Danielewski. *O osadach służebnych: uwagi na marginesie książki Iwony Nobis*, "Historia Slavorum Occidentis" 10, 2016, 1, p. 266–277 (the older literature there); for more on this issue, see Ch. Lübke, *Arbeit und Wirtschaft im östlichen Mitteleuropa. Die Spezialisierung menschlicher Tätigkeit im Spiegel der hochmittelalterlichen Toponymie in der Herrschaftsgebieten von Piasten, Premysliden und Arpaden*, Stuttgart 1991.

[616] K. Maleczyński, *Najstarsze targi w Polsce i stosunek ich do miast przed kolonizacyą na prawie niemieckim*, Lwów 1926, p. 48 ff., 65 ff.; K. Buczek, *Targi i miasta na prawie polskim: okres wczesnośredniowieczny*, Wrocław 1964, p. 84.

[617] In Stanisław Arnold's opinion (*Z dziejów średniowiecza: wybór pism*, Warszawa 1968, p. 45), "The relationship between the two centres became so strict that one can propose the influence reciprocity law: were an old fair-ground existed, a church emerged; and where there was a church, a fair venue was created."

with the formation of a state, this led to a solidification of the organization of social space. Some of the basic centres of the power site network created at that time have survived till this day, playing a role similar to that designed at the dawn of the state system[618].

Let us add that the efforts to build a regular network of strongholds of the specific, state-related, type[619], often referred to as 'Piast' ones, some of which emerged in the previously-uninhabited space, were accompanied by other processes – among them: the destruction of the earlier, tribal settlement structures; displacements of people[620]; mass-scale depositing of treasures of coins and silver scrap-metal (as an emerging phenomenon)[621]; and skeletal burials, particularly with weapons[622]. All these phenomena, never encountered before, document the appearance of large groups of people associated with the authorities and alien to the native communities or transferred from their previous familial and tribal structures, who manifested the breakaway by imitating customs or habits unknown to the locals. The matter is mysterious, all the more so as the dynastic tradition expressly highlighted the local origin of the Piasts, and none of the mediaeval sources ever challenged this message.

The process of building and maintaining a state always called for resorting to violence and required a group of people being put at the ruler's disposal, for he had to be capable of using force on behalf of his authority. The retinue [Polish: *drużyna*] was assigned precisely this role in the early state[623]. It was not for nothing that the records

[618] Organization of a social space is one of the major methods of controlling individual and group activities; cf. E.T. Hall, *The Hidden Dimension*, New York 1990, p. 103.

[619] Z. Kurnatowska, *Wielkopolska w X wieku…*, p. 104; see also: M. Kara, *Najstarsze państwo Piastów – rezultat przełomu czy kontynuacji? Studium archeologiczne*, Poznań 2009, p. 204–207, 271, 282 f.; L. Leciejewicz, *Słowianie Zachodni…*, p. 166, footnote 53; S. Moździoch, *Castrum munitissimum Bytom. Lokalny ośrodek władzy w państwie wczesnopiastowskim*, Warszawa 2002.

[620] Z. Kurnatowska, *Wielkopolska w X wieku…*, p. 105.

[621] Treasures were deposited "in the last phase of the pre-state period and in the earliest phase of emergence of stable territorial states. Dissemination of these finds points to an area of direct activity of the Scandinavians or, at least, Scandinavian influence" (P. Urbańczyk, *Trudne początki Polski…*, p. 145). On how this phenomenon was associated with the construction of the Piast state, cf. S. Moździoch, *Castrum munitissimum Bytom…*, p. 46 ff.

[622] M. Kara, *Z badań nad wczesnośredniowiecznymi grobami z uzbrojeniem z terenu Wielkopolski*, [in:] *Od plemienia do państwa. Śląsk na tle wczesnośredniowiecznej Słowiańszczyzny*, ed. L. Leciejewicz, Wrocław 1991, p. 99–120.

[623] L. Leciejewicz, *Słowianie Zachodni…*, p. 161; see also: P. Urbańczyk, *Władza i polityka…*, p. 244 f.

stressed the familial character of the relationship between the leader of the group of warriors and the members of his retinue. After all, its members would have quitted their native environment and completely offered themselves – obviously, in exchange for appropriate emoluments – to the ruler who, in a sense, became a head of the newly-formed quasi-kin group[624]. Retinue members initially owned no immovable property, as the duke supported and provided for them completely; the records say that he would even grant his warriors' daughters with dowries.

But there was no 'absolutism' of the early state's ruler – contrary to Oriental despotisms, for instance. There was no institutional framework for such a power-and-authority system. The warriors were dependent upon the duke, their leader, and he had to care about them too, as lack of support on their part would simply have led to a loss of power – which at that time often implied the killing of such a leader, oftentimes together with his family. With time, as the monarchical state system continued to exist – and such was ever the case with Piast Poland – the type of power based on imitation of the family was gradually quitted in favour of building dependencies between people based on a multi-grade hierarchy. These dependencies never attained in Poland the degree of complexity characteristic of West European feudalism.

The birth of the state of the Piasts is a very intriguing, and indeed mysterious matter. Dendrochronological dating of the strongholds in the lands surrounding Gniezno lead to the conclusion that the major ones were built, almost simultaneously, in the 930s and 940s[625]. This fact, along with the circumstance that there was no tribal setting to these strongholds, seems to speak in disfavour of the state's evolutionary genesis[626]. Another argument in support of this view is the appearance in Greater Poland, at that same time, of relatively rich burial grounds of mounted warriors interred together with their armaments, dated to the second half of the 10th and the first half of the 11th century. The supposed revolution is moreover confirmed by a short-timed process (which perhaps took one to three decades) of the stronghold organization at the centre of the state-to-be, asso-

[624] K. Modzelewski, *Wielki krewniak…*, p. 47–71.

[625] M. Kara, *Najstarsze państwo Piastów…*, p. 254.

[626] *Ibidem*, p. 317.

ciated with deforestation of a vast territory – close in scale to those practiced today[627].

With a dozen-year delay compared to these phenomena, the habit of burying silver deposits in the ground appeared in these areas. The earliest treasure troves found in the region of Greater Poland were hidden after 934/935, at the earliest, and/or after 960, at the latest; the later ones, setting the second horizon, date to the years 970–985[628]. Interestingly, in the later decades, the phenomenon of 'silver treasures' disseminated in parallel (often with a dozen years of delay) with the process of stronghold construction by the Piasts in their newly-subdued areas.

The process of permanent settlement concentration is another archaeologically legible effect of the emergence of a state. Dispersed across different enclaves in the period referred to as tribal, the settlements began in the 10th century, and concentrated around the Piast state's stronghold centres. The reason was dual: first, this resulted from the natural attraction of people from peripheral territories to the stronghold, the period's political-and-economic hub; second, it resulted from the ruler's planned colonization policy.

The state's military character was responsible for the fact that, nearby the strongholds, captive settlements were set up to supply the strongholds' garrisons and exploit the iron ores, a raw-material of importance to the authorities. The examples of locating such settlements, together with a stronghold, close to particularly abundant deposits of bog iron ore are fairly numerous[629]. Settling captives down and displacing the people was one of the aspects of the role of violence in the shaping of early state organisms. "The district's settlement segments were formed of alien populaces that most probably were brought over under certain rigours, mainly from the incorporated neighbouring areas", and this also concerned local people. As for the latter case, it is believed by some[630] that the transfers were possibly based upon an agreement with those displaced. However,

[627] Z. Kurnatowska, *Wielkopolska w X wieku…*, *passim*; M. Kara, M. Makohonienko, *Wielkopolska krainą grodów – krajobraz kulturowy kolebki państwa polskiego w świetle nowych ustaleń chronologicznych*, "Landform Analysis" 16, 2011, p. 20–25.

[628] M.[ałgorzata] Andrałojć, M.[irosław] Andrałojć, P. Silska, P. Szyngiera, *Odkrycia skarbów wczesnośredniowiecznych z terenu Wielkopolski. Kontekst archeologiczny znalezisk*, Poznań 2011.

[629] J. Lodowski, *Dolny Śląsk na początku…*, p. 86, fig. 14.

[630] M. Kara, *Najstarsze państwo Piastów…*, p. 274.

given the authoritarian character of the authorities concerned, this seems rather dubious.

The chronological parallelism in the construction of Greater Poland-type strongholds and the popularization of depositing silver across the area conquered by the Piasts might testify to the view that members of the Scandinavian retinue played a significant part in the construction process of the stronghold organization, as the custom of burying silver in the ground came from Scandinavia[631]. The role of the Varangian and Norman warriors in the origins of the Piast state has been described and debated at length, but the recently appearing military and burial artefacts connected with the Scandinavian cultural sphere make one take a fresh look at the northern retinues' participation in, and contributions to, the formation of the state of the Piasts[632].

There is no doubt that Scandinavia, divided into several dominions fighting one another, pushed out beyond its limits those who had lost, such as emigrants who contested the given political arrangement, and those for whom leaving the native country meant hope for a better life.

Let us bear in mind that Scandinavia has always been much more sparsely populated than other regions of Europe, and therefore large masses of warriors would never have left its territory. The people of the North (the Normans, Vikings, Varangians) were primarily attracted by the rich areas of the West, ones poorly defended and easily accessible from their vessels. In the 9th and 10th centuries, the West was undergoing a period of anarchy and internal struggles. The East of Europe was another attraction for the Scandinavians: its convenient system of rivers enabled them to reach Constantinople as well as Central Asia, which abounded in riches, from the Gulf of Finland area[633].

[631] The Rus'sian duke is said to warn his subjects: "Do not hide the silver in the ground, it is a severe sin" – M. Bartnicki, *Władca i poddani w historiografii ruskiej XI–XIII wieku*, Lublin 2015.

[632] Carefulness in coming to conclusions based on archaeological finds is recommended by Władysław Duczko, who in reference to Kievan Rus' wrote: "… the number of Norse items from Kiev is hardly overwhelming. In fact their number is so low that if our picture of the presence of the Rus in Kiev were based only on the finds from preserved burials there would be no reason to maintain that people of Norse origin had played a decisive political role in the history of this place." (W. Duczko, *Viking Rus…*, p. 220).

[633] E. Melnikova, *The Eastern World of the Vikings. Eight Essays about Scandinavia and Eastern Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, Göteborg 1996 (= Gothenburg Old Norse Studies 1), p. 31 ff.; W. Duczko, *Viking Rus…*, p. 189 ff.

Given this situation, Central Europe, including today's territory of Poland, was a third-category expansion area. The Scandinavians would not have arrived there in a number that could have enabled them to create power structures or, in general, become a basic factor of the political and social change. However, their presence in the early Piast state's elites is undisputable and well-attested archaeologically, even if some of the objects identified as Scandinavian might have resulted from exchange or imitation – or, similarly, if some of the burials deemed to have been Scandinavian might have resulted from mixed marriages, cultural imitation, and so on. After all, there are written records that clearly attest to the early Piasts' closeness to the Scandinavian world[634]. We moreover know that Slavs, including those from the Interior, appeared among the Scandinavians as warriors[635] or artisans who worked for them[636]. The transfers of people, technologies, and, probably, ideas and experiences was not at all one-way (in contrast to how it was perceived by earlier scholars).

Back to the interrupted thread of the beginning of the Piast state, let us note one more interesting thing. Archaeologists have noticed that the process of constructing the earliest 'state-related' strongholds was almost, if not exactly, parallel in Mazovia and Greater Poland; this observation has incited Marek Dulinicz to propose a hypothesis whereby Mazovia rivalled the Gniezno-based state in the 10th century[637]. He rules out the Piasts as those who might have initiated the building of the Mazovian strongholds in that century[638].

This daring hypothesis is, however, challenged by several considerable obstacles. First, there are no surviving traces that would testify to the distinctive qualities of early Mazovia. The earliest mentions of it date to the 12th century similarly as Silesia – which, as a region, took shape with the solidification of the Wrocław bishopric's borders, taking over the name of a smaller tribal territory – Mazovia received

634 L. Leciejewicz, *Nadbałtyccy partnerzy Polski. Skandynawia na przełomie tysiącleci*, [in:] *Polska na przełomie I i II tysiąclecia. Materiały z sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki Poznań, listopad 2000*, Poznań 2001, p. 77–88.

635 J. Banaszkiewicz, *"Lestek" (Lesir) i "Lechici" (Lesar) w średniowiecznej tradycji skandynawskiej*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny"108, 2001, 2, p. 3–23.

636 W. Duczko, *Obecność skandynawska na Pomorzu i słowiańska…*, p. 35 ff.

637 M. Dulinicz, *Mazowsze we wczesnym średniowieczu. Jego związki z "państwem gnieźnieńskim"…*, p. 111.

638 *Ibidem*, p. 104.

its later form and name after the formation of the Diocese of Płock, founded by Duke Bolesław (Boleslaus) the Bold[639].

A solution to the mystery of 'state' strongholds being built in Greater Poland and Mazovia in parallel is supported by tracing of the spread in the Interior of the custom of burying considerable amounts of silver in the ground[640]. Since some of these treasures (hypothetically, offerings submitted to chthonic deities)[641] were composed of coins, their origin is traceable. It is therefore interesting that the coins, particularly the Arab ones, arrived in Greater Poland mainly from two directions: from the east, beyond the Vistula (the items buried in the 930s and 940s), and from the north-west (940s to 960s)[642]. The eastern group of the finds mainly came from the Gniezno Land; the north-western one ended its route in the vicinity of Poznań. Some of those who brought coins from the north could have reached Greater Poland from central Pomerania, as indicated by the recent discoveries made by Wojciech Chudziak in the Lake Zarańskie area[643].

The area of what later became the provinces of the Piasts' state – Greater Poland and Mazovia – in the 10th century probably formed one territory in which the young state crystallized, being composed of several important centres as later on mentioned by Gallus Anonymus: namely, Gniezno, Poznań, Giecz, Włocławek[644]. These strongholds could have functioned as checkpoints or stations in the trade route whose exist-

639 W. Mrozowicz, S. Rosik, M. Wójcik, *Kształtowanie się regionu (do 1526 roku)*, [in:] *Dolny Śląsk. Monografia historyczna*, ed. W. Wrzesiński, Wrocław 2006, p. 15–187.

640 S. Moździoch, *The origins of the medieval Polish towns*, "Archaeologia Polona" 32, 1994, p. 129–153, fig. 11; M. Kara, *Najstarsze państwo Piastów…*, p. 256.

641 E. Oras, *Importance of terms: What is a wealth deposit?*, "Papers from the Institute of Archeology" 22, 2012, p. 61–82; Å. Berggren, *Archaeology and sacrifice. A discussion of interpretations*, [in:] *Old Norse Religion in Long-Term Perspectives: Origins, Changes, and Interactions: An International Conference in Lund, Sweden, June 3–7, 2004*, ed. A. Andrén, K. Jennbert, C. Raudvere, Lund 2006, p. 303–307.

642 M. Kara, *Najstarsze państwo Piastów…*, p. 256.

643 W. Chudziak *et al.*, *Reconstruction of surface elevation variations in Lake Zarańskie*, [in:] *The Island in Żółte on Lake Zarańskie: early medieval gateway into West Pomerania*, ed. W. Chudziak, R. Kaźmierczak, Toruń 2014, p. 60–64.

644 H. Łowmiański, *Początki Polski*, vol. 5, Warszawa 1973, p. 489–492; the stronghold in Włocławek was set up, more or less, at the same time as the Gniezno stronghold, i.e., around mid-10th c. – O. Krut-Horonziak, *Wczesnośredniowieczny Włocławek*, [in:] *Civitates principales. Wybrane ośrodki władzy w Polsce wczesnośredniowiecznej, katalog wystawy*, ed. T. Janiak, D. Stryjniak, Gniezno 1998, p. 108–110; J. Powierski, *Miejsce Włocławka w strukturze administracyjno–terytorialnej monarchii wczesnopiastowskiej*, [in:] *Stolica i region. Włocławek i jego dzieje na tle przemian Kujaw i Ziemi Dobrzyńskiej*, ed. O. Krut-Horonziak, L. Kajzer, Włocławek 1995, p. 86–88.

ence is evidenced by the treasure troves. The possible division of Greater Poland into an eastern part, with Gniezno as its landmark, and a western part, including Poznań, remains an open question; such a division could have appeared in the beginnings of the Piast state. To quote Dariusz Sikorski, "…opting for a 'centralist' model, with Mieszko at the head – as all historians, without exception, do – is as legitimate as the assumption that in the earlier period [he and his] brothers ruled their own 'provinces' in Greater Poland…"[645].

It can therefore be presumed that it was only in Mieszko I's time that the different territories of Greater Poland fell under the rule of a single ruler. The region's earlier dichotomy might have been preserved in the territorial organization of the Church. The division of Greater Poland into an eastern and a western part might have had to do with the cultural influence of the elites that animated the emergence of the Piast state – an influence that was reinforced through commercial contacts; in the subsequent period, the latter perforce split the Interior's territory into zones of western and eastern influence[646].

A division of the early Piast state is observable also in other domains of material culture[647]. It was in Greater Poland that two zones of consumer (and, possibly, animal breeding) preferences bordered each other: eastern, with the prevalence of cattle, and western, with the dominance of domestic swine remnants. The Pomeranian territory belonged to the western zone, from which hails the group of manufacturers of artefacts ornamented with Borre-style interlace decoration[648]. It seems quite important that in the enormous quantity of animal bones from Wolin (more than 200,000 fragments), swine bones prevailed[649]. Since most of the examined groups of animal remnants come from strong-

[645] D. Sikorski, *Kościół w Polsce za Mieszka I i Bolesława Chrobrego. Rozważania nad granicami poznania historycznego*, Poznań 2011, p. 204 ff.

[646] M. Wołoszyn, *Między Gnieznem, Krakowem a Kijowem. Archeologia o wczesnośredniowiecznych relacjach polsko-ruskich i formowaniu polsko-ruskiego pogranicza*, [in:] *U źródeł Europy Środkowo-wschodniej: pogranicze polsko-ukraińskie w perspektywie badań archeologicznych*, ed. M. Dębiec, M. Wołoszyn, Rzeszów 2007, p. 161–176 (cf. maps of finds).

[647] The Poznań-Gniezno dualism in the former half of the 10th c. is identifiable in early mediaeval ceramics. Michał Kara discusses two different ceramics groups from the areas of Gniezno and Poznań – M. Kara, *Najstarsze państwo Piastów…*, p. 255–257.

[648] B. Stanisławski, *Jómswikingowie z Wolina-Jómsborga..., passim*; M. Rębkowski, *The central settlement of Medieval Wolin…*, p. 133–331.

[649] J. Gawlikowski, J. Stępień, *Zwierzęta we wczesnośredniowiecznym Wolinie. Badania archeozoologiczne*, [in:] *Wolin wczesnośredniowieczny*, part 2, ed. B. Stanisławski, Warszawa 2013, p. 82–171.

holds inhabited, most probably, by the society's elite, the consumption structure under research not necessarily reflects the consumption inclinations of the population as a whole. What is more, since the better-recognizable archaeological finds are, mostly, objects associated with the elites, the aforementioned division into a western and an eastern zone refers to the Interior locals to a lesser degree.

Trying to identify the routes along which retinue members of Scandinavian descent would have arrived in that period to the Interior, archaeological sources point to two directions: northern – *via* Wolin and Middle and Eastern Pomerania; and, eastern: Varangian, from Rus'. Those people left traces of their presence in several strongholds where they stationed. For instance, in Silesian Opole and Wrocław (especially in the former), both currents (north-western: Wolin – Pomeranian and Mazovian – Rus') are well-recognizable in the material culture being discovered. Włodzimierz Hołubowicz, some time ago, pointed to the importance of the resemblance of objects from Ostrówek, in the area of Opole, to those found in Veliky Novgorod. The similarity might have resulted from the homogeneity of Slavic culture at an early stage of its development. However, a number of such objects are unique finds, untypical of Silesian lands: the glass products from the Middle East and Byzantium, apart from other such objects, would be transported to Opole by the intermediation of Rus'[650].

A northern background of the Opole stronghold's dwellers is identifiable based on finds of amber products, Pomeranian-type temple rings, toy boats made of bark, which – apart from Opole – have been found only in the Pomeranian strongholds of Szczecin and Gdansk and the Rus' strongholds of Veliky Novgorod and Staraya Ladoga. It was from the north that cast forms devised for the manufacture of cross-shaped pendants might have arrived; the younger one was made of Scandinavian steatite. The identified Scandinavian origin of certain finds from the area of Opole links the northern and the eastern directions, since the garrisons of Rus' strongholds also consisted, at times, of Scandinavians and their descendants. It cannot therefore be precluded that retinue members from the north, who embellished wooden and horn objects in the Borre style and those from the east, the Varangians, came in contact with one another at the Opole stronghold. However, since the number of objects

[650] A. Pankiewicz, S. Siemianowska, K. Sadowski, *Wczesnośredniowieczna biżuteria szklana*, Wrocław 2017, p. 163 ff.



Il. 7. Coloured stone eggs from Rus', discovered in Opole (11th cent.)

pointing to Scandinavian connections – irrespective of whether the link was *via* the north or *via* the east – is not significant, it has to be presumed that they formed a lesser part of the stronghold's garrison.

This remark might be extended to the Piast fortresses, for things were similar. While Scandinavians turned up quite often there, they did not form the major armed force, let alone a military elite or leadership team of the emerging state.

Nonetheless, the question still remains: what was it, what was the new force that appeared in Greater Poland in the 930s? While we are not in a position to resolve this question, with a broader perspective on what was happening in the region at the time, our attention must focus on the territories of Lusatia and Polabia (Elbeland). From the late 930s, Henry I commenced a systematic conquest of the country, which was concluded by his son Otto I in the century's middle years. The iron roller of the Saxon state, then crystallizing, crushed the political associations of local Slavs, one after the other. The period's chroniclers described with satisfaction the methodical brutality of the conquest[651]. Even if their reports on massacring all

[651] T. Scharff, *Der rächende Herrscher. Über den Umgang mit besiegten Feinden in der ottonischen Historiographie*, "Frühmittelalterliche Studien" 36, 2002, p. 243 ff.; F.J. Schröder, *Völker und Herrscher der östlichen Europa im Weltbild Widukinds von Korvei und Thietmars von Merseburg*, Münster 1974.



Il. 8. Temple-rings from the Baltic, discovered in Opole (11th cent.)

the strongholds' defenders, putting to death the dukes and warriors whether in battle or insidiously, are exaggerated, the facts speak for themselves: whoever was not willing to yield to the victors' will was killed or forced to flee. It is these events, rather than mirages of Scandinavians, or 'refugees from Great Moravia', arriving in Greater Poland, that one should examine when looking for the impulses behind the emergence of the Piast state. The matter is hard to examine as the differences between the Western Slavs of the time were rather insignificant as far as material culture is concerned; consequently, the available archaeological material does not tell us if we in fact are dealing with Lusatians, as is the case with recognizing the Scandinavians.

The reasons behind the definitely sudden emergence of the state of the Piasts must obviously have been numerous; the same is true about the groups of people that effectively formed its elites. Due to its peripheral location at the time, Greater Poland offered a niche for those arriving there in the 930s, in terms of the region being a safe distance from stronger political entities. This land offered much better conditions for a statehood to emerge than did Pomerania: apart from the environmental advantages that fostered the production of foodstuffs, Greater Poland provided the necessary amounts of timber and iron. The young state was in real need of the latter raw-material, given

that the Piasts started looking for it shortly afterwards in the south, in the Silesia-Greater Poland borderland.

Once strengthened, the new political organization started to expand quickly and look for a 'propellant' typical at that time for all the region's states (including the Christian Reich) – namely, slaves. Soon, however, still before Christianization, the state's extensive model, composed of a group of plunderer warriors and slave traders, gave way to complex, and more rational methods for exploiting the subdued farming populace. The construction, probably by Mieszko I himself, of a homogeneous state organization, together with the adoption of Christianity, made the previous practice of slave trading anathema in regard to Mieszko's own people; as regards aliens, it was replaced by acquiring captives and subsequently making them settle in the Interior. Many of these captives were from Pomerania.

5. Power and ideology (the first Piasts)

The world of symbolic culture (as a broad concept) of the inhabitants of the Interior and Pomerania in early Middle Ages is still poorly identified, due to the small number of mentions in written sources that shed light on this particular question; those we do have are laconic and not-quite-clear. For the time being, the available archaeological data have proved less than helpful in achieving a more assured interpretation of the problem – all the more so that this data is neither large nor sufficiently informative. Moreover, there is no consent among scholars with respect to the research methodology whose application imposes defined methods of constructing an image of the spirituality of the residents of what was to become the lands of mediaeval Poland and Pomerania.

Two extremely different views collide against each other: one group consists of those more or less restrictively sticking to the criterion of time and place as the supreme factor when it comes to interpreting the phenomena described in the sources (e.g., Łowmiański and Sikorski)[652]; the other group is composed of scholars who believe that

[652] H. Łowmiański, *Religia Słowian…*, *passim*; D.A. Sikorski, *Religie dawnych Słowian. Przewodnik dla zdezorientowanych*, Poznań 2018.

particular phenomena (usually, very scantily described and thus hard to understand) should be compared against the relevant descriptions, situations, and objects found elsewhere (Gieysztor, Banaszkiewicz, Słupecki)[653].

The followers of the former view are oftentimes inclined to take the complex nature of the world of Slavic beliefs and boil them down to a simple belief in amorphous forces of nature[654]. Their adversaries, in turn, endeavour to argue in favour of similarities between the Slavic religions and the better-known and extensive pantheons of Indo-European peoples – the Greeks, Celts, Romans, and Germanic people. It is rather easy to notice that the view of the allegedly primitive character of the Slavs' religiousness goes hand in hand with the convictions about a non-European, or extremely-east-European, original native land of this people.

Indeed, the region's location and history explain why we know very little about the spirituality of its inhabitants and about their early history in general. When, however, linguists[655] as well as geneticists point to numerous associations linking the Slavs in the past with Aryan peoples[656], any research into their religiousness ought to appreciate these facts and take them into account, obviously along with the aforementioned influences of the other peoples inhabiting the Interior and the seaside areas.

As we very well know, the foundations of modern religiosities and of a number of worldviews structurally go back to quite a distant past, even if they are rather young themselves. It is simply so that the more remote our thinking is from a simple description reality, the more it is exposed to influence from the conceptual structures existing in culture. Thus, the view whereby any religious phenomenon should be examined in isolation from other ones, is methodologically erroneous. In analyzing the surviving written-source reports on the Slavs' spir-

[653] J. Banaszkiewicz, *O Dumézilu i jego badaniach – bardzo krótko*, [in:] G. Dumézil, *Bogowie Germanów*, ed. J. Banaszkiewicz, transl. A. Gronowska, Warszawa 2006, p. 7–23; L.P. Słupecki, *Slavonic Pagan Sanctuaries*, Warsaw 1994.

[654] D.A. Sikorski, *Kościół w Polsce…*, p. 63 ff.

[655] Z. Gołąb, *The Origins of the Slavs. A Linguist's View*, Columbus 1992.

[656] While this name still tends to be associated with the Nazi chauvinistic pseudo-science, it is useful and simply describes the peoples originating from ancient Aryans or those culturally close to them. For Europe, of importance are primarily the Iranian peoples such as the Scythians, Sarmatians, or Alans – T. Sulimirski, *The Sarmatians*, London 1970.



Il. 9. The remains of pre-Christian sacrifices (?) discovered at the stronghold in Ryczyn (11th cent.)

ituality and the material culture monuments related to it, we should endeavour to preserve an appropriate reflective rigour to avoid mixing things unrestrainedly and thereby explaining nothing.

This sketch cannot dwell in considerable detail on this ever so complex issue whose size fills up numerous books[657]. What we will try to do is show aspects of the spirituality of the Interior and Pomeranian people, selected due to their importance, especially in the context of their association with the ideology of power as readable from the extant sources. When presenting these selection questions, it will be important for us to identify the influence Christianity, the newly adopted faith, on these people's character.

Let us start with eschatology – to be more specific, with how it manifested itself in the relics of the funeral rite, that is, in the practiced form of burials. Ever newer archaeological discoveries are

[657] A. Gieysztor, *Mitologia Słowian*, ed. A. Pieniądz, introduction K. Modzelewski, afterword L.P. Słupecki, Warszawa 2006; D.A. Sikorski, *Religie Słowian…*, *passim*; recently: *New researches on the religion and mythology of the Pagan Slavs*, ed. P. Lajoye, Lisieux 2019.

appearing in this respect, ones which in many aspects deny the old views which had been settled in science. In the first place, the previous vision of a poor paganism that was quickly broken after Mieszko was baptized and that was replaced by Christianity does no good. It has been denied by increasingly numerous discoveries of crematory burial grounds situated in central Poland, in Lesser Poland, as well as in Lusatia, evidently dating to after the 10th century[658]. These new facts, and verifications of the earlier-examined sites, lead one to conclude that discovering the richness of the Slavic world of magic and mythical practices related to funeral rites and cult of the dead, hitherto hiding behind the enigmatic phrase of a 'burial-less sepulchral zone', has just started.

Since, however, the funeral ritual of the Interior inhabitants was diversified in the 6th to 10th centuries in the chronological as well as spatial aspect, the matter is by no means easy to interpret. Helena Zoll-Adamikowa has developed a whole systematics of the Slavic funeral rite, identifying several developmental phases and several zones covering the Interior territory[659]. In her opinion, skeleton graves never appeared in Polish lands earlier than the mid-10th century.

Zoll-Adamikowa endeavoured to systematize the phenomena under analysis with use of chronology, which is not completely possible, taking into account their spatial reach. In the earliest phase (I), she identified a zone marked 'A' within Western Slavdom (the 'burial-less zone'), covering particularly the north-western areas with the probably dominant burial rite consisting in scattering the remains from the funeral pyre[660]. South of the region, zone 'B' prevalently featured flat graves, cinerary (B1) and pit (B2) ones. In the east of the Interior and in the south, we have to do with yet another zone – C, where mound graves appeared.

[658] D. Jaskanis, *Materiały z badań wczesnośredniowiecznego cmentarzyska z grobami ciałopalnymi w okolicy Kuraszewa w pow. Hajnówka*, "Rocznik Białostocki" 6, 1966, p. 241–265; J. Gąssowski, *Schyłkowe pogaństwo na ziemiach polskich w świetle odkryć archeologicznych*, "Światowit" 40, 1995, p. 43–52; A. Janowski, *Czy groby komorowe z X i początku wieku z ziem władztwa wczesnopiastowskiego i Rusi są pochówkami pierwszych chrześcijan?* [in:] *Hierofanie, wierzenia, obrzędy… Kultura symboliczna w średniowieczu między pogaństwem a chrześcijaństwem*, ed. S. Rosik, S. Jędrzejewska, K. Kollinger, Rzeszów 2018, p. 159–186.

[659] Zones featuring different forms of funeral rite, after H. Zoll-Adamikowa, *Wczesnośredniowieczne cmentarzyska ciałopalne Słowian na terenie Polski*, part 2: *Analiza, wnioski*, Wrocław 1979.

[660] H. Zoll-Adamikowa, *Przyczyny i formy recepcji rytuału szkieletowego u Słowian Nadbałtyckich we wczesnym średniowieczu*, "Przegląd Archeologiczny" 35, 1988, p. 188 f.

In phase II, which lasted until the middle of the 10th century, zone B – the custom of burying the ashes of the dead in urns – was fading, and the Interior area remained 'split' into zones A and C. In the area of the Odra estuary, a zone 'G' was additionally distinguished, with its characteristic graves related, in their form and equipment, to Scandinavian people. From the late 8th century, the territory of west Slavdom sees the appearance of one more type of grave, called the Alt Käbelich type (after a locality in Mecklenburg). The appearance of such burials is characteristic of an almost entire Interior area between the 8th–12th centuries, as well as of Pomerania and the areas inhabited by Polabian Slavs.

Alt Käbelich-type graves were pits of diverse shapes, resembling in their form and size the remnants of earth-sheltered dwelling houses. They form a sort of urnless crematory grave. The pits are filled with burnt remnants with charcoal bits, remnants of burnt-through human, and sometimes animal bones. Sporadically, together with the burnt bones, skeleton burials appeared, children having been so buried in most of the known cases. They were often accompanied by stones and numerous fragments of ceramics. In the opinion of their discoverer V. Schmidt, they were 'houses of the dead', and the copious ceramics was apparently a remainder of the feasts that accompanied the burial ceremony. This particular idea of burying the dead was initially ascribed to Scandinavian influence. W. Łosiński endorsed the opinion that the custom in question was connected with Baltic Slavs. The newer and newer discoveries, including in the south of the Interior, allow us to relate this type of burial with the entirety of north-western Slavdom. A considerably-sized burial ground of this sort was quite recently discovered in Lesser Poland's locality of Wierzchosławice[661].

A number of authors point to a switch from the cremation to inhumation of non-incinerated bodies as the clearest, archaeologically demonstrable confirmation of Christianization. The change apparently took place in the Interior in the second half of the 10th century, after Mieszko, the ruler of the Polans, had been baptized. As is frequent with views adopted *a priori*, the recent findings have shown that this assumption is quite challengeable. For one thing, there is no bigger number of skeleton graves from the early Christianization period evidenced by written records, as most such burial grounds date to the mid-11th century. For another, the custom of corpse burning continued in a number of places – until the 13th century in east of the Interior[662].

[661] A. Tyniec-Kępińska, B.Sz. Szmoniewski, *Nowe wczesnośredniowieczne cmentarzyska typu Alt-Käbelich z Małopolski*, [in:] *Stan i potrzeby badań nad wczesnym średniowieczem w Polsce – 15 lat później*, ed. W. Chudziak, S. Moździoch, Toruń–Wrocław–Warszawa 2006, p. 383–389; J. Poleski, *Małopolska w VI–X wieku…*, fig. 109.

Determination of the chronology of early Piast burial grounds is difficult insofar as the graves hitherto discovered rarely contain any dating artefacts. This picture is additionally darkened by the rule, taken by archaeologists (and historians) for granted, whereby any newly-discovered skeleton burial ought to be dated to 966 (i.e., as of Mieszko I's baptism), at the earliest. As a result of this approach, almost all the skeleton burial grounds featuring no unambiguous dating determinants have so far been dated to the late 10th century or later.

Better recognized and offering some elements enabling the dating, Christian burial grounds located outside Piast burg-cities date to the second half of the 11th century, at the earliest; for some strongholds, no burial sites have been found at all. The question arises, then, where and how the dead residents of Piast strongholds were buried. Ever since the building of a state began, its elite should have observed the norms ensuing from adoption of the new faith and apply inhumation as the burial method. The easiest answer is that the dead were still buried as pagans; the sites where big quantities of fine burnt-through fragments of bones are found are a premise confirming this presumption[663].

We do not quite know how such phenomena should be interpreted. There are, moreover, sites where we can notice cremation and skeleton graves – and, in addition, mound burials – co-appearing, seemingly, at the same time. This perplexity might perhaps stem from no possibility of precise dating; however, since these are not unique cases, other explanations come into play. As we well know from diverse accounts or records, the Church tolerated pagan practices at the early stage of Christianization, particularly those most essential for the people being converted, as otherwise it met with strong resistance. The funeral rite could be one such practice, as a *sui generis* determinant of identity in the face of the ultimate destiny.

Hence, we should not in fact be astonished when discovering sites associated with centres of the Piast rule with different types of burial.

[662] J. Kalaga, *Ciałopalny obrządek pogrzebowy w międzyrzeczu Liwca, Bugu i Krzny we wczesnym średniowieczu*, Warszawa 2006.

[663] S. Moździoch, *From a Tribe to a State…*, p. 160 f.

Contrary to what used to be believed, the state was not an emanation of the ethnic community; instead, it attracted people of diverse descents as long as they were of use to those in power. For the heathens, cultivation of one's own religious distinctness was an obvious thing; what is more, they mostly tolerated Christians[664]. The view once prevailed that toleration of paganism by the dominant Christianity would have been impossible, by definition. Yet discoveries made by archaeologists have proved the contrary: in the earliest period – 'missionary', as it can be described – pagan funeral rituals were practiced along with, or even in place of, Christian ones in the Interior as well as in Pomerania, even close to centres of power.

Let us now take a look at the sites and objects regarding which pagan rituals, other than funeral ones, were carried out. Early mediaeval sites of cult or worship were related either to the natural or cultural environment. As for the former, no traces of special structures, such as buildings, should be looked for. For the latter, some sort of temples would however be expected. Nonetheless, the Slavs very seldom used special sacral buildings or other facilities, particularly in the earliest period. For Western Slavs, such structures are known only from the late paganism period, and recognized with certainty basically only in Polabia[665]. It seems that Slavs generally prefered objects of nature as their worship sites, partly somehow culturally adjusted. Also, pagan cemeteries were most often situated outside the residential areas, whereas Christian burial sites usually accompanied the sacred building and were connected to the settlements.

Considerable attention has been devoted in recent years to the sites of pagan worship discovered in the area of the Piast realm; hence, they are appearing in increasing numbers in the map of archaeological finds. While their identification remains a basic issue, determining the time of their appearance and chronology of use is no less problematic.

[664] B. Filotas, *Pagan survivals Supertitions and popular culture in Early Medieval pastoral literature*, Ann Arbor 2005; J.H. Barett, *Christian and Pagan practice during the conversion of Viking Age Orkney and Shetland*, [in:] *The Cross goes North. Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe AD 300–1300*, ed. M. Carver, York 2003, p. 207–226.

[665] In Elbeland, they might have imitated Christian patterns. For more on residences and burial grounds, see I. Gabriel, *Imitatio imperii am slawischen Fürstenhof zu Starigard/Oldenburg (Holstein). Zur Bedeutung karolingischer Königspfalzen für der Aufstieg einer "Civitas Magna Sclavorum*", "Archäeologisches Korrespondenzblatt" 16, 1983, p. 357–367.

Among the identified sites of cult, numerous mountain or hill peaks, springs, islands or holms, groves, and the like, are usually mentioned[666]. However, a scarce number of sites referred to in the literature has been archaeologically examined, and only few can be said, with a dose of certainty, to have been the places related to a cult, based on concordant testimonies of written and archaeological sources.

Mountains were certainly objects of religious veneration, or sites where pagan rites were performed. Among them, Ślęża, Góra Grodowa near Tumlin (in the Świętokrzyskie Mountains), Łysa Góra, Góra Dobrzeszowska, and Chełmo Mountain can be named. Stone or earth embankments which surrounded the peaks of these prominences have not been precisely dated, in spite of excavation research[667]. As for Ślęża, which is mentioned in Thietmar's 11th-century chronicle as the focus of a pre-Christian cult, the stone ramparts turned out to be from several centuries later. The time of their construction cannot be reliably established.

The space associated with ritual practices might have been marked with embankments or trenches; such was the case of Gostyń in Lower Silesia. The site in Gostyń, regarded in the archaeological literature as a fortified settlement or hill-fort [*grodzisko*], is situated on a hill, to which access was cut by a ditch[668] The lack of a cultural layer in the hill area, apart from the hollows discovered during the research, is thought-provoking[669]; it basically denies the site's settlement-oriented character.

Unusual are also numerous fragments of human bones, sometimes burned in a way characteristic for crematory burials (small particles), grouped in clusters. It is these finds of small bone fragments, including human ones[670], which seem to completely contradict the thesis

[666] J. Cieślik, *Uwagi o stanie badań nad miejscami kultu pogańskiego Słowian na ziemiach polskich*, [in:] *Sacrum pogańskie – Sacrum chrześcijańskie. Kontynuacja miejsc kultu we wczesnośredniowiecznej Europie Środkowej*, ed. K. Bracha, Cz. Hadamik, Warszawa 2010, p. 51, fig. 14; see also: D.A. Sikorski, *Kościół w Polsce…*, p. 78 ff.

[667] E.g., stone banks at Łysa Góra; see L.P. Słupecki, *Miejsca kultu pogańskiego w Polsce na tle badań nad wierzeniami Słowian*, [in:] *Stan i potrzeby badań nad wczesnym średniowieczem w Polsce – 15 lat później*, ed. W. Chudziak, S. Moździoch, Toruń–Wrocław–Warszawa 2006, p. 63–82. About Ślęża see: S. Rosik, *The Slavic Religion…*, p. 149 ff.

[668] S. Moździoch, *Czy monarchia pierwszych Piastów była państwem chrześcijańskim?* [in:] *Dynamika przemian społecznych i religijnych w średniowieczu*, ed. T. Grabarczyk, T. Nowak, Warszawa 2011, p. 123–154; K. Langenheim, *Der frühslawische Burgwall von Gustau, Kr. Glogau*, "Altschlesien" 8, 1939, p. 104–127.

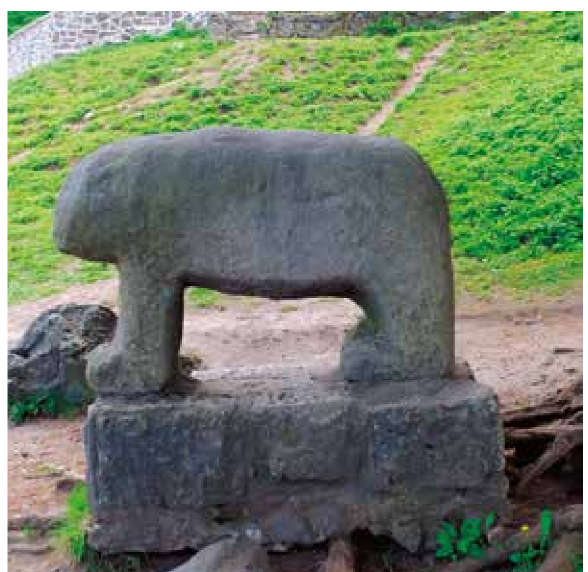
[669] P. Rzeźnik, *Wznowienie badań wykopaliskowych na wczesnośredniowiecznym grodzisku w Gostyniu, gm. Gaworzyce*, "Śląskie Sprawozdania Archeologiczne", 1997, 199, p. 268.

[670] E.g., fragments in one of the discovered cavities – *ibidem*, p. 271.



Il. 10. Ślęża





Il. 11–12. The bear (?) found near Strzegomiany not far from Ślęża (today at its crest)

about the function of the site and the narrative about the surprise and sudden destruction of the stronghold's garrison. Similarly to the lack of animal bones found, is the post-consumer waste typical of the one-time human settlements. The chronology of the Gostyń site as a place of worship of the dead is between the 9th and mid-10th centuries[671].

Among the several types of ritual-and-worship sites of Central European Slavs in the pre-state period, we can find ones situated on wetlands, marshy grounds, sometimes on clumps elevated above the valley's level and surrounded by waters, which made them island-like[672].

Characteristic of pre-Christian worship sites in the Interior are, moreover, various stone structures, both in the form of the aforementioned 'mound-like' embankments as well as cobblestones. Cobble pavements have been discovered, among other places, on the isles examined by Wojciech Chudziak and his team. Structures of this kind situated on holms with wooden bridges appeared in considerable numbers in the Lubusz Land – examples being a set of sites in the Lake Niesłysz area[673], or the 'hill-fort' in Przełazy dated to the 9th–10th century, with a timber bridge dated at the 780s (and rebuilt in the 840s and 890s) connecting the isle with the mainland. Crematory tombs have been discovered at the lake's shore. Inside the latter fort, low earth banks laid with stones and faint traces of use of an open space, in the form of furnaces, have been discovered. Another such site has been investigated at Nowy Dworek on Lake Paklicko Wielkie. The whole of the isle was built up with chest structures, with a wooden bridge (built in the 940s) attached.

All these objects, and other similar ones, do not seem to be military entrenchments, though originally they were equipped with rather low embankments, or shallow ditches, never complemented with any other infrastructure, whether defensive or residential.

An essential element of the Interior's 'symbolical landscape' is that of traces of practices related to depositing 'treasures' in the ground. The literature dealing with this particular phenomenon is enormous, and discussion on its actual reasons continues. The finds of weap-

671 Cf. K. Chrzan, S. Moździoch, S. Rodak, *Wczesnośredniowieczne grodziska w Polsce*, vol. 5: *Powiat polkowicki*, Wrocław 2019, p. 61–112.

672 K. Kajkowski, *Islands as symbolic centres of the Early Medieval settlement patterns in Middle Pomerania (Northern Poland)*, "Studia Mythologica Slavica" 19, 2016, p. 41–59.

673 W. Chudziak, *Rzeki w krajobrazie przyrodniczo-kulturowym wczesnośredniowiecznych Słowian pomorskich*, [in:] *O rzece i wodzie w życiu codziennym człowieka średniowiecza*, ed. S. Moździoch, K. Chrzan, Wrocław 2015, p. 42.



Il. 13. The early medieval settlement complex in Żółte on Lake Zarańskie (with excavations sites marked)

ons and implements cast into in waters are another very interesting, though often neglected, phenomenon. Apart from the sites on lake isles and peninsulas researched by Wojciech Chudziak, the most spectacular example is the mass finds of weaponry (dating to a later period, though) discovered under the Gniezno bridge that led to the early Piast residence on the holm Ostrów Lednicki (and which ceased functioning in the first half of the 11th century)[674]. Should these numerous finds of weapons be considered to have been related to the fighting that took place on the bridge, as some scholars do, it would be hard to explain why as many as sixty hatchets have been found in the water, against merely four spearheads – the latter being much easier to lose while fighting.

The hypothesis that depositing objects in the water surrounding the settlements areas, open or fortified, is associated with the burial of the ashes, may be difficult to prove. It would at least explain why it has been so difficult to find any traces of burials in the early phase

[674] A. Kola, G. Wilke, *Mosty sprzed tysiąca lat*, Toruń 2000.

of the Middle Ages in the West Slavic cultural area. The problem is even harder to resolve given the fact that the custom of depositing various objects in a water environment is a universal phenomenon, in its temporal, ethnical, and cultural aspects.

If we sought to most concisely portray the pagan formation of the inhabitants of the Interior as well as Pomerania, we would certainly have to state that there existed the most diverse forms of cult and veneration and, possibly, various deities, specific of each community or tribe. As far as the territory ruled by Mieszko I is concerned, no god is known to us by name, or, in fact, in any aspect or detail whatsoever[675]. The example of Pomerania, where paganism survived a century and a half longer, makes one aware that diversity, or, so to put it, particularism, was the basic trait of the Slavs' religiousness. While we cannot say that we know quite a lot about the religiousness of the Pomeranians at the moment their Christianization was undertaken, the records show that the institutional character of pagan religiousness approached Christianity, with temples and specialized priests in operation[676].

Paganism lacked a certain ideological keystone that could connect different regions and communities. In the past, for any political authority that spread over vast areas, this deficiency was highly unfavorable. To promote its *raison d'être*, the political authority needed to use religion and its priests, in the absence of other media capable of performing such a role. We are informed that already in pagan times in early medieval Central and Eastern Europe there were sometimes attempts to overcome particular interests and to integrate numerous communities by means of a single cult. This was the case with the Lutician Union and the crucial religious centre of the god Svarožič in Rethra/Radogošč[677], or attempts to introduce the cult of the supreme god Perun to Rus[678]. These measures, however, had a limited effect, and pagan formations were definitely losing out on this matter with Christianity, which was able – with a certain extent of flexibility – to preserve certain particularisms necessary for people

[675] D.A. Sikorski, *Religie dawnych Słowian…*, p. 161 ff.; and more optimistically: J. Strzelczyk, *Mity, podania i wierzenia dawnych Słowian*, Poznań 1998.
[676] D.A. Sikorski, *Kościół w Polsce…*, p. 73 ff.
[677] S. Rosik, *Interpretacja…*, p. 191 ff.
[678] L.S. Kleyn, *Voskresheniye Peruna. K rekonstruktsii vostochnoslavyanskogo yazychestva*, Sankt-Peterburg 2004.

(cult of saints), but at the same time providing them with one main integrating factor[679].

We are not going to deliberate here to what extent the conversion of the Polish Interior could have been dictated by knowledge of the political advantages of Christianity. Such assumptions would mean conversion had been an act of calculated particularism in itself[680]. Whether or not it was, is a separate issue – and quite a complex one, as is any question about human motivation in connection with important political decisions. What we are interested in here is rather how to understand the course and character of the first period of Christianity in the Polish Interior, and later also in Pomerania, in the situation of the parallel survival of pagan customs and practices, as noted above.

After all, the issue of the Christianization of the Piast state was generally understood through knowledge about late medieval times, more thoroughly studied, or even modernity. It was in these times that the church and state authorities – after numerous social revolts, combined with heresies, mostly of an antisocial and sometimes even criminal nature – were inclined to manifest an allergic reaction towards any inconvenient religious issue. However, in the era before the Great Schism and before the reforms of Gregory VII, when the institution of the universal Church with its regional variations still existed, it must be assumed that the attitude of missionaries towards Christianized communities was more flexible, closer to the recommendations once issued by Gregory I the Great to the clergy sent to England and led by Augustine (of Canterbury), the subsequent saint[681].

Our sources, including those unfavorable toward the Piasts, underline the profound dedication of the first three Polish dynasts to promoting Christianity, also by personal example, and to developing the church administration[682]. The most eloquent act of the Piasts'

[679] Christianity itself also underwent a certain transformation during the first centuries of the Middle Ages and in religious practices it came closer to the native European beliefs, without losing its own essence – J.C. Russel, *The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity, A Sociohistorical Approach to Religious Transformation*, New York–Oxford 1994.

[680] Most contemporary historians are inclined to attribute far-reaching, rationalist religious instrumentalism to the first Polish ruler, an important exception being the work of P. Steele; in: Ph.E. Steele, *Nawrócenie i chrzest Mieszka I*, Kraków ^{2}2016; see also J. Strzelczyk, *Mieszko Pierwszy: chrzest i początki Polski*, Poznań 2016.

[681] I. Wood, *The Mission of Augustine of Canterbury to the English*, "Speculum" 69, 1994, p. 1–17.

[682] A. Pleszczyński, *The Birth of Stereotype…*, p. 149 ff.

devotion, regardless of how we understand the nuances of the word's meaning, was the act of entrusting the state to St. Peter (in *Dagome iudex*), which in a way was Mieszko's last will[683]. In the political reality of that time, offering Poland as a fief to the most important authority of Western Christianity – the Pope, after all, the depositary of Christ's power[684] – carried multiple ideological meanings. This is a somewhat separate issue[685], though it is worth noting here that it would be hard for Mieszko I at the twilight of his life to manifest his faith in a better way. Let us also add that this act was not an individual declaration, but the crowning of many devotional deeds, not as spectacular as the last one, but important: after all, Mieszko I became a lay brother to the most important German abbey, St. Boniface's monastery in Fulda. The Polish ruler made the same arrangement with the monastic community of St. Ulrich's monastery in Augsburg[686].

These ties emphasized the alliance with the successive German kings and Roman emperors – from Otto I to Otto III (annotated by the chronicler with the title *amicus imperatoris* – the Emperor's friend)[687] and sealed by Mieszko I's marriage to a margrave's daughter, Oda, which introduced him into the broad family of the German ruler[688]. Mieszko II, the son of Mieszko I's son and successor, Bolesław Chrobry (the Brave), was married to the Emperor's niece, Richeza. The descendant of this monarchic couple, in addition to his Slavic name Kazimierz was also given the name Charles, which expressed not only a connection with the cult of the great Frankish monarch that was nurtured at the court of Otto III, but also the conviction that the child was Charlemagne's bloodline after his mother[689].

[683] The borders of the country have been described quite clearly and, contrary to the reservations of some researchers, they include the area of the later Pomerania – D.A. Sikorski, *Kościół w Polsce…*, p. 236 ff.

[684] J. Strzelczyk, *Mieszko Pierwszy…*, *passim*; J. Banaszkiewicz, *Mieszko I i władcy jego epoki*, [in:] *Civitas Schinesghe. Mieszko I i początki państwa polskiego*, ed. J.M. Piskorski, Poznań–Gniezno 2004, p. 89–110.

[685] A. Pleszczyński, *The Birth of Stereotype…*, p. 72 ff.

[686] Gerhard von Augsburg, *Vita Sancti Uodalrici. Die älteste Lebensbeschreibung des heiligen Ulrich*, ed. W. Berschin, A. Häse, Heidelberg 1993, II, 22 (p. 380).

[687] S. Rosik, *Początki Polski w kronikach niemieckich XI-XII w. (w kręgu wiadomości Widukinda z Korwei)*, [in:] *Kolory i struktury średniowiecza*, ed. W. Fałkowski, Warszawa 2004, p. 235–252.

[688] P. Pranke, *Swoi czy obcy: Piastowie w kręgu arystokracji Ludolfingów*, *Obcy*, ed. W. Dzieduszycki, J. Wrzesiński, Poznań 2012 (= Funeralia lednickie. Spotkanie 14), p. 89–104.

[689] A. Pleszczyński, *The Birth of Stereotype…*, p. 224 ff.

Abroad, the Polish rulers presented themselves as eminent Christians and people aspiring to enter the most prominent elites of the Christian West. Is it then possible that the Piasts had been only pretend-Christians? After all, it seems that paganism was still practiced widely, even near the centres of Piast power. To answer this question, one has to look also at the traces of the Piasts' Christian activity within their country, especially as founders of church institutions and temple builders. Despite the nuances of the dating of architectural investments, as these lasted for many decades and cannot be precisely attributed to a particular one of the first Piasts, their achievements in this field are very impressive. Let us only list the activities aimed at strengthening the church administration and the accompanying construction of stone buildings, whose construction required a great effort, especially in a country that was still pagan in character. Hence, Mieszko I managed to get the Pope's consent to establish a Polish bishopric, which took place already in 968 (a few years earlier than the same was managed by the Czechs, whose country had been officially Christian for long decades)[690]. This act was followed by the erection of the cathedral in Poznań, the archbishop's seat. Already in the times of Mieszko I a stone *palas* with a chapel was raised in the city of Poznań, similar to its respective parts to royal and aristocratic residences in eastern Germany[691].

At the time of the creation of the bishopric, the outline of the Piast state was similar in shape to a flattened oval, whose western end crossed the Odra in the middle of its course, with the area later known as Lubusz Land, named so after the castle in Lubusz (Lebus) located on the left bank of the Odra; while the farthest eastern area controlled by the Piasts reached the lower part of the Bug river, probably even including the areas occupied by the Ruthenian dukes in the 11th century – namely, the later eastern Mazovia (Drohiczyn) and southern Podlasie (Brest)[692]. The northern borders of Mieszko I's realm overlapped in the east with the border of the Prussian and Yotvingian lands, and to the north and north-west – with Pomeranian lands.

[690] M. Matla, *Pierwsi Przemyślidzi i ich…*, p. 15 ff.

[691] H. Kóčka-Krenz, *Palatium poznańskie na tle wczesnośredniowiecznych zespołów rezydencjonalnych*, [in:] *Archeologiczne tajemnice palatium i katedry poznańskiego Ostrowa*, ed. M. Przybył, Poznań 2016, p. 21–46; *eadem*, *Archeologia o początkach chrześcijaństwa w państwie Piastów*, "Kwartalnik Opolski" 63, 2017, 1, p. 65–74.

[692] M. Dulinicz, *Mazowsze we wczesnym średniowieczu…*, p. 104.

The latter the Polish ruler managed to subjugate somehow, probably in the 970s. Due to the natural boundaries (the starkness of the terminal moraine)[693], the Piast control of these areas was very loose and was rather limited to a few fortified points (e.g., Kołobrzeg)[694]. The rest of the area remained practically independent and was a conglomerate of many, perhaps even several dozen local authorities of unknown nature. Their existence is only suggested by archaeology[695], because no written sources about have survived – if any had existed at all.

The growth of the Piast reign to a certain extent can be also read from the material collected as a result of archaeological research – it is confirmed by the characteristic strongholds, whose ramparts were formed by layers of tree trunks bolted with distinctive forked posts[696]. These strongholds were first located in Greater Poland, Kuyavia and Mazovia (these names having been coined later). The lack of roads meant that the communication axis of the country was comprised of the watercourses of the Warta and Vistula river basins, with towpaths in the area of the low watershed in eastern Greater Poland and maybe Kuyavia[697]. The fact that the communication system was based on rivers in the early Piast state is indirectly confirmed by the oldest written sources which inform about Mieszko I. The Saxon chronicler Widukind of Corvey noted in reference to the year 963 or 964 – the chronology of the event is disputable – that the Piast ruler suffered a defeat in a clash with the Western Slavs (probably the Redars)[698].

But the first historical Piast ruler left to his successor a vast area, which in fact – according to the relevant phrases in *Dagome iudex* – stretched from the Baltic Sea and Prussian lands in the north to the mountain ranges in the south, and from the Odra river in the west up to Rus' in the east[699]. A little remark here: generally the borders

[693] G. Labuda, *Środowisko geograficzne*, [in:] *Historia Pomorza…*, vol. 1, part 1, p. 15–31.

[694] B. Śliwiński, *Pomorze w polityce i strukturze państwa wczesnopiastowskiego (X–XII w.)*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" 107, 2000, 2, p. 3–40; W. Chudziak, E. Siemianowska, *Problem przyłączenia…*, p. 181–200.

[695] W. Łosiński, *Osadnictwo plemienne w dorzeczu Parsęty we wczesnym średniowieczu*, [in:] *Salsa colbergensis*, p. 13–21; J.M. Piskorski, *Pomorze…*, p. 100 ff.

[696] *Pradzieje Wielkopolski…*, p. 319 ff.

[697] E. Siemianowska, *O przewłokach…*, p. 114–139.

[698] S. Rosik, *Początki Polski…*, p. 235 ff.

[699] K. Skrzyńska-Jankowska, *Early Medieval portages on the trade route between the Batlic and Black Sea: a case study from the Polish-Rus' borderlands*, [in:] *The significance of portages*, ed. Ch. Westerdahl, Basingstoke 2006, p. 199–207.



Map 2. Piast Poland in the 10th and 11th cent.

of the state of Mieszko I with Rus' are drawn on the basis of better known realities of the mature Middle Ages and always the issue of the "Cherven Grads" comes up. The case of these townships well shows how strong the persistence of historiographic tradition can be, even if it is fictitious: in the early Middle Ages there was never any political organization incorporating the land of Przemyśl and the areas north of Roztocze[700].

However, an eloquent testimony of the strong presence of the Piasts is located right at the Rus' border, outlined in almost all syntheses and textbooks of Polish history, as well as analytical works:

[700] It has long been proven that the "Cherven Grads" were "created" as a result of a scribe's error – A. Poppe, *Gród Wołyń*, "Studia Wczesnośredniowieczne" 4, 1954, p. 227–300.

the *palas* in Przemyśl, a stone building with a chapel, generally following the style of those erected in Greater Poland, Cracow, or later in Wiślica[701]. This type of investment, extremely costly, was located a few kilometers from the alleged border – and it is hard to understand what possible purpose it was supposed to serve. However, when we take into account the situation at the end of the 10th century, then the closeness between Przemyśl and Rus' does not seem so obvious[702]. On the other hand, the original eastern border of the region, and probably of the reign of the first Piasts, was located far from the stronghold and its *palas*, i.e., somewhere in the marshy terrain around the Stryi river. Thus, within the area controlled from Przemyśl, there were numerous salt evaporation ponds. In the past, salt was a strategic commodity and trading in it provided a huge income – which is indirectly documented by the above-mentioned Piast investment, for which the potential funds were located in the nearest vicinity of Przemyśl[703].

In the context of the control over the salt trade, one can also explain the aspirations of the Piasts for a stronger establishment of their power in Kołobrzeg, as evidenced by the location of the bishopric seat in this stronghold in the year 1000. These and other minor matters, which cannot all be called up here, document a new quality of state development which the Polish rulers gradually tried to implement. The previously dominant extensive model of managing the conquered areas was replaced by a stronger implementation of the state structures, first in selected, strategically important points, where not only warriors, maintained by the local population, but also clergymen had already been settled, as the new reli-

[701] K. Stala, *Architektura rezydencji wczesnośredniowiecznych w Polsce. Próba interpretacji dotychczasowych poglądów z uwzględnieniem tła europejskiego*, Kraków 2013; see also: D.A. Sikorski, *Wczesnopiastowska architektura sakralna*, Poznań 2012.

[702] It seems that the definition of the eastern borders of the state of the first Piasts is still affected by the syndrome of post-war relations with the USSR, as well as the fear of being accused of some "expansionism' towards Ukraine. In fact, however, the territorial shape of the early states has nothing to do with contemporary relations.

[703] Moreover, an important trade route leading to the Carpathian passes ran near the stronghold – Z. Pianowski, *The settlement complex in Przemyśl in the early Middle Ages*, [in:] *Polish lands at the turn of the first and the second millenia*, ed. P. Urbańczyk, Warszawa 2004, p. 383 f.; J. Nalepa, *Pogranicze polsko-ruskie do połowy wieku XIV a archaiczne hydronimy i toponimy: weryfikacja "weryfikacji"*, "Slavia Antiqua" 41, 2000, p. 27–48; J. Tyszkiewicz, *The oldest border of the Piast state – an attempted summary*, "Questiones Medii Aevi Novae" 9, 2004, p. 183–204.

gion and its institutions played an important role in this process of power consolidation. Apart from its internal functions – the ideological one: the integration of local elites with the authorities; and practical: the clergy, the only educated people of that time, acting as advisors and even administrators – the coupling of church structures with the state gave the latter an external sanction and recognition by the authorities of the Christian world. And even if such legitimacy was not absolute and did not protect against attacks by neighbouring Christians, there are examples showing that church structures turned out to be stronger than those of the state and in favorable conditions they could become the foundation for the rebirth of fallen states.

We know that Bolesław Chrobry, taking advantage of the favour and support of Emperor Otto III, established an archbishopric in Gniezno in the year 1000 with a suffragan network. After a little more than three decades of the functioning of the Polish metropolis, most of its structure, if not all of it, was destroyed during the pagan uprising after the death of Mieszko II (1034). The state perished. However, the fact of creating the archbishopric gave the legal basis and external support both for the reconstruction of the metropolis and for the restoration of the state.

It would be hard to suppose that Bolesław Chrobry, in some prophetic act, possessed knowledge about the far-reaching consequences of his actions, but with exceptional determination, following in the footsteps of his father, he founded his vision of the state on Christianity. That is why stone cathedrals[704] began to rise in Gniezno itself and in most of the diocesan capitals. Apart from them, the First Piasts built stone and wooden churches in their other strongholds[705] often with a stone or wooden *palas*, whose secular body was always connected with a separate sacral interior – a chapel[706].

[704] Only in Kołobrzeg is it difficult to find traces of such an investment – perhaps because during the severe wars between Bolesław the Brave and Henry II, Pomerania became independent from Poland and returned to paganism.

[705] S. Rosik, *The »Baptism of Poland «Power, Institution and Theology in the Shaping of Monarchy and Society from the Tenth through Twelfth Centuries*, [in:] *Imaginations and configurations of Polish society from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*, ed. Y. Kleinmann *et al.*, Göttingen 2017, p. 46–53.

[706] A list of those buildings (with the most recent literature): K. Stala, *Architektura rezydencji wczesnośredniowiecznych…, passim.*

Given the size of all these architectural investments, it is impossible to accuse the first Polish rulers of superficial Christianity[707]. We also know that they themselves were committed to religious practices[708]. Bolesław Chrobry (the Brave) also tried to support the missions directed towards the neighbouring pagan countries[709]. Moreover, the ruler required his people to strictly adhere to the recommendations of the new religion[710]. Thus, we have a certain dissonance – namely, between archaeology showing something different (see above: about the lingering paganism) from the records in the written sources – especially when it comes to the requirement of religious diligence from Bolesław the Brave's subjects.

This can be explained hypothetically (but with solid foundations in the well-described solutions applied elsewhere)[711] as follows: the Polish rulers required absolute obedience from their people, i.e., the Polans. Here, respect for Christian religious recommendations was treated as an act of loyalty, and their rejection as an act of betrayal – hence the severe penalties. In turn, people of foreign origin serving the authorities had already had some freedom to express their ethnicity and religiousness. We mean, of course, the first centuries of the Christianization of the country, because later the situation changed.

[707] Even the chronicler Thietmar, who was hostile to Bolesław the Brave, did not do so – on the contrary, he always noticed his devotional actions; similar praise also came from other German authors of that time – A. Pleszczyński, *Gorliwość neofitów. Religijność osobista Przemyślidów i Piastów w X i na początku XI wieku*, [in:] *Przemyślidzi i Piastowie – twórcy i gospodarze średniowiecznych monarchii*, ed. J. Dobosz, Poznań 2006, p. 93–99.

[708] We also have testimonies of donations to the national church institutions; about the German ones, in: G. Althoff, *Adels- und Königsfamilien im Spiegel ihrer Memorialüberlieferungen. Studien zum Totengedanken der Billunger und Ottonen*, München 1984 (= Münstersche Mittelalterschriften 47).

[709] W. Duczko, *Real and Imaginary Contributions of Poland and Rus to the Conversion of Sweden*, [in:] *Early Christianity in Central Europe*, ed. P. Urbańczyk, Warsaw 1997, p. 129–135.

[710] The most drastic example of the ruler's determination in this respect is the famous passage of Thietmar's chronicle about the knocking out of subjects' teeth for not observing Lent, which was longer in comparison to other Christian countries – R. Michałowski, *Post dziewięciotygodniowy w Polsce Chrobrego. Studium z dziejów polityki religijnej pierwszych Piastów*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" 109, 2002, p. 5–40; *idem*, *Christianisation of Political Culture in Poland in the 10th and Early 11th Century*, [in:] *Political Culture in Central Europe (10th–20th Century)*, part 1: *Middle Ages and Early Modern Era*, ed. H. Manikowska, J. Pánek, Prague 2005, p. 31–46.

[711] J. Strzelczyk, *Apostołowie Europy*, Warszawa 1997; A. Sue Russel, *Conversion, identity, and power: The impact of Christianity on power relationships and social exchanges*, Lanham 1999; Z. Hunyadi, *Signs of Conversion in Early Medieval Charters*, [in:] *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals*, ed. G. Armstrong, I.N. Wood, Turnhout 2000, p. 105–113.

Regardless of the details in sketching a phenomena which we do not know for certain, one thing can be stressed with certainty: Christianity, alongside a common language and generally similar traditions, played a key role in the integration of the various communities living within the Polish Interior. Without the new religion, the ruling dynasty would not have been able to organize a strong state in areas with a high degree of settlement instability and with poor and unsteady social organization.

To finish off this part of our deliberations, one thing should be mentioned that could be the crowning achievement of all the activities of the first Polish rulers, including those undertaken in both the secular sphere and in the religious realm. It is the creation of a monarchy in the Carolingian style, i.e., Christological, with the crown and the ritual of anointing its holder and the principle of *primogeniture* (inheritance of the throne and supreme power by only one dynast, with appropriate appanages for others)[712]. One can see the great determination in Bolesław the Brave's efforts to create this type of power. Eventually, just before his death, Bolesław was crowned and anointed. It seems that in the same year 1025 (perhaps even along with his father), the subject of the same rituals was the designated heir to the throne, Mieszko II Lambert. However, this act was carried out without the proper approval of the Pope or the Emperor, and more importantly, it was not well received by the Polish mighty, who were accustomed to assemblies and the collective rule of the state. As a result, when the position of King Mieszko II was weakened and attacked simultaneously by the German king and by the rebellious brothers supported by Rus', the national political elites turned away from the ruler, which led to his loss of power and the abandonment of ambitious monarchical plans.

[712] The Ottonian Empire was a model here, of course. Apart from it and France, this type of monarchy did not exist anywhere at that time – A. Pleszczyński, *The Birth of Stereotype…*, p. 295 ff.

EXCURSUS: SANTOK AND MILICZ AS GATEWAYS FOR THE PIASTS' EXPANSION BEYOND THEIR GREATER POLAND HOMELAND

Aleksander Paroń

"Expansion is everything" is a statement attributed to Cecil Rhodes[713], and one which seems to well illustrate the main functioning principle of the early medieval European monarchies, including the Piast Monarchy. It has been assumed that *early states*, the above-mentioned political organizations among them, are particularly aggressive[714]. The nature of their expansion – or specifically, its purpose – may be a subject of discussion. Was it the desire to gain new territories together with their resources, or rather to gain the resources themselves, the possession and distribution of which enabled a monarch to retain his power? One gets the impression that the supporters of the second opinion have become more and more numerous recently. It was not "land and people" but rather silver and various "moveable goods" (including slaves) that were supposed to serve as the basis for wealth and therefore the power of the elites in the early states of Central and Eastern Europe[715].

In fact, the dilemma seems misguided, as it compels scholars to search for the sources of the material existence of early states outside

[713] After: O. Spengler, *The Decline of the West. Form and Actuality*, authorized translation with notes by C.F. Atkinson, New York 1927, p. 37.

[714] H.J.M. Claessen, P. van de Velde, *Introduction,* [in:] *Early State Economics*, ed. H.J.M. Claessen, P. van de Velde, New Brunswick–London 1991 (= Political and Legal Anthropology 8), p. 16 f.

[715] D. Adamczyk, *Srebro i władza…*, p. 13 f., 336, 339 f. The opinion on the significance of moveable goods (cattle, expensive ores etc.) as a display of prestige and wealth of the monarch and the elites might be found in the works of older scholars (see also: L. Leciejewicz, *Słowianie zachodni…*, Wodzisław Śląski ²2010, p. 157). However, they were never so radical as the thesis of Dariusz Adamczyk, which seems to negate the role of rule over land for the functioning of early states. Nonetheless, it is hard to ignore the fact that – alongside plundering and external exchange dominated by the ruler – an internal economic system existed. It was also controlled by the monarch and its task was to provide tributes and obligatory services, essential for the existence of state apparatus (court, retinue, embryo of monarch Church). See also: W. Łosiński, *Miejsce Pomorza i Wielkopolski w kształtowaniu się gospodarki towarowo-pieniężnej w Polsce wczesnofeudalnej,* "Slavia Antiqua" 37, 1996, p. 166–172.

them[716], or to accept the thesis of their autarkic nature. However, none of these theses is sound. Of course, loot and tribute were an important, though by no means the only source of metal ores for early monarchies. Participation in long-distance trade, which was controlled and entirely monopolized by a ruler and his fellows, was also of great significance – and this is admitted by the supporters of the theory on the external origin of the resources crucial for the existence of early states. One can hardly fail to notice that the resources of a territory controlled by early monarchies, such as slaves, furs, or silviculture products, etc., were objects of exchange – and this is not altered by the fact that they were sometimes acquired by way of internal plundering[717]. It is even harder not to notice that participation in trade requires gaining control over a trading route, which means making one's own territories a part of it. At this point we are raising the fundamental issue of communication, which always happens in a specified space and is crucial for any effective expansion. In fact, it is one of its aspects. Gaining and retaining an area requires keeping control over its road network as well. It seems that looking at the early development of the Piast monarchy from the point of view of communication will allow us to sidestep the fundamentally misleading dilemma "land and people" or "expensive ores and moveable goods" as the aim of the expansion of the early Piasts.

Whereas the territorial core of the Piast monarchy initially remained beyond the zone of long-distance communication, the area of the southern Baltic coast had become part of it much earlier. The Piasts, like the Rurikids before them, endeavored to incorporate their state into

[716] Actually, the only early states that were in fact based mainly on external resources were nomad states and empires. However, even among them we can indicate those whose elites gradually rationalized the way of exploiting lands under their control and attempted at creating more diversified base for the existence of their states. See also: A. Paroń, *Wczesne państwa nomadów w Europie wczesnego średniowiecza (do 1000 roku). Modele i prawidłowości rozwoju*, [in:] *Instytucja "wczesnego państwa" w perspektywie wielości i różnorodności kultur*, ed. J. Banaszkiewicz, M. Kara, H. Mamzer, Poznań 2013, p. 221–248.

[717] Vigorous and violent expansion, accompanied by overexploitation of internal resources, usually led early monarchies to a crisis. They regained their vitality thanks to the actions of their rulers, founders of a new order and restorers, who usually proposed more rational use of their state's resources. See also: A. Pleszczyński, *Kryzys i upadek wczesnych państw słowiańskich oraz ich odbudowa (IX–XI wiek). Zarys problemu*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" 125, 2018, 2, p. 263–302. The theory of external origin of resources that were essential for the existence of the early states of Central and Eastern Europe does not take this dynamics into account.

the zone of long-distance trade. Though their efforts are poorly documented by written sources, they are much better reflected in archaeological material. This study is an attempt to present the Piasts' endeavors *via* the examples of two gateway centres, ones occupied probably in the last third of the 10th century: Santok and Milicz (fig. 1). They opened the way for expansion beyond the borders of Greater Poland, and to Pomerania and Silesia. Their key (literally!) meaning was reflected in later sources. Gallus Anonymus in the early 12th century called Santok *clavis et custodia Regni Polonie*[718], and over two centuries later Milicz was named *clavis Regni Poloniae* in the correspondence of the papal legate Gallhard de Carceribus[719]. It seems that both statements, let alone their rhetoric, reflect the strategic importance of the centres and their character as communicational hubs[720].

1. Localization

The importance of the two centres was conditioned mainly by their localization. Santok was situated at the swampy confluence where the Noteć flows into the Warta river (Old Slavic: *sątok*). The settlement complex (initially an open settlement and later a stronghold that consisted of multiple parts) was situated between the two rivers, with the first one circling it from the north and the latter from the south-west. Thus, a floodplain was formed. The middle-ground took the form of a holm (river island), especially during the time of snowmelts[721]. The strategic significance of the site was a result of the fact that it gave control over communication along the east-west and north-south axes. The lower

[718] Gall II, 17.

[719] "[castrum] fortissimum et quasi clavis Regni Poloniae" – cf. *Vetera monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae gentiumque finitimarum historiam illustrantia*, ed. A. Theiner, vol. 1, Roma 1860, no. 519, p. 395. The letter is dated to July 1337.

[720] Calling a settlement centre a "key" may be reflected in the use of the term *gateway city* by contemporary communication theorists. Cf. E. Siemianowska, *O zastosowaniu niektórych modeli teoretycznych w badaniach nad ośrodkami miejskimi w średniowieczu*, "Archaeologia Historica Polona" 22, 2014, p. 35–39.

[721] K. Zamelska-Monczak, *Grody santockie w czasach misji Ottona z Bambergu*, [in:] *Biskup Otton z Bambergu i jego świat*, ed. M. Rębkowski, S. Rosik, Wrocław 2018 (= Wolińskie Spotkania Mediewistyczne 4), p. 243; A. Piotrowski, P. Sydor, T. Żuk, *Badania geologiczne nad pierwotnym ukształtowaniem terenu*, [in:] *Santok początki grodu*, ed. D. Rymar, Z. Czarnuch, S. Janicka, Gorzów Wielkopolski 1995, p. 49.

Warta and Noteć rivers, flowing in the Toruń-Eberswald marginal glacial valley, created favorable conditions for the functioning of a latitudinal waterway that could connect the Lower Odra basin with Rus' through the Vistula valley and its left-side tributaries[722]. The Toruń-Eberswald marginal glacial valley, whose average width is from 2.5 km to 5 km, together with the ridges of ground and terminal moraines of the south-Pomeranian and west-Pomeranian Lakelands, was a barrier that separated Pomerania from Greater Poland. However, in the valley's narrowings there existed places that were easier to cross[723]. One of them was situated in the vicinity of Santok. It gave the possibility to cross the swamps of the Noteć and, through a gully in the waterfront upland, reach the important west-Pomeranian centres of Szczecin and Wolin by land. Santok, thanks to its localization, enabled communication between the core of the Piast state and the wealthy and economically well-developed area of the Lower Odra, using both land routes and waterways (along the river Warta towards the Lower Odra)[724].

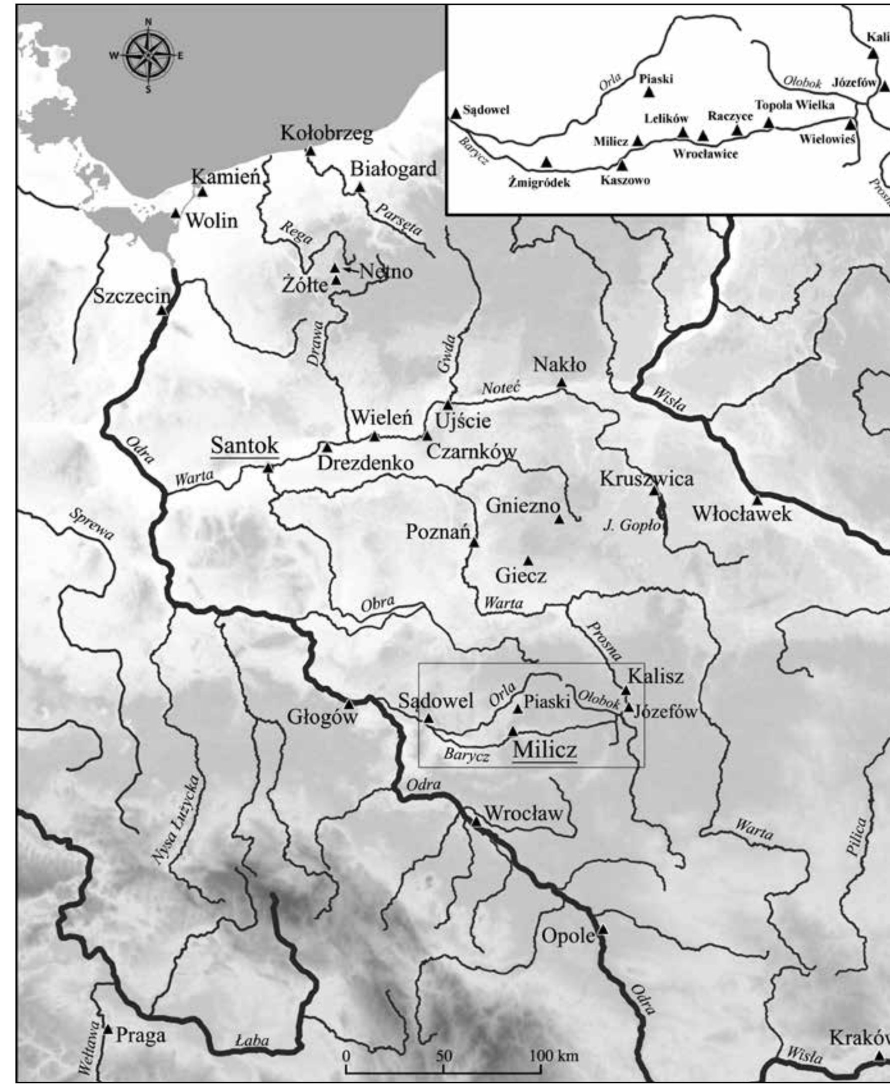
Milicz, located at the southern end of Greater Poland, also owed its significance to the fact that it was situated where waterways and land routes intersected. The oldest part of the early medieval settlement complex lay on a sandy shoal between the Barycz's riverbeds. West of here the river valley narrowed considerably, and this made crossing easier[725]. Thus, Milicz became an important settlement centre on the north-south communication axis. A land route that led from the centre of Greater Poland (Gniezno) *via* Wrocław, and further through the Kłodzko Valley all the way to Prague, ran close to Milicz. Nevertheless, the route gained in importance in the historical period. Functioning much earlier, probably in the Bronze Age, was a latitudinal route, whose axis was the valley

[722] K. Zamelska-Monczak, *Santok – "klucz i strażnica królestwa" u zbiegu Warty i Noteci*, [in:] *Milicz. Clavis Regni Poloniae. Gród na pograniczu*, ed. J. Kolenda, Wrocław 2008, p. 213.

[723] Z. Wielgosz, *Pogranicze wielkopolsko-zachodniopomorskie we wczesnym średniowieczu. Krajobraz naturalny i struktury osadnicze*, Poznań 2006, p. 61 –72, 79–107; A.M. Wyrwa, *Czynniki związane z procesem formowania się grodów limesu nadnoteckiego we wczesnym średniowieczu. Stan i perspektywy badań*, [in:] *Pradolina Noteci na tle pradziejowych i wczesnośredniowiecznych szlaków handlowych*, ed. H. Machajewski, J. Rola, Poznań 2006, p. 281–286.

[724] Z. Kurnatowska, *Grody santockie w świetle dotychczasowych badań archeologicznych*, [in:] *Santok – początki grodu*, ed. D. Rymar *et al.*, Gorzów Wielkopolski 1995, p. 10; K. Zamelska-Monczak, *Santok – "klucz i strażnica królestwa"*..., p. 213 f.; M. Kara, *Anfänge der Bildung des Piastenstaates im Lichte neuer archäologischen Ermittlungen*, "Questiones Medii Aevi Novae" 5, 2000, p. 71.

[725] J. Kolenda, *Wczesnośredniowieczny Milicz w świetle wykopalisk*, [in:] *Milicz. Clavis*..., p. 14 f.



Map 3. Milicz and Santok in the 10th and 11th cent.

of the Barycz[726]. Special features of the river, distinguished by the presence of bifurcation, most likely contributed to the route's emergence. As a matter of fact, the Barycz has two outlets: the west one merges it with the Odra river and the east one with the Ołobok, a small river that flows into the Prosna south of Kalisz. It was probably both a water and land route, because the hydrological conditions east of Milicz considerably hampered the possibility to use waterways[727]. However, it is worth noting that this artery, running along the river valley, might have connected Kalisz, an important early medieval stronghold with long-distance connections[728], with the land of the Dziadoszanie tribe. Further, it presumably led north, to Polabia and Pomerania.

2. Origins

The settlement complex in Santok seems to be older than the one in Milicz. In the 8th century an open settlement that consisted mainly of primitive wattle houses existed on the above-mentioned holm[729]. It is possible that it functioned as a temporary shelter for merchants who penetrated the interior of Greater Poland, as no heating devices have been found inside the houses. Not until the 9th century did more durable log houses appear in the settlement. At the end of the century (or the beginning of the following one) the site was surrounded by a rampart with a palisade[730]. The fortifications lasted until the second half of the 10th century when the settlement centre of Santok was thoroughly rebuilt. The older fortifications were indeed partly used – however, a completely new, huge settlement complex with the surface of 5 ha was eventually built, consisting of a stronghold surrounded by a fortified rampart and two-part adjacent settlement. The size of the stronghold's fortifications was impressive. The surrounding rampart was 6 m high and 16 m wide at its base. It was faced with stone twice (between the late 10th and the mid-11th century, and later in the second half of the 11th or early 12th century), which was intended to serve as protection against fire and floods caused by the Warta river[731].

The chronology of the new stronghold complex, whose erection was begun in the 960s, along with its construction techniques and specific localization (close to waterways), seem to indicate that it had been founded by the Piasts. Santok stood as described until the 12th century, when a fire caused massive damage[732].

The origins of Milicz are somewhat later – however, they appear to be quite similar. The oldest part of the early medieval settlement complex was probably also an open settlement situated on a sandy river island. It is currently impossible to define its exact chronology. Nevertheless, it is assumed that it had been founded in the late 9th or early 10th century[733]. The stronghold that was located 20 m south of the open settlement is usually dated to the second half of the 10th century. The results of dendrochronological analyses, carried out on wood samples from the rampart, indicate that the fortifications were erected after 960[734]. There is a possibility that in Milicz, like in Santok, no new fortifications were constructed, but rather the older

[726] On the role of the Barycz as a contact zone between the cultural communities of Silesia and east Greater Poland (Kalisz land) in the Late Bronze Age: A. Mierzwiński, *Przemiany osadnicze społeczności kultury łużyckiej na Śląsku*, Wrocław 1994; I. Lasak, *Epoka brązu na pograniczu śląsko-wielkopolskim*, part 1: *Materiały źródłowe*, Wrocław 1996 (= Monografie archeologiczne 2); *eadem*, *Epoka brązu na pograniczu śląsko-wielkopolskim*, part 2: *Zagadnienia kulturowo-osadnicze*, Wrocław 2001 (= Monografie archeologiczne 6). The significance of the Barycz valley as a long-distance communication channel in the period between 500 BC and 500 AD is also recognized by Artur Błażejewski (*idem*, *Dorzecze Baryczy w okresie przedrzymskim, wpływów rzymskich i wędrówek ludów. Przegląd problematyki*, [in:] *Nadodrze w starożytności. Konferencja Grabice, 23-30 czerwca 2004*, ed. G. Domański, Zielona Góra 2011, p. 127, 137 f.).

[727] K. Chrzan, *Uwagi do studiów nad osadnictwem wschodniego dorzecza Baryczy od 2 poł. IX w. do poł. XI w.*, [in:] *Funkcje grodów w państwach wczesnośredniowiecznej Europy Środkowej. Społeczeństwo, gospodarka, ideologia*, ed. K. Chrzan, K. Czapla, S. Moździoch, Wrocław–Głogów 2014, p. 198.

[728] Cf. T. Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Kalisz na tle wczesnośredniowiecznej sieci drogowej*, [in:] *eadem*, *Drogami średniowiecznej Polski. Studia z dziejów osadnictwa i kultury*, Warszawa 2011 (= Collectio archaeologica, historica et ethnologica 4), p. 77–104.

[729] K. Zamelska-Monczak, *Wczesnośredniowieczne poziomy osadnicze we wnętrzu grodu (G I-G VII)*, [in:] *Santok. Strażnica i klucz Królestwa Polskiego*, ed. *eadem*, Warszawa 2019 (= Origines Polonorum 13), p. 75; *eadem*, *Umocnienia wczesnośredniowiecznego grodu w Santoku*, [in:] *Santok. Strażnica…*, p. 133.

[730] K. Zamelska-Monczak, *Umocnienia…*, p. 135.

[731] *Ibidem*, p. 135 f., 139, 141.

[732] K. Zamelska-Monczak, *Umocnienia…*, p. 141 f. The destructions which, according to archaeologists, mark the end of Santok's heyday should be associated with another wave of fights between the Piast dukes and the West-Pomeranian Griffins, dated to the 1140s. See: A. Paroń, *Dzieje Santoka w świetle źródeł pisanych*, [in:] *Santok. Strażnica…*, p. 54 f.

[733] J. Kolenda, *Wczesnośredniowieczny Milicz…*, p. 24; *eadem*, J. Kolenda, *Milicz. The Early Medieval Past*, [in:] *Milicz. Atlas Historyczny Miast Polskich*, vol. 4: *Śląsk*, f. 7: *Milicz*, ed. R. Eysymont, Wrocław 2017, p. 5.

[734] J. Kolenda, *Wczesnośredniowieczny Milicz…*, p. 30, 43 f.; *eadem*, *The Early Medieval Past…*, p. 29.

ones (whose more precise dating is impossible at the current state of research) were rebuilt[735]. As a result of changes from the second half of the 10th century a ring-shaped stronghold in the form of a regular oval came into existence. The surface of the settlement complex was 1.5 ha at that time, which makes Milicz the largest such complex in the valley of the Barycz river[736]. The investment from the last third of the 10th century is usually credited to the Piasts and considered to be evidence of their having gaining control over Milicz[737]. The last assumption corresponds with the historical context, which is going to be discussed below, and interestingly coincides with the abovementioned context of the redevelopment of Santok.

In the first half of the 11th century the stronghold in Milicz, like many other settlement complexes in the valley of the Barycz, was heavily damaged, which is suggested by the traces of burning discovered in the layers dated to that period[738]. However, the settlement complex in Milicz survived the crisis. Before the middle of the 12th century, or maybe even in the last quarter of the 11th century, Milicz together with the surrounding territories became the property of the Wrocław bishops[739]. In the second half of the 12th century the fortifications were rebuilt again, which might be evidence of changes in the way the Milicz land was governed, the consequence of which was the presence of the ducal *castellanus* in the stronghold[740].

3. Long-distance contacts: Archaeological evidence

Settlement centres situated close to the borders of the early Piast domain, and additionally on the intersection of longitudinal and latitudinal communication routes, must have been involved in long-distance exchange. This remark concerns Santok in particular, whose participa-

[735] J. Kolenda, G. Kiarszys, *Wczesnośredniowieczne grodziska w krajobrazie Doliny Baryczy. Przyczynek do studiów nad przemianami osadniczymi*, "Śląskie Sprawozdania Archeologiczne" 59, 2017, p. 100.

[736] *Ibidem*, p. 99–107.

[737] J. Kolenda, *Wczesnośredniowieczny Milicz…*, p. 44–48; *eadem*, *The Early Medieval Past…*, p. 29; J. Kolenda, G. Kiarszys, *Wczesnośredniowieczne grodziska…*, p. 114.

[738] K. Chrzan, *Uwagi do studiów…*, p. 215 f.; J. Kolenda, *The Early Medieval Past…*, p. 29.

[739] A. Paroń, *Dynamism of* the Settlement's development in the Middle Ages, [in:] *Milicz. Atlas…*, p. 31.

[740] *Ibidem*, p. 31 f.

tion in long-distance trade has been confirmed by archaeological data acquired from the oldest settlement layers that considerably precede the Piast period. It has already been mentioned that an open settlement, which initially served as a stopover for merchants who penetrated the interior of Greater Poland (and probably also a seasonal trade point), existed in the 8th century at the influx of the Noteć into the Warta river. Thus, it can be assumed that Santok, devoid of a settlement supply base, owed its foundation and development mainly to trade contacts. In the earliest period its connections with Pomerania, Scandinavia, and Friesland are visible. In the settlement layers dating from the second half of the 8th century through the first half of the 9th century, fragments of woolen fabrics, part of which presumably come from Friesland and others from Jutland, have been discovered[741]. Moreover, antler combs whose decorations (an ornament in the form of inclined letter 's' with "small eyelets") have their analogies in Friesland, Scandinavia, and Ireland have also been found there[742]. In the consecutive settlement layers, dated from the first half of the 9th century, amber artefacts (mostly beads, but also pendants, a circle, ring fragments, and roughly worked lumps of raw material)[743], often accompanied by glass and gemstone beads, were present.

In Santok also numerous phyllidic whetstones were discovered in the cultural layers, starting from the second half of the 9th century. The last type of artefact commonly occurs in western Pomerania and

[741] K. Zamelska-Monczak, *Traces of Viking culture in Santok?*, [in:] *Scandinavian Culture in Medieval Culture*, ed. S. Moździoch, B. Stanisławski, P. Wiszewski, Wrocław 2013 (= Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies 2), p. 269; M. Cybulska, J. Maik, *Tekstylia z Santoka w świetle analiz specjalistycznych*, [in:] *Santok. Strażnica…*, p. 305 f.

[742] K. Zamelska-Monczak, *Traces…*, p. 269; *eadem*, *Przedmioty z kości, poroża oraz metali*, [in:] *Santok. Strażnica…*, p. 205–210.

[743] In Santok 17 amber artefacts were found, most of which come from the layers dated to the first half of the 9th century through the second half of the 10th/first half of the 11th century. Only one fragment of an amber ring was discovered in a settlement layer from the first half of the 13th century. A study that combined gemological analysis with Raman spectroscopy revealed that the amber from Santok came from the Baltic Sea. A large amount of amber products (including large amounts of semi-finished goods and raw material) inclines scholars to assume that from the late 10th century to the mid-11th century an amber workshop functioned in Santok. Cf. E. Lisowska, K. Zamelska-Monczak, J. Kolenda, P. Gunia, B. Łydżba-Kopczyńska, *Multidisciplinary approach to the provenance investigations of early medieval amber finds discovered in Santok and Milicz*, "Fontes Archaeologici Posnanienses. Annales Musei Archaeologici Posnaniensis" 53, 2017, p. 236; E. Lisowska, P. Gunia, *Przedmioty kamienne i ozdobne kamienie jubilerskie*, [in:] *Santok. Strażnica…*, p. 283–286, tab. V 6.3.

the whole Baltic zone. It is also worth noting that phyllite is a kind of rock which does not occur in glacial erratic material in northern Poland. This proves its foreign origin, which was most probably in outcrops located in Norway. The abundance of phyllidic whetstones inclines the scholars to assume that the Noteć-Warta settlement centre was the place where they were traded. They also could have served, just like amber, glass, and gemstone beads, as commodity money used in trading transactions[744]. Santok's tight connections with Pomerania and the Baltic zone in a broader sense are also indicated by the high quality Feldberg/Kędrzyno pottery commonly occurring in its oldest layers. This centre is the southernmost settlement point where this type of pottery was discovered[745]. In general, Santok maintained contacts with the economically well-developed areas of Pomerania and Elbeland, and through them also with Scandinavia and Friesland, almost from the beginning of its existence.

The question of the relationships of the Warta-Noteć centre with the East (Rus', Byzantium) is another issue. A lyre-shaped buckle discovered in a layer dated to the second half of the 9th century seems to indicate that such long-distance connections were established relatively early[746], however, they did not necessarily have to be direct. Santok's tight connection with Pomerania, being almost a part of this area, suggest that the Baltic Sea could have been the intermediary, just as in the case of the connections with Scandinavia and Western Europe. Some glass artefacts (e.g. soda glass), produced in eastern workshops reached Santok most probably as a subject of re-export from Haithabu[747]. In the case of artefacts from the younger Piast layers other ways of their arrival in the Warta-Noteć stronghold than the Nordic-Baltic route should be considered. Gemstone beads made of carnelian, agate, and rock crystals particularly fire scholars' imaginations. Carnelian beads begin to occur in the settlement layers in Santok from the second half of the 10th century – in the first half of the 11th century, however, a clear majority (7 out of 11 specimens) is dated to the 12th century and the first half of the 13th century. Outcrops of carnelian, which these

[744] K. Zamelska-Monczak, *Traces…*, p. 270 f.; E. Lisowska, P. Gunia, *Przedmioty kamienne…*, p. 277–279.

[745] K. Zamelska-Monczak, *Traces…*, p. 269, 272 f.; A. Indycka-Grabarczyk, K. Zamelska-Monczak, *Naczynia ceramiczne*, [in:] *Santok. Strażnica…*, p. 185–190.

[746] K. Zamelska-Monczak, *Przedmioty z kości…*, p. 217 f.

[747] J. Sawicka, *Zabytki ze szkła*, [in:] *Santok. Strażnica…*, p. 274.

beads were made of, are located in the vicinity of Nishapur, in the area of present-day Iran. Equally exotic origin concerns the agate bead discovered in Santok dated to the first half of the 13th century. The deposits which it came from were supposedly located in Afghanistan[748]. It is hard to say which route was used to transport the gemstones from the Middle East. We can only assume that one of the parts of their journey to the Lower Warta and Noteć was Rus', which could have been reached through Byzantium, Volga-Kama Bulgaria, or the Pontic-Caspian steppe, controlled from the second half of the 11th century by the Polovtsians. However, the origin of the beads made of rock crystal, occurring in the layers from the 10th century and the first half of the 11th century, remains unclear. Three specimens discovered in Santok may have come from the Czech Sudetes or the Alps, alternatively the Romanian Carpathians[749]. Spindle whorls made of Ovruch shale, mined in northern Ukraine, are undoubtedly of Rus' origin. In the layers of the Warta-Noteć settlement complex – dating from the second half of the 11th century through the second half of the 13th and 14th century – nine such spindle whorls were discovered[750].

Trading utensils, discovered in different parts of the settlement complex, can also be regarded as evidence of the early beginnings of Santok's participation in long-distance trade that lasted through the 13th century. In the layers of the rampart that separated the stronghold from the accompanying settlement the remains of two sets of scales were found. Scales of this type were used in Western and Central Europe as well as Scandinavia already in the second half of the 11th century – however, they were most common in the 13th and 14th centuries. Weights, some of which (namely, 6 spherical ones and 2 barrel-shaped ones) come from the settlement layers of the stronghold's area, were discovered in Santok as well. The oldest one is dated to the mid-9th century and the others to the second half of the 10th through the first half of the 11th century. Moreover, in the layers of the adjacent settlement, dated to the 12th century through the first half of the 13th century, 3 barrel-shaped weights were also found[751].

[748] E. Lisowska, P. Gunia, *Przedmioty kamienne…*, p. 282 f., tab. V 6.3.

[749] *Ibidem*, p. 283, 286, tab. V 6.3.

[750] In the area of Poland (mostly the south-east regions and trade emporia) ca. 800 spindle whorls made of Ovruch shale have been found. Their presence is interpreted as evidence of vibrant contacts between Poland and Rus'. *Ibidem*, p. 279 f., tab. V 6.2.

[751] K. Zamelska-Monczak, *Przedmioty z kości…*, p. 218 f.

In a settlement centre that maintains such extensive, far-reaching contacts, the lack of coin finds must be surprising. This absence can be explained to some extent by replacing metallic money with different forms of 'primitive' money. In the early period that preceded the Piast rule, amber, glass, and gemstone beads as well as phyllidic whetstones served such a role. However, later, i.a., in the second third of the 10th century, the "dirham road" was assumed to have run through Santok. Along this road, according to Michał Kara, silver arrived *via* West-Pomeranian emporia (Wolin, Szczecin) to Greater Poland (Poznań, Gniezno)[752]. This makes the lack of numismatic finds in the settlement complex of Santok even more surprising. Nevertheless, two hoards were found in its close vicinity – namely, in Gralewo (Santok municipality). The first one was deposited after 983 (Gralewo II) and the second one after 1035 (Gralewo I). Both hoards, apart from coins and their fragments, contained silver jewellery[753]. The numismatic artefacts deposited there were of different origin. In both hoards there were coins minted in the mint houses of the Latin West (Roman-German Empire, England, Italy, Bohemia, Denmark, Hungary) and in the East (Byzantium, Arabic states). In the older hoard oriental coins occur in considerably larger amounts than in the younger one[754].

Milicz's long-distance relations appear to be a little less impressive compared to that of Santok. However, one should bear in mind that this is an incomplete image. The Barycz centre has not been so thoroughly excavated as the Warta-Noteć settlement complex. Nevertheless, there is clear evidence of distant cultural contacts in Milicz as well. They existed in the earliest period, preceding the Piast rule. In the area of the open settlement, a partly preserved knife ending with volutes and a fragment of a graphite vessel were discovered.

[752] M. Kara, *Anfänge…*, p. 78; *idem*, *Najstarsze państwo Piastów – rezultat przełomu czy kontynuacji? Studium archeologiczne*, Poznań 2009, p. 310 f.

[753] Systematic information on both hoards together with source literature: G. Horoszko, J. Piniński, P. Ilisch, D. Malarczyk, T. Nowakiewicz, *Frühmittelalterliche Münzfunde aus Pommern*, [in:] Frühmittelalterliche Münzfunde aus Polen. Inventar 2, Warszawa 2016, no. 75 f., p. 213–221.

[754] In the Gralewo I hoard there was only one Byzantine coin and one Arabic coin. In the older deposit there were 63 fragments of Arabic coins (Abbasid, Samanid and Buyid) and one fragment of a Byzantine coin from the John I Tzimiskes period (969–976). G. Horoszko, J. Piniński, P. Ilisch, D. Malarczyk, T. Nowakiewicz, *Frühmittelalterliche Münzfunde aus Pommern…*, p. 214, 217 f.

Both artefacts are of foreign, southern origin[755]. A rare find in the area of Poland is also a bronze cylindrical padlock. It probably came from Rus', where it was used for locking chests. Barrel-shaped weights, whose presence should be considered as evidence of trade contacts, were also discovered in the layers of the settlement[756].

Nonetheless, the most interesting artefacts were found in the early-dated layers of the Piast stronghold. In a burnt layer, dated to the late 10th century through the mid-11th century, numerous objects made of non-ferrous metals including silver and gold were discovered. Fittings made of gold-plated silver (6 specimen preserved to various degrees), whose form combines the motives of a heart and a palmette, deserve particular attention. The leitmotif of the composition is a 4 mm wide and 3 mm thick band whose inner part is decorated with an ornament in the form of small semi-circles. These fittings, as stated by Justyna Kolenda, their discoverer and researcher, should be associated with two pentagonal applications with rounded corners and a tongue-shaped belt or thong ending. Despite their poor preservation state (the fittings, applications, and belt/thong ending were discovered in a burnt layer), it can be stated that the distinguished group of finds was of great artistic value. The presence of the thong ending suggests that the objects were used as belt, bag, or horse harness decorations. Their origin remains unclear, as there are no close analogies in the Polish cultural environment. They show influences from the Nordic region or the area referred to as the *Viking West*, but they also evince traces of steppe characteristics. This eclecticism might have originated from the Rus' environment, where the cultures of the world of the Varangians and the nomads crossed[757].

The set of fittings and applications was discovered within the Milicz stronghold in the context of other objects considered to be imports of a different kind. Beads made of carnelian, crystal rock, and gold – as well as outfit elements in the form of a lyre-shaped buckle and a bell-shaped hanger – are worth mentioning here. In the oldest layers of the stronghold, trade utensils were also discovered: barrel-shaped

[755] J. Kolenda, *Wczesnośredniowieczny Milicz…*, p. 28.

[756] *Ibidem*, p. 27 (fig. 11), 28.

[757] J. Kolenda, *Okucia z wczesnośredniowiecznego grodu w Miliczu*, "Archeologia Polski" 58, 1–2, 2013, p. 131–136; J. Kolenda, A. Paroń, *Silesia Exotica, czyli niezwykłe dzieje zwykłego grodu. O wczesnośredniowiecznych początkach Milicza* [forthcoming].

weights and a fragment of a beam balance scale[758]. Moreover, a few coin finds dated to the late 10th through the mid-11th century (discovered in the layers of the stronghold and the accompanying settlement) can be regarded as evidence of Milicz's trade connections[759]. The image of the Barycz centre's far-reaching cultural connections in the early Piast period is complemented by the discovery not only in its oldest layers of spindle whorls made of Ovruch shale[760] and a part of a pommel of a saddle made of deer or moose antlers, whose close analogies can be found in the Scandinavian cultural zone[761]. However, it is difficult to define the exact chronology of the pommel, as it was found during amateur excavations carried out in Milicz in 1853. What is more, it later went missing and is known today only thanks to a description.

4. Historical context

Santok and Milicz appear in written sources quite late. The above quoted passage by Gallus Anonymous is the first mention on the Warta-Noteć stronghold and was written in connection with events dated literally to the last years of the 11th century. The first pieces of information regarding Milicz are even later, as they come from two papal bulls, issued in 1136 and 1155[762]. The most distant past of the two strongholds is known only thanks to archaeology, whose records allow us to assume that both settlement centres came under the rule of the Piasts in the beginning of the last third of the 10th century.

The findings become really interesting when looked at in a wider historical context. It is significant that the establishment of ruler from Gniezno in both settlement complexes is chronologically close to the moment when the country of "*Meško*, the king of the North" entered the Central European stage. The core of the Piast state then became part of a vast communicational area, also remaining *in statu nascendi.* Let us recall that the Piast monarchy emerges in the historical records in connection with the attempts at conquering the mouth of the Odra river. Widukind, a monk from the Saxon abbey in Corvey, in his notes dated to 963 and 967, mentions "king (*rex*) *Misaca*" who fights with the Veleti tribes who were supported by Wichmann, a Saxon outlaw. Boleslav, "the king of the Czechs" and the father-in-law of the Piast ruler, helped him in those endeavors. Widukind calls Mieszko *amicus imperatoris*, which leaves no doubt that he had already established proper relations with the Roman-German Emperor, Otto I[763]. At the same time, somewhere between 961 and 966[764], the account of Ibrahim ibn Yaqub was written, in which the country of "the king of the North" was described as the largest of the Slavic states and located in the neighborhood of Rus' and the Prussia. Mieszko's state in the Tortosian merchant's work appears as an effective expansion machine whose main power is a retinue of 3,000 shield-bearers, financed from the tributes charged by the ruler[765]. In the middle of the 960s the main enemies of the Piast monarchy were the *Welītābā*, or the Veleti, who, though they did not have a king, possessed a powerful town with twelve gates situated by the Ocean. Ibrahim ibn Yaqub, who confirms and extends the information given by Widukind, most probably speaks of Wolin, which lies at the mouth of the Odra river[766].

The information from written sources seems to prove the expansion of the Piasts beyond the homeland of their state in Greater Poland and remains in accordance with archaeological material which illustrates

[758] J. Kolenda, *Wczesnośredniowieczny Milicz…*, p. 42, 46 (fig. 46); *eadem*, *Okucia…*, p. 136; J. Kolenda, A. Paroń, *Silesia Exotica…* [forthcoming].

[759] In the layers of trench III, half of an undefined coin, presumably an imitation of Anglo-Saxon coins, dated to the very end of the 10th century, or rather the first quarter of the 11th century as well as the coin of King Andrew I, minted in 1050–1060 and a type VI cross denar from east Saxony, dated to ca. 1020–1040, were discovered. The latter was found in the area of the settlement. S. Suchodolski, *Monety z badań wykopaliskowych w Miliczu*, [in:] *Milicz. Clavis…*, p. 71 (no. 6), 71 f. (no. 9), 72 (no. 14).

[760] J. Kolenda, *Wczesnośredniowieczny Milicz…*, p. 47 (fig. 28); J. Kolenda, A. Paroń, *Silesia Exotica…* [forthcoming].

[761] F. Geschwendt, *Sattelbeschläge der Wikingerzeit aus Schlesien*, "Altschlesien" 6, 1936, 2, p. 317 (fig. 1); J. Kolenda, *Okucia…*, p. 136.

[762] *Schlesisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 1: *971–1230*, ed. H. Appelt, Köln 1963 [futher: SUB], no. 9, p. 8; no. 28, p. 19.

[763] Widukind III, 66, 69.

[764] P. Engels, *Der Reisebericht des Ibrahim ibn Ya'qub (961/966)*, [in:] *Kaiserin Theophanu. Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends. Gedenkschrift des Kölner Schnütgen-Museums zum 1000. Todesjahr der Kaiserin*, vol. 1, ed. A. von Euw, P. Schreiner, Köln 1991, p. 413–422.

[765] *Relacja Ibrahima ibn Jakuba z podróży do krajów słowiańskich w przekazie Al-Bekriego*, ed. T. Kowalski, MPH NS 1, Kraków 1946 [further: Ibrahim ibn Yaqub], p. 48, 50. Ibrahim ibn Yaqub stated that Mieszko charged tributes in the form of *mathāqīl* (sg. *mithqāl*) *al-marqatīyya*, so probably mitqals of chopped silver. *Ibn Fadlan and the Land of Darkness. Arab Travellers in the Far North*, transl. and introduction by P. Lunde, C. Stone, London–New York 2012, p. 164–166; M. Jankowiak, *Two systems of trade in the Western Slavic lands in the 10th century*, [in:] *Economies, Monetisation and Society in the West Slavic Lands*, ed. M. Bogucki, M. Rębkowski, Szczecin 2013 (= Wolińskie Spotkania Mediewistyczne 2), p. 141.

[766] Ibrahim ibn Yakub, p. 50; *Ibn Fadlan and the Land of Darkness…*, p. 166.

the material and technical aspects of the same process. Gaining control over both strongholds and their redevelopment should be considered part of creating communication infrastructure and therefore expansion.

The far-reaching connections of Santok, its tight economic relationships with the Baltic zone and specific location, explicitly indicate that control over the stronghold gave the Piasts access to the areas of western Pomerania and Elbeland, which were economically better developed than the Slavic interior. Nevertheless, the reasons why the ruler from Gniezno reached for Milicz are less obvious. The long-distance connections of this settlement centre, although leaving no doubts, are not as clear as in the case of Santok. Apart from the contacts *via* the valley of the middle and lower Odra river with the Baltic zone, early relations of the settlement complex in Milicz with the South and Rus' are also clearly visible. The influences seem to be mutually balanced. The relationships with the East might have been maintained *via* the Kalisz land. The connections of its main stronghold with the Rus' zone are well documented[767]. Nonetheless, it seems rather unlikely that the Piasts had taken over Milicz in order to develop their contacts with rich Rus', altogether distant from the valley of the middle Barycz river. Southward connections were presumably more significant, which is politically evidenced by the establishment of contacts with the Přemyslid monarchy. The 960s brought one more breakthrough, one that seems to best explain the reason why the rulers from Gniezno strengthened their position in the area of the Barycz river.

Most probably the two trade zones into which Western Slavic territory was divided along the Sudetes and the Carpathians merged at that

[767] Dirham hoards discovered in the vicinity of the Kalisz-Zawodzie stronghold (Piwonice – tpq 934/5 AD, Psary – unknown time of deposit) and few Arabic coins prove early Kalisz's contacts with the East. Cf. T. Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Kalisz na tle wczesnośredniowiecznej sieci…*, p. 83, 97; M. Kara, *Najstarsze państwo Piastów*, p. 311–315; M. Bogucki, S. Miłek, *Monety, ich pochodzenie oraz obieg w Kaliszu i jego najbliższych okolicach w X i pierwszej połowie XI wieku* [in:] *Od Kalisii do Kalisza. Skarby doliny Prosny. Katalog wystawy*, ed. S. Suchodolski, M. Zawadzki, Warszawa 2010, p. 50–55. Clear evidence of Kalisz's connections with Rus' is a lead bulla of Prince Iziaslav Demetrius Yaroslavich, found in one of the huts within the Kalisz-Zawodzie stronghold, which may confirm the Prince's stay during his longer exile in 1073–1077. T. Baranowski, *Gród w Kaliszu – badania, odkrycia, interpretacje*, [in:] *Kalisz wczesnośredniowieczny. Materiały Sesji, Kalisz, 15 czerwca 1998*, ed. T. Baranowski, Kalisz 1998, p. 51 f., fig. 11; *idem*, *The Stronghold in Kalisz*, [in:] *Polish Lands at the Turn of the First and the Second Millennia*, ed. P. Urbańczyk, Warszawa 2004, p. 293, fig. 8; A. Jusupović, P. Nowak, *Bulla księcia ruskiego Jarosława Dymitra Jarosławowicza*, [in:] *Wokół początków Kalisza. 60 lat Stacji Archeologicznej Instytutu Archeologii i Etnologii PAN w Kaliszu*, ed. A. Kędzierski, Warszawa–Kalisz 2016, p. 24 f.

time. This fundamental change is evidenced by the finds of Czech coins in the area of Poland that date to the 970s[768], and the presence of "Rus'" and Slavic merchants in Prague (*Farāgha*), noted by Ibrahim ibn Yaqub. The latter were supposed to come to Prague from Cracow (*Karākū*)[769]. This last information should be also considered as proof of establishing a long-distance communication route, one which connected Kiev with Prague and further with Regensburg in the second half of the 10th century[770].

Thus, the fact that the Piast state's acquisition of the middle Barycz river should be interpreted as a measure (and not the only one) leading to the incorporation of their country into the then forming communication and exchange zone embracing the vast territories of Southern Europe. The Piast march to the North, towards the medium of the long-distance contacts (which was the Baltic Sea), has an analogy in the march to the South, towards the Bohemian Basin. The march was accompanied by slow yet continuous building of a base for further expansion, a kind of settlement and communication bridges. In another study included in this book I tried to prove that the strongholds built by the early Piasts in the valley of the Noteć river (beyond Santok, also Drzeń, Wieleń, Czarnków, Nakło, and Ujście) were not, at least initially, supposed to function as a border between Greater Poland and Pomerania, but as infrastructure used for expansion to Pomerania[771]. Although taking into account the differences, it seems that we can speak of a similar phenomenon in the case of the Barycz region, where in the river valley, apart from Milicz, the main stronghold (a part of old "tribal" settlement centres) was taken over – or as in the case of the stronghold of Piaski-Rochy, new strongholds were built from scratch[772]. The latter is an example of early medieval social engineering. The erection of a new stronghold required creating a settlement base, provided by Pomeranian and Veletian captives. Bearing in mind that analysis of the settlement processes on the border between Silesia and Greater Poland is still ongoing and many issues remain unsolved, it can be

[768] M. Jankowiak, *Two systems of trade…*, p. 143–145.

[769] Ibrahim ibn Yakub, p. 49; *Ibn Fadlan and the Land of Darkness…*, p. 164.

[770] M. Jankowiak, *Two systems of trade…*, p. 142.

[771] See below chapter: *Pomerania within the Communicational Realm of an Intermarium*.

[772] Z. Kurnatowska, M. Kara, *Wielkopolska południowa między Ziemią Gnieźnieńską a Śląskiem*, [in:] *Milicz…*, p. 161 f.; J. Kolenda, G. Kiarszys, *Wczesnośredniowieczne grodziska…*, p. 112.

assumed that this reflected the deliberate creation of infrastructure for communication and expansion southward.

5. Conclusion

Early medieval Central and Eastern European monarchies naturally needed external supplies for their existence. Bullion, precious items, various luxury goods acquired through exchange, robbery, alternatively as deserved or forced "gifts", were an extremely important part of a monarch's income. They were redistributed as a basis for maintaining the initial state apparatus; however, they were also a base for an economy of prestige and a symbolic means to legitimate the ruler. Retaining it required the ruler to gain full control over the access to valuable goods and their redistribution.

These facts indicate that communication played a special role. It was the monarch who must have had the monopoly for establishing contacts with neighbouring political bodies (the Empire, *regna et ducatus*, tribes) and for long-distance trade in order to exert control over the emerging communication infrastructure. As noted above, communication is, in fact, one of the aspects of expansion. The effectiveness of communication seems to be crucial for the emergence of any such expansion and the consolidation of any territorial gain. The attempt made here has been to demonstrate, based on the example of two centres located on the border of Greater Poland, how the Piasts struggled to include their domain in the long-distance trade network. Their journey to the North, towards the Baltic Sea – and to the South, towards the Bohemian Basin, was, as a matter of fact, a "long march" toward junction areas, i.e., intermediaries that opened contacts with other, more distant regions of Europe. Taking over Santok and Milicz was but one of the stages along the way, albeit an important one. Taking a closer look at the position of both strongholds in the infrastructure of the Piasts' expansion reveals that this was a strenuous process that demanded investments that were substantial for an early political body and that reached for elements of social engineering. The effort, although it was supposed to contribute to gaining external resources, required the mobilization of internal resources, the resources of the territory already ruled.

IV

Along the Gniezno–Kołobrzeg Vector. The Origins of the Christianization of Pomeranian lands

1. On the Baltic Sea under the Piasts' rule at the end of the 10th c. St. Voytěch (Adalbert) in *Gyddanyzc*

Stanisław Rosik

The fact that the early Piast monarchy's influence extended up to maritime Baltic lands as early as during the rule of Mieszko I raises the question about the possibility that specific measures were taken for the Christian conversion of local communities already in the times of the first bishops in Poland: Jordan (from 968), and then Unger (from 981). Medieval sources are silent on this matter and it seems highly likely that, prior to the year 1000, no planned missionary efforts whatsoever had been undertaken in these border lands of the Piast realm. However, one should consider it possible that individual representatives of the local elites might have chosen to be baptized, e.g., when visiting the Polish court. However, the only source information in this matter that refers to Pomerania is found in the 12th-century hagiography of St. Vojtěch (Adalbert) – the *Tempore illo*[773]. Not only because of the distant time perspective, but also due to the pragmatic goals of this work, its cognitive value for the times described should be assessed as limited[774].

Because the rule of the first Piasts expanded to the north using communication arteries running along the rivers, there were several zones of this expansion in the region of the future Pomerania. In relation to the reign

[773] *De sancto Adalberto episcopo*, ed. W. Kętrzyński, [in:] MPH 4, Warszawa 1961 [further: *Tempore illo*], chap. 12.

[774] For details, see below.

of Mieszko I, it is mainly his pressure towards the mouth of the Odra that is discussed[775] . However, taking into account the fact that the potential, though only hypothetical, control over this area was not associated with the permanent location of the Piast garrisons there, it should be noted that a missionary effort in this region, even if taken under Polish patronage, would have been very difficult[776]. Hence it is not surprising that there are no contemporaneous references to such an event.

Moreover, based on archaeological research, we have to acknowledge the slight probability that strongholds garrisoned by the first Piasts ever reached the river basin of the Rega[777], which flows directly into the Baltic Sea and is closest to the mouth of the Odra from the east. In this situation, another of the rivers flowing into the Baltic Sea east of the Odra draws particular attention as the vector of Piast expansion at the turn of the millennia – the Parsęta river, and especially the centre associated with Kołobrzeg, because its role is confirmed not only by the well-functioning stronghold (located in today's Budzistowo near Kołobrzeg)[778], but also thanks to the description by Thietmar[779], dated to the same period. Of course the furthest east that Piast expansion ever reached was the Lower Vistula and its estuary – to which refers the earliest known indication of a missionary effort in the Baltic region under Piast rule.

The episode mentioned in *Tempore illo* refers to St. Vojtěch's attempts to convert the Pomeranian people, which ultimately proved fruitless[780]. This pessimistic assessment, however, seems to be the outcome of a subsequent hagiographic tradition that corresponded to the reality

[775] See p. 239 f., 269, 282 ff.

[776] This reflection is aptly illustrated by the comparison with the circumstances in which the mission of St. Otto of Bamberg took place in the same area more than a century later. At that time, the conditions for the conversion of the main centres of western Pomerania were optimized by the cooperation with the missionary of the two princes, the Polish one and the Pomeranian prince allegiant to him; moreover, the political significance of these cities declined, as compared to the position of Wolin in the 10th and 11th centuries. For more information, see p. 363 f.

[777] Such conclusions can be drawn in particular from comprehensive research on medieval strongholds in the Rega river basin, carried out in 2014–2019, see A. Janowski, *Grodziska…*, p. 140 f.

[778] See *Kołobrzeg. Wczesne miasto nad Bałtykiem*, ed. L. Leciejewicz, M. Rębkowski, Warszawa 2007.

[779] See Thietmar (IV, 45), followed by *Annales Magdeburgenses*, where this event is described under an incorrect annual date of 996 (*Annales Magdeburgenses*, ed. G.H. Pertz, [in:] MGH SS 16, Hannover 1859, under the year 996).

[780] *Tempore illo*, chap. 12.

of the native cults and beliefs lingering in Pomerania still in the 12th c.[781], whereas in relation to the events of the year 997 that we are interested in, it seems crucial to acknowledge the reference from the oldest of the hagiographies of St. Vojtěch, probably written around the year 999 in Rome[782]. The author of this work, anonymous today, highlights the spectacular missionary success achieved by his protagonist in the "city" (*urbs*) located on the coastline of Bolesław the Brave's realm. Vojtěch is said to have arrived there on his way to Prussia, still accompanied by a Polish military escort, and his sermons were to lead crowds of people to baptism and the subsequent sacraments[783].

The name of this "city" spelled out as "Gyddanyzc"[784], is quite commonly identified with Gdańsk, and – despite certain doubts that have been aired[785] – it is difficult to find an equally convincing alternative. Even if this hypothesis were mistaken, the very message of St. Vojtěch's missionary work on the frontier of Piast rule seems credible enough. After all, it was written almost "live", based on the accounts of the journey's participants or its witnesses, which is also supported by the introduction of a specific name of the mission venue, unheard of at that time. Moreover, the credibility of this message is supported by the fact that any confabulation would have been easily exposed by the first listeners of the story, due to the then still fresh memory of the expedition by the Apostle of Prussia. It can be of course argued whether the hagiographic convention did not require an embellishment of his missionary achievements; either way, though, one should appreciate the voice of "the epoch" pointing to the centre referred to as an *urbs* as the place predestined for conducting an effective mission of conversion – at least in the short run.

The passage of *Vita Adalberti* here being discussed lacks any details about the character of the centre called *Gyddanyzc*. However, it is hard to imagine a well-populated settlement that attracted newcomers being devoid of fortifications. What remains unclear is whether

[781] S. Rosik, *Znaczenie i specyfika misji apostołów Pomorzan: św. Wojciecha z Pragi i św. Ottona z Bambergu* [in:] *1050. rocznica Chrztu Polski*, ed. K. Lewalski, Gdańsk 2017, p. 39–62; for details, see further.

[782] *Vita Adalberti*, ed. J. Hoffmann, [in:] J. Hoffmann, *Vita Adalberti. Früheste Textüberlieferungen der Lebensgeschichte Adalberts von Prag*, Essen 2005, p. 125–159 [further: Vita Adalberti I].

[783] *Ibidem*, chap. 27. This also refers to administering Holy Communion to the newly baptized.

[784] *Ibidem*.

[785] One problem is that archaeology has not yet confirmed such an early record of the stronghold in Gdańsk.

there was a garrison directly representing Bolesław the Brave, or rather a local prince[786] allegiant to his authority. In any case, what was crucial to the mission's success was that a centre within a monarchy belonging to *Christianitas* opened its gates. Thus, we should consider the possibility that the consolidation of Piast rule north of the Noteć river was associated with populating these centres with local garrisons, whose members, and particularly their leaders, may already have been baptized. However, the scope for this kind of guesswork remains very narrow, because this type of phenomenon could have affected only very few other townships apart from *Gyddanyzc*: above all, Kołobrzeg (*de facto*, today's Budzistowo) or Białogard[787]. As in the case of the other major strongholds of the Piast state, these centres should be considered as populated by relatively small communities at the beginning of Bolesław the Brave's reign, but already identifying with Christianity, especially at the elite level.

In this respect, a clear example can be the contemporaneous chronicle description of the defense of Niemcza in 1017[788]. At that time, the stronghold's garrison (allegiant to Bolesław the Brave) was besieged by the army of Emperor Henry II, within which the pagan Lutici played an important role as allies. According to the virtually "live" account by Thietmar of Merseburg (who died in 1018), when shielding off their assault, the defenders raised a cross to apotropaically ensure supernatural support[789]. Of course, this might have been a rare example of such religious ostentation among the soldiers of Bolesław the Brave, although it seems consistent with other information provided by the said chronicler about

786 *Tempore illo*, chap. 12, mentions a Pomeranian prince, usually connected with Gdańsk – which is a reference for the interpretation of the term *Gyddanyzc* from Vita Adalberti I, 27, as a name for Gdańsk. It is worth noting here that in relation to the monarchy of Bolesław the Brave and in the context of the mention of *Gyddanyzc*, there appears a plural term *regna*, which indicates that the author of Vita Adalberti I perceived the Polish sovereignty as composed of several allegiant realms, each referred to as a *regnum*; one of them could have been subordinated to the said local prince. However, it is difficult to build a well-founded hypothesis on such frail premises.

787 See W. Łosiński, *Początki wczesnośredniowiecznego osadnictwa grodowego w dorzeczu dolnej Parsęty (VII–X/XI w.)*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1972.

788 Thietmar VII, 59–60 and 63. See J. Strzelczyk, *Bolesław Chrobry*, Poznań 1999, p. 144–159; P. Urbańczyk, *Bolesław Chrobry – lew ryczący*, Toruń 2017, p. 258–269.

789 See Thietmar VII, 60. Cf. S. Rosik, *The Slavic Religion…*, p. 155 f. Splitting hairs, one might add here that already during the fights, the relief forces sent by Bolesław the Brave broke through to Niemcza; perhaps these troops included the Christians who raised that cross against the pagans.

the care of the ruler to spread Christianity among his subjects[790], which in the first place had to concern his immediate associates and the upper social classes, especially the military elite ensuring control over the land. In terms of the whole society, the process of Christianization lasted over several subsequent generations, until the parish network had developed in the 12th–13th c., when church organization stabilized at the level of bishoprics, something which proved crucial. While here, we refer to the pioneer stage of this process as an important dimension of the monarchy of Bolesław the Brave taking over lands that were still tribal.

Bolesław the Brave's realm at the end of the 10th c. included areas that until recently had been located in the zone of Czech influence on the one hand, and on the other, the Baltic lands, more difficult to access from the cradle of the Piast monarchy in Wielkopolska (Greater Poland) due to natural terrain obstacles in the form of the wetland and forest strip along the Noteć river. The key factor in controlling the entire territory was the network of strongholds, which is clearly reflected by the image of the system of these ancient fortresses that emerges from archaeological findings. They were erected in the twilight of Mieszko I's reign on the Odra river and included Bytom Odrzański, Głogów, Opole, and above all, Wrocław[791], whose central role was confirmed by the location of the bishopric there in the year 1000 as one of the three suffragan dioceses of Gniezno, to the other two being Cracow and Kołobrzeg (strictly: *Salsa Cholbergiensis*, or 'Salty Kołobrzeg')[792]. Thus, a province of the monarchy encompassing several "Silesian" tribal territories, began to develop around Wrocław, at the same time being consolidated by the frames of the diocese[793].

790 It is hard not to recall here the radical methods by which Bolesław the Brave implemented the practice of Christianity among his subjects, including the infamous knocking out of teeth for failing to observe fasts. See Thietmar VIII, 2; more on this issue: R. Michałowski, *Post dziewięciotygodniowy w Polsce Chrobrego…*, *passim*.

791 See S. Moździoch, *Castrum munitissimum Bytom…*, p. 64; *idem*, *Przemiany XII–XIII wieku na Śląsku w świetle badań grodów kasztelańskich*, "Fontes Archaeologici Posnanienses" 51, 2015, p. 83–96. See also: *Kształtowanie się grodu na wrocławskim Ostrowie Tumskim. Badania przy ul. św. Idziego*, ed. A. Limisiewicz, A. Pankiewicz, Wrocław 2015 (= In Pago Silensi. Wrocławskie Studia Wczesnośredniowieczne 1).

792 Thietmar IV, 45.

793 See S. Rosik, *The formation of Silesia (to 1163)…*, *passim*. It should be stressed, however, that this was a long-term process, and that its turning points were only the overcoming of the early Piast monarchy crisis in the 1030s and the restitution of the diocese in Wrocław in the mid-11th c. See T. Jurek, *Ryczyn biskupi. Studium z dziejów Kościoła polskiego w XI w.*, "Roczniki Historyczne" 60, 1994, p. 21–66; K. Dola, *Dzieje Kościoła na Śląsku*, part 1: *Średniowiecze*, Opole 1996, p. 24–26.

The enumerated strongholds in Silesia marked an important defensive line along the Odra river, which halted – near Głogów, to be exact – the above-mentioned expedition of Henry II against Poland in 1017[794]. However, the distinction of Wrocław by its appointment as a bishop's seat indicates a different dimension of the development of the relatively recently occupied land on the Odra river than just for defense purposes, which led to the creation of a province within the monarchy with this city as its capital[795]. It is also possible that it was only the location of the bishopric in this centre that triggered the process of shaping the province[796]. The situation of Kołobrzeg as the stronghold designated as the capital of the Baltic Sea province seems similar in this context (although its range of influence can only be guessed). As for Cracow, it is possible that it had already been the centre of some territorial unit within the Czech monarchy[797]. In any case, the location of the episcopal capitals in these three centres – therefore, in territories incorporated within Piast rule at the latest – indicates the idea of their closer integration with the remaining expanses of the monarchy through the structures of the ecclesiastical metropolis.

The implementation of this concept, however, became possible only due to the coincidence of several circumstances resulting from the participation of Bolesław the Brave in the broader context of the political and religious life of *Christianitas* at that time, centred around Rome. What proved crucial was the Polish ruler's involvement in cooperation with Emperor Otto III on the one hand, and on the other, the "case" of St. Vojtěch, important for the consolidation of this mutual support, which became a kind of a prelude to the foundation of a metropolis in Poland. Although the ecclesiastical and historical tradition entitled

[794] See Thietmar VII, 59. Similarly, the Oder line was not crossed by Henry V's invasion of Poland (1109). See K. Maleczyński, *Bolesław…*, p. 100 ff.; S. Rosik, *Bolesław…*, p. 115 ff.

[795] At the turn of the 11th and 12th c., Gallus Anonymus enumerated Wrocław, next to Kraków (Cracow) and Sandomierz, among the main "capitals of the kingdom" (*sedes regni principales* – cf. Gall II, 8) in the southern part of the Piast realm, which is an important premise to confirm the formation of the province of Wrocław already then.

[796] It would have been in its seed stage, though. What is worth stressing is that Thietmar's depiction of the ongoing warfare of Henry II against Poland referred to the tribal territories whenever reporting the course of the combat in more detail (e.g., *pagus Silensi* – the land of the Ślężanie, *pagus Diadesisi* – the land of the Dziadoszanie; see Thietmar IV, 45 and VII, 59).

[797] A medieval tradition in the existence of a bishopric there before the year 1000 has been maintained. For more details, see D.A. Sikorski, *Kościół w Polsce…*, p. 130–148.



Il. 14. The baptism of an Old Prussian – a scene from the Gniezno Doors (second half of the 12th cent.)

him the Apostle of the Prussians[798], this resulted from the sublimation and crystalization of a single idea of all the important threads of the socio-cultural memory of St. Vojtěch in the Middle Ages (which seems a bit ironic, as even his earliest and most reliable hagiography is unconvincing about him ever baptizing even a single Prussian, and the meagre success in this field is attributed to him only in much less reliable 12th-century sources, such as *Tempore illo*[799] or the pictorial legend on the famous Gniezno Doors[800]).

[798] See G. Labuda, *Święty Wojciech. Biskup…*, *passim*; J. Strzelczyk, *Apostołowie Europy*, Poznań ²2010, p. 172–202.

[799] *Tempore illo*, chap. 13.

[800] See T. Węcławowicz, *Drzwi Gnieźnieńskie. Rozważania na temat symboliki "przejścia" i warstw znaczeniowych*, [in:] *Tropami Świętego Wojciecha*, ed. Z. Kurnatowska, Poznań 1999, p. 257–284.

Meanwhile it is important to note that, according to the earliest records, St. Vojtěch achieved spectacular missionary successes in the territories under Bolesław the Brave's rule. Moreover, once he had arrived there, he was not yet sure whether to carry on with the gospel to the Lutici or rather to the Prussians[801]. By choosing the latter, Vojtěch ultimately gained a palm of martyrdom from them, and as the Polish ruler purchased his body "for its weight in gold", it soon led to the foundation of the Gniezno metropolis upon his tomb. Thus, he became the patron saint of Poland, and in the following centuries also the apostle of Pomerania alongside St. Otto of Bamberg. Leaving this Pomeranian thread of St. Vojtěch's remembrance for further considerations[802], let us reflect on the beginnings of his cult in Poland, as its initiation contributed not only to the foundation of the Gniezno metropolis, but also to the development of the ideological background that determined the Piasts' policy towards their pagan neighbours until the 12th c., albeit still with a clear emphasis on St. Vojtěch's merits for Poland, for which he became the main patron saint.

And thus, more than a century after St. Vojtěch's death, Gallus Anonymus in his chronicles told the story of the saint spreading Christianity in Poland[803], and his decision to go further on to Prussia once he recognized that the faith in the country of the Piasts had become sufficiently well-founded[804]. This train of thought can be traced back to the times of Bolesław the Brave, especially in the formation of the legend of St. Vojtěch, with the contribution of St. Bruno of Querfurt. Only a few years after the events, Bruno outlined a vision of the future Apostle of Prussia converting crowds of people right in Gniezno itself[805]. Of course, it is difficult to rule out that Vojtěch, having arrived in Poland and preparing for his mission to pagan lands, might have undertaken evangelistic activities during his stay in Gniezno, which would have probably required some kind

801 Vita Adalberti I, chap. 27.

802 See further, p. 577 f.

803 Gall I, 6. Significantly, the chronicler remained silent in his work about the merits of the first Polish bishops, Jordan and Unger, consequently presenting St. Vojtěch as the first known clergyman to carry out missionary activity in Poland.

804 *Ibidem.*

805 *Sancti Adalberti Pragensis episcopi et martyris Vita altera auctore Brunone Querfurtensi*, ed. J. Karwasińska, MPH NS 4/2, Warszawa 1969 [further: Vita Adalberti II], chap. 24.

of approval from Bishop Unger. Nevertheless, what should above all be taken into account is that Bruno's narrative most probably adapted the already existing story of St. Vojtěch's evangelizing activities in *Gyddanyzc* for the sake of promoting the tradition of the new metropolis.

With this line of interpretation, as in the anonymous earliest hagiography of St. Vojtěch, his fame as an evangelizer turns out to be fully deserved, and the destination of his mission among the pagans is mainly envisioned as the arena where he had ultimately gained the heavenly wreath of a martyr. The added value, however, turns out to be the closer connection of Vojtěch with the church capital founded in Gniezno, of which he became the patron saint and where he had previously become so spectacularly famous as a missionary. This creative approach to the legend of the Apostle of Prussia corresponds well with the fact that already in 997 his body was laid to rest in Gniezno. Thus, Bolesław the Brave became the custodian of the tomb and the depositary of the relics of the new martyr, soon officially a saint[806]. What is important, both during his life and after his death, St. Vojtěch remained very close to Otto III.

The young emperor demonstrated his reverence with his pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Vojtěch in the year 1000. This journey, which began in 999 in Rome, the city of St. Peter and the "capital of all cities"[807], defined as it were the ideological axis of the "renewed" Roman Empire: first, it reached Gniezno and the tomb of St. Vojtěch, a model of apostolic service and martyrdom, and then followed to Aachen, to the tomb of Charlemagne, a model Christian ruler[808]. On the one hand, the reference to St. Vojtěch underlined the importance of the *ad gentes!* mission in extending *Christianitas* as a community of faith centred around Rome; and on the other, it corresponded well with enhancing the importance within the "renewed" empire – of *Sclavinia*, the circle of Central European lands, mainly the Polish monarchy of Bolesław the Brave, highlighted with the Archbishopric of St. Vojtěch as its capital.

806 About the canonization of St. Vojtěch, see G. Labuda. *Święty Wojciech. Biskup…*, p. 227 ff.

807 This reference to Rome is typical of the era, cf. Thietmar VII, 71.

808 For broader information, see e.g., J. Strzelczyk, *Otton III*, Wrocław 2000.

The ideological content of the saint's cult referred to the key issues faced by the Polish metropolis and monarchy at the time, of which the first was to promote Christianity not only within the country but also beyond. A century later, the stability of these ideas in elite Polish circles was to be clearly demonstrated by the contemporaneously created chronicles of Gallus Anonymus. In light of this work, the achievements of St. Vojtěch in promoting the Christian religion were to have been continued primarily by the monarch. And so the chronicler presented Bolesław the Brave as an effective advocate of Christianity among the conquered "barbarian" neighbours in the North, from *Selentia* (most likely, in the Lutician lands) through Pomerania to Prussia. In all of these lands, he is said to have established bishoprics and erected churches[809].

This is a rather apocryphal vision, because it would be difficult to even guess about a conquest of the Prussians by Bolesław the Brave (of course, not ruling out the possibility of his expeditions there, if but to plunder). However, a lot of true facts relating to Pomerania can be found here. After all, the essence of this literary vision lies not in strict historical fidelity established today with a microscopic slide and the eye of factography. Gallus contributed to the promotion of the model of the Christian ruler, and in the chronicler's view, Bolesław the Brave, significantly called "the Great" in his writings, met the role. This model was to be followed by the main character of the piece, Bolesław the Wrymouth[810]. The chronicler's interpretation is thus in harmony with the long persistence in the Piast environment of the idea combining political and military expansion with the spreading of *Christianitas*, as confirmed by the more than a century earlier statement by St. Bruno of Querfurt.

Let us recall here that this archbishop and missionary, hosted by and collaborating with Bolesław the Brave, sent a letter to King Henry II of Germany around the year 1009 in which he condemned his alliance with the pagan Lutici against Poland[811]. On this occasion, Bruno also summoned him to fight the pagans together with Bolesław the Brave, to "force them to step into" the Church[812] in the spirit of an allegorical interpretation of the evangelical commandment *compellere intrare!*[813] Bruno had once been the chaplain of Otto III and, even after his death, a supporter of the emperor's political concepts; he saw cooperation between the empire and Poland as an important thrust in the expansion of *Christianitas*.

These ideas also proved to be close to Gallus Anonymus, who, in his depiction of Otto III's journey to the tomb of St. Vojtěch in Gniezno, portrayed Bolesław the Brave as an ally of the Roman people and a co-operator of the empire. What his description of the trip lacks is an indication of the establishment of an archbishopric there at the time[814]; however, he did mention that the emperor had ceded to Polish monarchs the power to establish bishoprics in Poland and in pagan countries conquered by them[815]. The authenticity of this imperial decision is subject to controversy among scholars[816]; nevertheless, the mere fact that Polish monarchs had sovereignty over the Church in the times of Gallus Anonymus and earlier does not raise any doubts. This entailed responsibility for the development of Christianity under their rule, and the pivotal moment in this respect occurred undoubtedly in the year 1000, when a new dimension of *Christianitas* – in the form of metropolitan organization – reached the Baltic Sea.

809 Gall I, 6.

810 It was not the only model indicated by Gallus Anonymus, as realized by the protagonist of the piece. He also quotes a legend about the Prussians originating from the Saxons who supposedly escaped the conquest of Charlemagne and remained pagan; the background of this legend was probably the confusion of the name "Saxons" with the Old Prussian tribe of Sassen, see e.g., D.[Adam] Sikorski, *Galla Anonima wiadomości o Prusach. Próba weryfikacji wybranych hipotez*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" 110, 2003, 2, p. 9–16. In this context, Bolesław the Wrymouth also continued the work of Charlemagne while fighting the Prussian tribes, cf. S. Rosik, *Bolesław…*, p. 171.

811 *Epistola Brunonis ad Henricum regem*, ed. J. Karwasińska, MPH NS 4/3, Warszawa 1973, p. 101 f.; about the letter of Bruno see e.g., W. Fałkowski, *List Brunona do króla Henryka*, [in:] *Bruno z Kwerfurtu. Osoba – dzieło – epoka*, ed. M. Dygo, W. Fałkowski, Pułtusk 2010, p. 179–207.

812 The opinion that Bruno of Querfurt – following St. Augustine's line of thought – recommended missionary coercion only against the apostates, e.g., the Lutici after their successful rebellion in 983 and rejecting the sovereignty of the empire (see H.-D. Kahl, *Compellere intrare. Die Wendenpolitik Bruns von Querfurt im Lichte hochmittelalterlichen Missions- und Völkerrechts*, "Zeitschrift für Ostforschung" 4, 1955, p. 173), is not sufficiently justified. In his *Life of St. Vojtěch*, Bruno made a similar suggestion, by promoting the idea of forceful conversion of pagans in general, see R. Michałowski, *Król czy misjonarz? Rozumienie misji w X/XI w.*, [in:] *Bruno z Kwerfurtu. Osoba…*, p. 140–142.

813 Cf. Vulgata: Lc 14, 23 ("compelle intrare"), cf. *Biblia Sacra juxta Vulgatam Clementinam. Editio Electronica*, ed. M. Tvveedale, London 2005, p. 1328.

814 In his *Chronicles*, Gallus Anonymus only mentions the laying down of St. Vojtěch's body at the seat of the metropolis in Gniezno (Gall I, 6), which might even suggest that the metropolis already existed during the mission of the Apostle of Prussia, but it is difficult to make the final judgement. The chronicler could have accounted for the subsequent status of Gniezno.

815 Gall I, 6.

816 For more information, see further, p. 409 ff.

2. In the era of the Ottonian *Renovatio Imperii Romanorum*: Gniezno in the year 1000 and *Aecclesia Salsae Cholbergiensis*

Stanisław Rosik

The events of the year 1000 in Gniezno have already been evoked several times here, so it seems all the more worth quoting the description of the events in the chronicle by Thietmar from Merseburg. Let us recall that Otto III, escorted in an exceptionally solemn manner by Bolesław the Brave from the western edges of his realm, entered the "desired city" very humbly – indeed, barefoot. After being greeted by Bishop Unger he was ushered to the church to pray at the grave of Vojtěch the martyr. Now, "without further ado" – let us quote Thietmar more precisely: "he established an archbishopric there, I expect legally, but without the consent of the said bishop, to whose diocese the whole country was subordinated, entrusting it [the archbishopric] to the brother of the said martyr Radim, and to him subordinating Reinbern, the bishop of the Church of the Kołobrzeg Salt, Poppo of Cracow, John of Wrocław, [however] excluding Unger of Poznań…"[817].

The result of Otto III's activities presented here (ones that have lasted to the present) were made at the cost of a radical cutting up of Unger's diocese, henceforth undoubtedly seated in Poznań[818]. Indeed, this was the foundation of the Gniezno metropolis, as well as the suffragan dioceses of Cracow and Wrocław that were subordinated to it at the time and which have also survived. Of key importance in this case was the fact that the diocesan network in Poland – after the crisis of the Piast monarchy in the 1030s – was reinstated during the reign of Kazimierz the Restorer, as well as his successor Bolesław the Generous. The restitution did not include the third of the bishoprics subordinated to Gniezno in the year 1000, seated near Kołobrzeg, although it is worth mentioning that after almost a millennium, a reference was made to its tradition when the diocese in Koszalin was founded (1972). The nearby Kołobrzeg was then appointed as its

[817] Thietmar IV, 45. See R. Michałowski, *Zjazd gnieźnieński…*, *passim*; and also D.A. Sikorski, *Kościół w Polsce…*, p. 332–486.

[818] The status of the bishops Jordan and Unger (until the year 1000) was a subject of discussion in historical science until the 19th c. Thietmar's presentation of them as bishops of Poznań and suffragans of the Magdeburg metropolis is sometimes questioned, for details see e.g., D.A. Sikorski, *Kościół w Polsce…*, p. 487–514.

second capital[819], which on the one hand exemplifies the importance of the conviction that a once founded bishopric does not disappear in the theological dimension even after the actual collapse of its functioning; and on the other, after centuries have lapsed, it illuminates the significance of *Thietmar's Chronicle* for the knowledge of the earliest history of Germany's eastern neighbours, especially the monarchy of the first Piasts.

A substantial example of this is the historical significance of Thietmar's description of the Congress of Gniezno (1000) and its provisions. Although we know a similar description also from *Annales Magdeburgenses*, created in the following century, it was probably written based on the account by the Thietmar[820]. Thus, Thietmar's description is in fact the only independent confirmation of the existence of the dioceses in the year 1000 – not only in Kołobrzeg (strictly speaking, *Salsa Cholbergiensis*), but also in Wrocław. For comparison, it is worth pausing at the latter centre for a moment, because its medieval tradition, which can be traced in the catalogues of Wrocław bishops, dates back only to the mid-11th c.[821], which means the catalogues neglected the first of the bishops, John. In Thietmar's narrative, he appears only once and one can only make very general guesses about his activity. Nevertheless, it is difficult to deem him as a fictitious character, especially taking into account the proximity of the time when the record was created and the lack of reasons why such a character should have been made up.

In this situation, one should emphasize the lack of continuity of the episcopal community gathered in the newly established diocese of Wrocław, which otherwise would have nurtured the memory of John, especially the liturgical memory of the deceased bishop.

[819] See M. Gołębiewski, *Przedmowa*, [in:] *W 1000-lecie powstania biskupstwa w Kołobrzegu*, ed. I. Jeż, Koszalin 2000, p. 11; L. Konieczny, *Od Reinberna do Ignacego. Z tradycji historycznych diecezji koszalińsko-kołobrzeskiej*, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 49–52, 209.

[820] And in fact, slightly distorted (e.g., the location of the event under the date of 996). See above, footnote 779.

[821] The oldest catalogues, see *Ordinatio Wratizlaviensis Ecclesie Episcoporum*, [in:] *Liber fundationis claustri Sancte Marie Virginis in Heinrichow czyli Księga henrykowska*, ed. and Polish transl. R. Grodecki, ed. J. Pater *et al.*, Wrocław 1991, p. 99 f., 193 f.; *Kronika książąt polskich*, ed. Z. Węclewski, [in:] MPH 3, Warszawa ²1961, p. 545–547. Of course, we ignore here the fairy-tale beginnings of the Bishopric of Wrocław dating back to 966, as described by Jan Długosz, cf. Joannis Dlugossi, *Annales seu Cronicae Incliti Regni Poloniae*, Books 1–2, ed. M. Plezia, Varsaviae 1964, Book 2, the year 965 and 966; Joannis Dlugossi, *Chronica episcoporum wratislaviensium*, [in:] Joannis Dlugossi, *Opera omnia*, vol. 1, ed. I. Polkowski, Ż. Pauli, Kraków 1887, p. 439–442.



Il. 15. Relicts of a building from the 1030s unearthed on the former holm Ostrów Tumski in Wrocław, provisionally interpreted as a pagan temple

Therefore, it should be surmised that he had no successor before the appearance of Hieronymus around 1046[822], which means the actual disappearance of the Diocese of Wrocław even for several decades. Corresponding to this fact is the hypothesis that a pagan temple existed in Wrocław in the early 1030s[823], although it makes only one of the possible additional premises in this matter, and what still remains crucial is to acknowledge the very discontinuity of the memory of Bishop John. According to the late-medieval tradition, his successors are said to have initially resided outside Wrocław[824], and to have moved back to the city on the Odra river not until around 1050[825]. Be that as it may, nearly half a century after the establishment of the Wrocław bishopric, despite the temporary collapse of the institution, it remained a permanent element of implementing the post-tribal order within the Piast monarchy.

This allows us to suppose that at the stage of its restitution by Kazimierz the Restorer, the memory of the Kołobrzeg bishopric had not been obliterated, but the coincidence of historical circumstances, different from those in the Wrocław case, determined that from the perspective of the millennium the Kołobrzeg diocese appears to have been an ephemeral creation. In this context, however, it is worth regarding the episode of "the Church of Kołobrzeg Salt" as an exemplification of a specific stage of *Christianitas*'s expansion in the formative times of European civilization. The bishopric was in fact established during the Congress of Gniezno, as part of Otto III's concept of *Renovatio Imperii Romanorum*[826]. Although it lost its political weight

[822] See above, footnote 821.

[823] Such a hypothetical identification was proposed about 20 years ago by S. Moździoch (*Castrum munitissimum…*, p. 68 ff.) with reference to the relics of an unusual edifice discovered in Ostrów Tumski in Wrocław in the 1950s. It had been erected on the leveled embankment of a stronghold around 1032 (dating based on dendrochronology). Critical of this hypothesis was e.g., D.A. Sikorski, *Religie dawnych Słowian…*, p. 199 ff.

[824] In late medieval sources, names identified locally as Ryczyn and Smogorzów appear as the original seats of Wrocław bishops. In the discussion on the authenticity of this tradition, mainly Ryczyn is considered and linked to the castle of this name situated on the Oder river near Oława. For more, see: T. Jurek, *Ryczyn biskupi…*, *passim*; K. Dola, *Dzieje Kościoła…*, p. 24 ff.

[825] Therefore, it was only after Kazimierz the Restorer recaptured the Silesian lands occupied by the Bohemians most probably from the invasion of Břetislav I in the year 1038/1039.

[826] The literature on this issue is extremely abundant, see e.g., J. Strzelczyk, *Otto III…*, *passim*; J. Fried, *Die Erneuerung des Römischen Reiches*, [in:] *Europasmitte um 1000. Beiträge zur Geschichte, Kunst und Archäologie*, vol. 2, ed. A. Wieczorek, H.-M. Hinz, Stuttgart 2000, p. 738–744; R. Michałowski, *Zjazd gnieźnieński…*, *passim*.

after Otto's untimely death in 1002, it is difficult to underestimate its role as an impulse for the development of the monarchy and the Church in Poland due to the various political activities within the scope of the empire.

Moreover, around Otto III gathered a group of clergymen who professed evangelical ideals in relation to the missions among the pagans, starting with St. Vojtěch and his biographer, St. Bruno, who soon shared the fate of his hero, likewise during the conversion of the Prussian tribes, most probably the Yotvingians[827]. The lifestyles of both of these personalities in the light of Thietmar's narrative also prove to have been close to that of the Bishop of the Kołobrzeg diocese, established in the year 1000. The chronicler emphasizes the Bishop's constant ascetic practices of fasting, silence, and prayer vigils as a preparation for contemplation of spiritual realities – even using similar wording as when writing about St. Bruno[828]. He similarly praises Reinbern's zeal in spreading Christianity and ultimately shows him as a martyr who achieved heavenly glory.

Reinbern belongs to a sequence of personalities to whom Thietmar devotes separate digressions, interrupting the essential course of the narrative in order to perpetuate their achievements, especially for the benefit of the Church and the spread of the Christian religion. These sometimes concern lay people – an example worth mentioning here is the story of Dobrawa converting Mieszko I, combined with praise for Mieszko himself, leading his people to be baptized[829] – but most of all they concern clergymen. Reinbern also found himself in Thietmar's scope of interest because of his origins in the land of Hassegau in Thietmar's own diocese, as well as due to the news of Reinbern's recent death in dramatic circumstances, which must have also stirred the chronicler.

Around 1013, Reinbern went to Rus' in the convoy of Bolesław the Brave's daughter, whose name remains unknown today, married to Sviatopolk the Accursed, the son of Vladimir the Great, then ruling in Kiev. Soon, however, Sviatopolk was accused of conspiring against his father and was imprisoned with his wife, and their fate

[827] Around the year 1009. See M. Sosnowski, *Kilka uwag o chronologii życia i twórczości Brunona z Kwerfurtu*, "Roczniki Historyczne" 82, 2016, p. 63–78.

[828] See Thietmar VII, 72: "Vigiliarum et abstinenciae ac silencii assiduitate corpus suum affligens cor ad speculum divinae contemplacionis infixit". Cf. about St. Bruno, *ibidem*, VI, 94.

[829] See earlier, p. 216.

was shared also by Reinbern. The attempt to free them by Bolesław the Brave, who undertook an expedition to Rus' in 1013, was unsuccessful[830]. Sviatopolk escaped from prison only after his father died in 1015[831], with Reinbern having already died in captivity. Eventually, the chronicler draws a vision of his heavenly glory, when already safe, because liberated from the mortal world, how he supposedly mocked the threats of his persecutor, who himself was not spared the well-deserved posthumous punishment[832]. Thietmar juxtaposes the corruption attributed to Vladimir the Great to the chastity of the imprisoned clergyman, and at the same time stresses that he was deprived of the possibility of making efforts for "God's glory" openly (*in aperto*)[833]. On the basis of such a laconic message, it is impossible to see what exactly this was supposed to mean, although it is necessary to consider his ministry as a bishop in the first place.

The historiography of the 20th c. established the idea that Reinbern went to Rus' as the chaplain to the daughter of Bolesław the Brave after he had been expelled from his diocese by the so-called pagan reaction of the 1030s. A riot purportedly took place during the involvement of the Polish ruler in the fight against Henry II, leading to his loss of control over the Baltic lands[834]. This hypothesis seems still valid, but it should also be taken into account that Reinbern was often present around the monarch, which was not unusual at the time, and as a bishop, performed various services in his interest. Thus, his journey to Rus' could not have meant a "downgrading" to the position of the Piast princess's chaplain, but could have been connected with the implementation of some political or political-ecclesiastical plans of Bolesław the Brave[835]. Although Sviatopolk, according to Thietmar, conspired only against his father, the imprisonment of Reinbern also raises the question of whether the bishop might have been considered in cahoots with this conspiracy.

[830] Thietmar VI, 92; broadly on this issue, with a discussion of the literature on the subject, see: J. Strzelczyk, *Bolesław Chrobry…*, p. 160 ff.; P. Urbańczyk, *Bolesław Chrobry…*, p. 273 ff.; K. Kollinger, *Polityka wschodnia Bolesława Chrobrego*, Wrocław 2015, p. 50 ff.

[831] His wife had to wait still longer to be freed. See Thietmar VII, 72.

[832] Thietmar VII, 73, where he mentions the "vengeful flames" reaching Vladimir the Great.

[833] Thiemar VII, 72–73. Cf. K. Kollinger, *Polityka wschodnia…*, p. 50 ff.

[834] See J. Strzelczyk, *Bolesław Chrobry…*, p. 166.

[835] See E. Kowalczyk, *Momenty geograficzne państwa Bolesława Chrobrego. Na styku historii i archeologii*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" 107, 2000, 2, p. 74; K. Kollinger, *Polityka wschodnia…*, p. 54–58.

It is possible that the bishop of Kołobrzeg made efforts to bind Rus' to the Roman Church, but this question, as well as the previous doubts, must remain open due to the silence of the sources. In any case, he presents himself as an important figure in the monarchy of Bolesław the Brave, and he enjoyed respect also because of his extensive education[836] and religious zeal[837]. Thus, he held a good position among other eminent priests who at the turn of the millennia supported the execution of the idea of the "renewal of the Empire of Romans" and extending *Christianitas* onto subsequent pagan communities. However, in this light one might wonder why Thietmar, when reporting Reinbern becoming the head of the Kołobrzeg bishopric, also added with some distance: "ut spero, dignus" – "as I expect, worthy of it", or deserving the honor[838].

These words are concordant with Thietmar's remark "ut spero, legitime" ("as I expect, legally"), when he mentions the proclamation of the Gniezno metropolis without the consent of Unger[839], whom, let us recall, the chronicler regarded as a suffragan of the Archbishopric of Magdeburg[840]. Therefore, perhaps the remark concerning Reinbern also brings to light the controversies around the creation of both the archbishopric at the tomb of St. Vojtěch and its suffragan dioceses, and thus the general disputes about the status of the Church in Poland, which Thietmar had previously signaled. In the following century, the Archbishop of Magdeburg even managed to obtain a papal bull subjecting to him the whole church organization in Poland including the Pomeranian bishoprics[841]. The claims of the Magdeburg metropolis to supremacy over Poland turned out to be more durable than the existence of the diocese of Kołobrzeg itself, although they failed – as *Thietmar's Chronicle* proves – to restrain Reinbern's own activity.

It can be assumed that of the three suffragan dioceses of Gniezno metropolis, it was Reinbern's diocese that faced the most difficult frontline, due to its location on the outskirts of the monarchy, in an area hitherto only faintly touched by Christianization, if at all. In this respect,

[836] Thietmar VII, 72, where he emphasizes Reinbern's excellent education.

[837] Thus, it is no coincidence that Thietmar emphasizes Reinbern's achievement of heavenly glory. This hagiographical feature in drawing the silhouette of the Kołobrzeg bishop even inspired treating him as a saint in the historiography of the 19th century (see F. Koneczny, *Dzieje Śląska*, Warszawa–Komorów 1999 [[1]1897], p. 59).

[838] Thietmar VII, 72.

[839] Thietmar IV, 45, see e.g., S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 29.

[840] Same as his predecessor Jordan, see earlier.

[841] In 1133, albeit for a short time and without lasting effects – see further, p. 420 f.

there is a certain difference in comparison to Cracow, which, although similarly distant from the cradle of the Piast dynasty in Wielkopolska, had already been an established centre of Christianity, probably due to its dependence on Bohemia[842]. As for Wrocław, a centre of power functioning there and subordinate to the Přemyslids is also considered a hypothetical possibility[843], although at this stage of the discussion there are too few arguments to make a convincing hypothesis about the possible existence of an ecclesiastical outpost in Wrocław before the Piasts came to power there[844]. Nevertheless, the relatively strong control of the Piasts over the lands of the future Silesia, with its more convenient communication with the monarchy in Wielkopolska's centres than in the case of the strongholds on the Parsęta river, created more favorable conditions for the missionary efforts by Bishop John of Wrocław than in the case of Reinbern's diocese.

Thietmar's description of Reinbern's activity is laconic, but very informative:

> "Having demolished the temples of idols, he burned them and, by throwing four stones anointed with the holy Chrism into the sea inhabited by demons and purifying it with holy water, he grew a new branch for the almighty God on an unfruitful tree, that is, a cultivation of holy proclamation [of God's word] among a very obtuse people"[845].

[842] Let us recall that according to Cosmas, Cracow remained under Bohemian rule until 999, although this record is controversial and some researchers are still in favour of Mieszko's conquest of this part of subsequent Małopolska (Lesser Poland). On the beginnings of Christianity in Cracow, including archaeological research of the oldest architecture on the Wawel Hill, see D.A. Sikorski, *Kościół w Polsce…*, p. 130–148.

[843] Primarily with reference to the earlier stronghold on Ostrów Tumski in Wrocław than mentioned above, dated around the year 940. See A. Pankiewicz, *Wrocławski Ostrów Tumski – początki*, [in:] *Dzieła natury, dzieła człowieka, historia*, ed. E. Dobierzewska-Mozrzymas, A. Jezierski, Wrocław 2017 (= Seminaria Interdyscyplinarne. Studium Generale Universitatis Wratislaviensis im. Profesora Jana Mozrzymasa 21), p. 307–317; see also above, footnote 791.

[844] Attempts were made to hypothetically date the oldest relics of a stone building discovered in the 1990s in the basement of the present Wrocław Cathedral to the last decades of the 10th century; however, this interpretation, as well as the very research methodology leading to these discoveries, raise justified doubts; for more details, see especially: D.A. Sikorski, *Wczesnopiastowska architektura sakralna*, Poznań 2012, p. 98–118.

[845] Thietmar VII, 72: "Fana idolorum destruens incedit et, mare demonibus cultum inmissis quatuor lapidibus sacro crismate perunctis et aqua purgans benedicta, novam Domino omnipotenti propaginem in infructuosa arbore, id est in populo nimis insulso sanctae predicacionis plantationem eduxit".

In this passage saturated with metaphors and theological connotations, the chronicler contained a model image of founding a new Church in the social dimension. The "new branch" appearing on the previously "fruitless tree", or the "cultivation of holy proclamation" of the word of God founded by Reinbern, are symbolic motifs pointing to the establishment of a church institution within a specific community. The group of people in question is described quite radically, as *insulsus*, i.e., stupid and uncivilized. What is important, however, is that the choice of the particular term of *insulsus*, etymologically meaning "unsalted" in the basic sense of the word, is compatible, on the one hand, with the evangelical symbolism of salt (*sal* in Latin)[846], and on the other hand, with the name of the very diocese entrusted to Reinbern: *aecclesia Salsae Cholbergiensis*, i.e., "the Church of the Kołobrzeg Salt". So most likely the chronicler used the name of Reinbern's seat for a verbal game showing the people entrusted to him as requiring evangelical salt, symbolizing the presence of Christians in the world. In this context, the meaning of the motif of "cultivating" the proclamation of God's word – the fundamental task carried out by the new Church and its bishop – becomes clearer.

The reference to the destruction of the "shrines of idols" (*fana idolorum*) indicates that Reinbern fought pagan worship and therefore his teachings were primarily addressed to the yet unbaptized. However, Thietmar does not refer to them as pagans. Such an approach to the community then being converted was probably due to the specific missionary theology of the time, according to which the mere fact of incorporating a community within the framework of a Christian monarchy meant including it into the community of *Christianitas*. The degree of progress in individual conversion did not affect the possibility of applying this qualification, because what mattered in this perspective was the "teaching" and "baptism" of whole peoples[847]. It was not a coincidence that the Merseburg bishop considered the Polabian peoples as apostates after they had thrown off the power of the Empire, although especially in the case of the Lutici, who

[846] About the symbolic meaning of salt, see e.g., D. Forstner, *Świat symboliki chrześcijańskiej*, transl. W. Zakrzewska, P. Pachciarek, R. Turzyński, Warszawa 1990, p. 131 ff.

[847] A reference to the evangelical command inaccurately translated in the Vulgate – to teach and baptize "all peoples": *Docete omnes gentes et baptizate eos!* (More on this subject, see e.g., B. Wavra, *Salzburg und Hamburg Erzbistumsgründung und Missionspolitik in karolingischer Zeit*, Berlin 1991, p. 15). It is worth mentioning that the original Greek text speaks of making disciples of all nations. See S. Rosik, *The Slavic Religion…*, p. 80 ff.

initiated the series of these rebellions in 983, it is difficult to speak of accepting baptism even by the elite[848]. Meanwhile, the chronicler had no doubt that their return to paganism meant a departure from the worship of Christ and his "Holy Fisherman" Peter[849].

For the Lutici (and likewise the Obodrites, also considered apostates after the rebellion of 1018) this subordination to the Christian monarchy was connected with the establishment of bishoprics for them[850]. The analogy with Reinbern's Pomeranian "diocesans" is therefore apparent in this case, although his activity meant transforming this formal inclusion to Christianity, resulting from the subordination to the monarchy, into the reality of a diocese fulfilling its essential functions in social life. The chronicler emphasized the proclamation of the word of God, but also indirectly points to the sphere of worship. The appearance of the "new branch" on the previously "unfruitful tree" was first achieved by Reinbern's destruction of pagan shrines by fire. In the light of missionary theology, this activity meant the *abrenuntiatio diaboli* in the space of collective life[851], or practically, the elimination of the pagan cult and its institutions in order to cut off the neophytes from the former deities, and thus from contact with demonic powers. In this way, the ground was prepared for the introduction of liturgical worship towards the Christian God.

From the theological perspective, *abrenuntiatio diaboli* means taking away the ecumenical power from the anti-sacral forces and then submitting it to the authority of Christ. This idea is perfectly illustrated by the next stage of Reinbern's efforts, which can be considered a symbolic "baptism" of the sea[852]. Let us recall that he not only sprinkled

[848] There is no written or archaeological evidence for this, as was already pointed out by A. Gieysztor, *Bemerkungen zur Apostasie in Zentral- und Osteuropa im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert*, "Zeitschrift für Archäologie" 18, 1984, p. 3–7.

[849] Thietmar III, 17.

[850] Thietmar VII, 6. More closely on this matter: S. Rosik, *The Slavic Religion…*, p. 183 ff.

[851] About this practice, see e.g., M. Rechowicz, *Chrzest Polski a katolicka teologia misyjna we wczesnym średniowieczu*, "Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny" 19, 1966, p. 67–74; with regard to Reinbern's activities: S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 23 ff.

[852] In Thietmar's writings the word *mare* may also refer to a lake – and such an interpretation was for instance proposed by D.A. Warner (cf. *Ottonian Germany. The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg*, transl. D.A. Warner, Manchester–New York 2001, p. 358) in relation to the scenery of the Reinbern's ritual. However, the interpretation of *mare* as a sea – strictly speaking, the Baltic Sea – which has prevailed in historical science for generations, in this case seems much more convincing, due to the proximity of Kołobrzeg's salinas to the Baltic Sea. See: S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 24 f.

holy water over its waves to scare away the impure forces that inhabited it, but also threw into the sea four stones anointed with holy oil. Their symbolism points to Christ himself as the spiritual Rock and the Anointed One (the Messiah)[853], so the ritual attributed to Reinbern expresses the idea of founding by God's power a new order in the chaos symbolized by the marine element[854]. Hence this mystical scene illustrates the introduction of the reign of Christ in the cosmic dimension, to which also refers the symbolism of the number of the stones, universally connected with the four sides of the world[855]. These stones can therefore be considered not only as "missiles" designed to annihilate evil and ban the eternal forces of chaos threatening the earth[856], but also as symbolic foundations of the new reality of the Church, which was to embrace the entire ecumene entrusted to Reinbern.

Significantly, the ritual referred to an area providing fish and salt, and therefore a source of wealth for the local community. Thus, one should take into account people's fears of turning away from the "religion of the sea"[857] and losing those goods. It is worth mentioning that according to the hagiography of St. Vojtěch, the Prussians feared that sullying their sanctuaries with the presence of Christians would insult their gods, and in effect, lead to losing good crops and abundance of forest animals[858]. Similarly, after more than a hundred years, pagan priests supposedly pointed out to

[853] See: D. Forstner, *Świat sympoliki…*, p. 126–130, 172–174.

[854] In Christian symbolism, the salty deep waters of the sea represent mythical eternal chaos, the forces of destruction threatening creation, with a decidedly diabolical face. See: *ibidem*, p. 65 f., 133, 436.

[855] E.g., M. Eliade, *Sacrum, mit, historia*, Warszawa 1970, p. 72–74.

[856] This brings to mind Biblical apocalyptic writings, as in the Book of Daniel (chap. 7) where there appears a prophetic vision of the Son of Man (a personage constituting a prefiguration of the New-Testament Christ-Messiah) holding the four beasts emerging out of the sea to harm humankind. It is, of course, difficult to prompt a strict reference to this scene in the case of the ritual attributed to Reinbern, but it is worth stressing that it fits in well with the tradition already present in the Bible with regard to the interpretation of the sea element and the need to harness the forces threatening humankind and the world by the power of God. Cf. S. Rosik, *The Slavic Religion…*, p. 167 ff.

[857] Cz. Deptuła, *Sakralne wartościowanie morza a problem integracji Pomorza z Polską we wczesnym średniowieczu*, "Summarium", Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego KUL, 1975, 4 (24) [Lublin 1978], p. 165, 168. This sea element itself is very susceptible to being treated as a form of *sacrum*, as the classical religious thought in the 20th century has shown, starting from Rudolf Otto (*Świętość. Elementy racjonalne i irracjonalne w pojęciu bóstwa*, transl. B. Kupis, Wrocław 1993 [¹1917], p. 32–34 *et passim*) and further to G. van der Leeuv (*Phänomenologie der Religion*, Tübingen 1933) and M. Eliade (*Traktat o historii religii*, transl. J. Wierusz-Kowalski, Łódź 1993 [¹1946]).

[858] Vita Adalberti II, chap. 25.

communities converted by St. Otto that the loss of the goods of nature and the occurrence of natural calamities (plague) resulted from the abandonment of the former gods[859]. Even if these stories only reproduce a certain stereotypical judgment about pagans, it was probably based on a general view shared by pre-Christian believers.

Hence – back to Reinbern – it is worth taking into account that the ritual ascribed to him by Thietmar had the value of sacralizing the life-giving space in the life of Pomeranians, so that it would serve them better, and at the same time could dispel their fears of retribution from their native deities. Thus, there would also be an educational aspect for the neophytes in this ritual. In fact, a still greater degree of adaptation of its form to the local conditions is discussed[860]. However, based on the state of medieval sources, such hypothetical considerations seem to be poorly justified.

Therefore, it should ultimately be stressed that in the interpretation of Reinbern's ritual, it remains undisputable that his intention was to eliminate evil powers in the world using consecrated matter (holy water, anointed stone)[861]. What was determined in this way – also through the eradication of pagan shrines – was the furthermost border of the community of *Christianitas*, all of which, in terms close to those

[859] As the hagiography of St. Otto from the mid-12th c. informs (Ebo, *Żywot św. Ottona biskupa bamberskiego*, MPH NS 7/2, ed. J. Wikarjak, K. Liman, Warszawa 1969 [further: Ebo], III, 1, and Herbord, *Dialog o życiu św. Ottona biskupa bamberskiego*, MPH NS 7/3, ed. J. Wikarjak, K. Liman, Warszawa 1974 [further: Herbord], III, 4). Thus, in Szczecin, after Otto's first mission, he gave an excuse to pagan priests to the restore the native cult in this city. However, in the description of his second mission, in the episode dedicated to Wolgast, he mentioned a pagan priest who pretending to be a deity deceived an encountered peasant threatening him with the loss of nature's goods, crops and cattle in case of abandoning his native religion. The conventional nature of these stories must be taken into account. For more extensive analyses see S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 357 ff., 421 ff.

[860] Among other things, it was suggested that the stones should be aimed into specific Pomeranian deities, but in view of the silence of the sources in this matter, it is much better to stop at acknowledging the symbolism of four as the number of stones used in the ritual. For discussion see S. Rosik, *Interpretacja…*, p. 157 f.

[861] In the context of the mentality of the times, it is worth noting the conviction of the creative power of sign and gesture within the framework of cult activities, and thus the establishment of a certain sacral reality through rites. In this case we should account for the specific communication based on symbols, which in their essence are open to various meanings (see e.g., P. Ricoeur, "*Symbol daje do myślenia*", transl. S. Cichowicz, [in:] *idem*, *Egzystencja i hermeneutyka. Rozprawy o metodzie*, ed. S. Cichowicz, Warszawa 2003, p. 62–80). Therefore, the development of an extensive theological lecture explaining the meaning of such activities (useful e.g., in preaching) was not necessary for the sole recognition of their effectiveness. Therefore, Thietmar's laconic presentation of Reinbern's "baptism of the sea" is not surprising.

used by Thietmar, was "committed" to the supervision of the monarchs supervised by the Emperor and their subordinate bishops[862]. Thus, the expansion of Christian states and related diocesan organizations was theologically interpreted as extending the kingdom of Christ on two basic levels: of the monarchy[863] and the diocese[864]. In the case of Reinbern's diocese, these universal categories were made clear in the implementation of the plans to give a new shape to the Roman Empire, with the monarchy of Bolesław the Brave as one of its pillars.

The institutional and theological dimension of the new diocese's founding was in this case ahead of the formation of the wider Christian community the diocese was to govern. The example of Reinbern, however, makes us aware that the efforts to establish the new diocese, i.e., by eliminating the native religion and bringing its followers into the new one, were not postponed in time. The implementation of the idea of *Renovatio Imperii Romanorum* and the related expansion of the ecclesiastical network in Poland constituted therefore an important impulse for actions aimed at extending the Christian ecumene. The key issue in this case was not only to grant baptism to the population itself, but also to ensure the permanent functioning of the diocese in terms of religious services and teaching that were competitive with the old beliefs and cults.

Reinbern's role was to fight the relatively developed cults of the maritime community, as indicated by the mention of the "shrines of idols" (*fana idolorum*). Attempts have been made by scholars to undermine Thietmar's credibility as an informer about the existence of these temples, and thus to treat the mention of them as a duplication of stereotypical views about pagans without any insight into the reality of their religious life. This became a part of the reasoning that assumed that polytheism among the Slavic tribes and the related objects of worship, such as temples and idols, developed late, not until the 10th century,

[862] For example, when informing about the victory of Otto I at Lechfeld (955), Thietmar (II, 10) states that it was enjoyed by "the whole *Christianitas*, but above all, by those committed to the king". He wrote similarly with reference to bishops about "committing" (*committere*) people to them (e.g., II, 37, VI, 37); cf. S. Rosik, *The Slavic Religion…*, p. 50 f.

[863] In terms of the theology of monarchic power, notable is Thietmar's use of the term "vicarius Christi" – "the vicar of Christ", when referring to Henry II (cf. Thietmar VI, 1).

[864] The theological interpretation of the bishop's office as a representative of Christ is clearly expressed in Thietmar's chronicle by the metaphorical treatment of the bishop's cathedral – as "the bride of Christ" (*sponsa Christi*), marking the special presence of a bishop's church. See S. Rosik, *Sponsae Christi oraz dii manu facti w Kronice Thietmara. Elementy konwencji dziejopisarskiej w służbie historiologii*, [in:] *Viae historicae…*, p. 415–421.

and rather only in Rus' and among the Polabians, reaching also the centres in the mouth of the Odra (Wolin, Szczecin). Thus, the Odra was to become the western border of the pre-polytheistic zone, without statues or shrines[865]. Without engaging in a wider discussion on the genesis of the Slavic polytheism and its associated forms of worship among the Slavs[866], it is worth emphasizing that their presence in Polabia, especially in the maritime and insular zone (Wolin, Rugia/Rügen), supports the view that they were not alien to the inhabitants of the nearby area at the mouth of the Parsęta river, who after all, participated in the communication network covering the Baltic coast.

Ultimately, even if Thietmar, in his laconic characterization of Reinbern's destructive actions towards Pomeranian shrines, referred to stereotypical views about pagans, this would not change the fact that he did not fail to be accurate about the specific religiousness of the converted people. It may be discussed whether there were any open places of worship under the name of *fanum*[867], but it would be difficult to deny the worshippers polytheistic forms of beliefs and mythological imagery[868]. All in all, it most likely was not an easy

[865] On this issue, see H. Łowmiański, *Religia Słowian…*, p. 167 f.

[866] Since the 1970s, a significant portion of scholars has clearly abandoned the trend assuming that polytheism in the Slavic world appeared not until the 10th century. This was especially due to the reception of Dumézil's reflections in studies on the Slavs' religion, and was presented in the form of a classical study by Aleksander Gieysztor in 1982 (cf. *Mitologia Słowian…*, *passim*). After several decades of critical debate on these suggestions (see e.g., D.A. Sikorski, *O długim trwaniu pewnej teorii – idea trypartycji u ludów indoeuropejskich Georgesa Dumézila w świetle krytyki*, "Slavia Antiqua" 53, 2012, p. 105–130), the conviction remains valid that in terms of the development of their customs, ideas and religious practices, Slavic peoples did not differ from other Indo-European peoples of the early Middle Ages. See K. Modzelewski, *Barbarzyńska Europa…*, *passim*; see also S. Rosik, *Religionem lingua facit? W sprawie paradygmatu etnicznego w studiach nad religią Słowian i Bałtów*, [in:] *Chrystianizacja Europy. Kościół na przełomie I i II tysiąclecia*, ed. J. Dobosz, J. Strzelczyk, Poznań 2014 (= Historia, Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, 226), p. 111–127.

[867] In the discussion on Thietmar's mention of Reinbern (see e.g., W. Filipowiak, *Słowiańskie wierzenia pogańskie u ujścia Odry*, [in:] *Wierzenia przedchrześcijańskie na ziemiach polskich*, ed. M. Kwapiński, H. Paner, Gdańsk 1993, p. 19), this was taken into account, however it is worth noting that in his description of Rethra, Thietmar (VI, 23) used the term *fanum* strictly in reference to a roofed temple with statues. Therefore, it is quite likely that he understood the *fana idolorum* burned by the Kołobrzeg bishop in the same way. Cf. S. Rosik, *The Slavic Religion…*, p. 173.

[868] It is also worth noting here, in search of analogies to Pomeranian beliefs, that among the Polabians, also known was a cult of gods for whom temples or statues were not raised, but to whom e.g., holy oaks were devoted, like to the Prove deity in the land of the Wagrians. See Helmold I, 52 and 84.

task for Reinbern to persuade the people entrusted to him to give up their old religion. Not even the brutal onslaught on its sanctuaries – probably backed up by the forces of Bolesław the Brave, who, as we remember, did not shy away from the radical methods of introducing Christianity among his subjects – was enough to eradicate the old gods from the mindset of their former worshippers.

Examples of apostasy in Szczecin and Wolin shortly after the first mission of St. Otto of Bamberg (1124–1125) prove that the overthrown idolatry could easily return either in its original or syncretic form[869]. The natural phenomena accompanying the Christianization of people with this kind of mentality were, in fact, various syncretic forms of religiousness, also known from Thietmar's accounts. A clear example in this respect is the cult contemporaneous to Thietmar that was present among the Glomacze tribe, which had already been under episcopal care for several generations. More than the churches, they worshiped the holy spring bearing their own name – Glomacz[870]. One should expect a similar attachment of Reinbern's "diocesans" to the hierophanies embodied in nature, with the marine element at the forefront. So even if his efforts were indeed as zealous as Thietmar described, they were still too short-lived to bring about a permanent religious change in the life of the coastal communities.

The territorial scope of his actions remains an open question, and it seems quite likely that they were confined to the immediate surroundings of his capital town of Kołobrzeg. Similarly, the time of these actions cannot be precisely determined. Thietmar's indication of the presence of Reinbern's Chaplain in Bolesław the Brave's army operating in Bohemia in 1004[871] is taken into account as a premise that already by then Bishop Reinbern had lost his outpost at the Baltic Sea[872]. However, one must consider the fact that he (or only his chaplain) accompanied the Polish ruler in his war expedition, which would not be unusual for the reality of the time. Sometimes the year 1006 has been indicated as the lat-

[869] S. Rosik, *Kult Trzygława w Szczecinie z lat dwudziestych XII stulecia. Między monolatrią a "dwuwiarą"*, "Slavia Antiqua" 60, 2019, p. 95–106. See further.

[870] See Thietmar I, 3; a broader view of the role of this cult among the Glomacze community, see J. Banaszkiewicz, *Źródło Głomacz i jego rajska okolica*, [in:] *Viae historicae…*, p. 407–414; S. Rosik, *The Slavic Religion…*, p. 56 ff.

[871] Thietmar VI, 10.

[872] E.g., J. Petersohn, *Der Akt von Gnesen im Jahre 1000 und die Errichtung des Bistums Salz-Kolberg. Zur historischen Substanz eines Jubiläums*, "Baltische Studien" NF 87, 2001, p. 33.

est moment when Poland lost Pomerania. In the same year, messengers were sent from Wolin (*Livilni*) to Henry II with an offer of allegiance[873], which proved that the mouth of the Odra river was no longer subordinated to Bolesław the Brave, and therefore – by conjecture – rejected his sovereignty along with the rest of Pomerania[874]. However, assuming that Wolin had indeed previously been subject to the Piasts, even the disappearance of this sovereignty did not have to be associated with the Piasts' loss of the lands over the Parsęta river. After all, Pomerania was not politically united at that time.

In this situation, one should take into account the possibility of either barely a few years of Reinbern's activity in the Baltic region (e.g., until 1004) or even a dozen years or so – until his departure for Rus'. However, there are no source traces of anyone continuing his missionary activity[875], and eventually its effects were wiped out by the collapse of Polish sovereignty over Pomerania during the crisis of the Piast monarchy in the 1030s. Although it is possible that baptized individuals survived in the local elite, the pre-Christian cults and beliefs returned there to the public life. The statement made by the chronicler Wippo in the mid-11th century about the Lutici seems to accurately reflect this kind of transformation by analogy: "once semi-Christians (*semichristiani*), now through sordid apostasy they have become complete pagans"[876].

Indeed, Pomeranians are treated as pagans in the 12th-century narrative sources. Nevertheless, one should take into account the evolution of the spiritual life and customs of the Pomeranian communities as a result of intensified contacts with Christianity both in the times of Polish sovereignty and later, before the official Christianization in the 12th c. Therefore, the episode of the "Church of Kołobrzeg Salt" constitutes a part of a wider front of the Christian impact on the social life and culture of Pomeranians, and the observation of changes in this respect is possible mainly thanks to archaeology.

[873] Thietmar VI, 3.

[874] G. Labuda, *Początki organizacji kościelnej na Pomorzu i na Kujawach w XI i XII wieku*, "Zapiski Historyczne" 33, 1968, 3, p. 32 f.; J. Strzelczyk, *Bolesław Chrobry…* p. 166.

[875] Although his alleged successor has appeared in the literature on the subject, he should be considered an apocryphal figure due to very few credible source premises – S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 36

[876] Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi II*, ed. H. Bresslau, MGH SSrerGerm in usum scholarum, Hannover 1915, chap. 33 (p. 52).

3. Christianity in Pomerania from the 10th to the early 13th century: an archaeological perspective

Marian Rębkowski

Christianization, being one of the core processes in early medieval Europe's civilizational transformation, may be successfully analyzed on the basis of the results of archaeological sources, whose three main categories include: cemeteries, which enable determining the changes in funerary rites; artefacts representing religious symbols and objects used in practicing the cult; as well as the places of worship, i.e., churches.

We must first offer a brief commentary on interpreting the changes in funerary rites and the attempts to link some of them with the spread of Christianity. The rites should not be perceived as one uniform Christian ritual that remained unchanged throughout Antiquity and the Middle Ages. In the fully Christianized countries of medieval Europe its most important elements, accepted by contemporaries as *mos christianorum*, i.e., the custom of Christians[877], were: inhumation and placing the bodies on their backs along an east-west axis with the heads oriented towards the west; and locating burial sites next to churches, which is tantamount to placing them in the middle of settlements[878]. However, it can be safely assumed that during the initial period of Christianization there must have been a significant gap between religious teachings and funerary practice.

[877] Ebo II, 12: "sicut mos est omnium christianorum".

[878] Considerable literature has already accumulated about the features of the Christian funeral rite in the Middle Ages. See M. Müller-Wille, *Death and burial in medieval Europe*, Lund 1993, p. 10; H. Zoll-Adamikowa, *Formy konwersji Słowiańszczyzny wczesnośredniowiecznej a problem przedpiastowskiej chrystianizacji Małopolski*, [in:] *Chrystianizacja Polski południowej*, Kraków 1995, p. 133 f.; F.S. Paxton, *Christianizing Death. The creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe*, Ithaca 1996; J. Kieffer-Olsen, *Christianity and Christian Burial. The religious background and the transition from paganism to Christianity from the perspective of a churchyard archaeologist*, [in:] *Burial & Society. The Chronological and Social Analysis of Archaeological Burial Data*, ed. C.K. Jensen, K. Høilund Nielsen, Aarhus 1997, p. 185–189; H. Valk, *About the transitional period in the burial customs in the region of the Baltic See*, [in:] *Culture Clash or Compromise? The Europeanisation of the Baltic Sea Area 1100-1400 AD*, ed. N. Blomkvist, Visby 1998 (= Acta Visbyensia 11), p. 237 f.; A. Schülke, *Die "Christianisierung" als Forschungsproblem der südwestdeutschen Gräberarchäologie*, "Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters" 27–28, 1999–2000, p. 115; D. Quast, *Christianisierung im archäologischen Befund. Ein Vergleich unterschiedlicher Regionen Mitte-, Nord- und Osteuropas*, [in:] *Zwischen den Zeiten. Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Mittelalters in Mitteleuropa*, ed. J. Pfrommer, R. Schreg, Rahden 2001, p. 234; M. Rębkowski, *Die Christianisierung Pommerns. Eine archäologische Studie*, Bonn 2011, p. 63–68.

A traditional element of the funerary rites of the Baltic Slavs, which was strictly adhered to in the first centuries of the early Middle Ages, was the cremation of the deceased. Initially, cremated human remains were buried in flat pit or urn graves. In the second half of the 8th century cremated burial barrow graves and the graves of the Alt Käbelich type[879] appeared. Cremation was still the central element of funerary rites in Pomerania in the 11th century. In view of the above it would be interesting to analyze the origins, intensity, and nature of the process whereby skeleton graves and cemeteries emerged.

The oldest examples of inhumation in Pomerania are connected with the nature of the economic and cultural development of the region in the tribal areas in comparison with, for instance, Greater Poland, i.e., the cradle of the Piasts' state. An important manifestation of this divergence was the early origins of urbanization processes, which on the Baltic began in the 9th century at the latest. The emergence of early-urban centres was a consequence of the inclusion of Pomerania into the "Baltic economic zone" formed by the activity of the Scandinavians[880]. A great proportion of the Viking Age emporia (*Seehandelsplätze* in German) that appeared in the lands situated around the Baltic were multi-ethnic, which resulted in the religious diversity of their residents.

[879] H. Zoll-Adamikowa *Wczesnośredniowieczne cmentarzyska ciałopalne Słowian na terenie Polski*, part 2: *Analiza. Wnioski*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1979, p. 205 ff.; W. Łosiński, *Z dziejów obrzędowości pogrzebowej u północnego odłamu Słowian zachodnich w świetle nowszych badań*, [in:] *Kraje słowiańskie w wiekach średnich. Profanum i sacrum*, ed. H. Kóčka-Krenz, W. Łosiński, Poznań 1998, p. 473–483; F. Biermann, *Sie sollten die christlichen Toten nicht unter den Heiden in Wäldern oder auf Feldern bestatten…" – Die Entwicklung der Grabsitten vom 7./8. bis 12./13. Jahrhundert in Pommern*, "Baltische Studien" NF 89, 2003 [2004], p. 7–24.

[880] See L. Leciejewicz, *Początki nadmorskich miast…*, *passim*; *idem*, *Early towns of the Baltic Slavs and their Scandinavian pararells*, [in:] *Archaeology and history of the Middle Ages*, Forli 1996, p. 47–53; W. Łosiński, *W sprawie genezy osiedli wczesnomiejskich…*, p. 101–128; *idem*, *Zur Genese der frühstädtischen Zentren bei den Ostseeslawen*, [in:] *Burg – Burgstadt – Stadt. Zur Genese mittelalterlicher nichtagrarischer Zentren in Ostmitteleuropa*, ed. H. Brachmann, Berlin 1995, p. 68–91; M. Bogucki, *Viking Age ports of trade in Poland*, "Estonian Journal of Archaeology" 8, 2004, p. 100–127; H. Jöns, *Ports and emporia of the southern coast from Hedeby to Usedom and Wolin*, [in:] *Wulstan´s Voyage. The Baltic Sea region in the early Viking Age as seen from shipboard*, ed. A. Englert, A. Trakadas, Roskilde 2009 (= Maritime culture of the North 2), p. 160–181; S. Kleingärtner, *Die frühe Phase der Urbanisierung an der südlichen Ostseeküste im ersten nachchristlichen Jahrtausend*, Neumünster 2014 (= Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte and Archäologie der Ostseegebiete 13).

This phenomenon is aptly illustrated by the diversity in funerary rites, including the emergence of inhumation, as distinctly seen in the cemeteries situated next to the settlements of that time both in Scandinavia (e.g., Birka, Hedeby) and the lands inhabited by the Slavs (e.g., Gross Strömkendorf)[881]. It is from this perspective that the oldest early-medieval skeleton graves known in Pomerania should be viewed; they are burials dated to the second half of the 9th century and were excavated among the cremated burial barrow graves in the cemetery in Świelubie near Kołobrzeg. The surrounding archaeological context indicates that in its close vicinity there could be an emporium, while the dead were most probably Scandinavians[882]. An individual burial from Kępsko near Bobolice has a similar chronology[883].

Of course it cannot be stated conclusively that the inhumation of the few people buried in both cemeteries in the second half of the 9th century testifies to their Christian eschatological beliefs. Yet the fact remains that fragments of jugs of Tating ware, excavated in Wolin and at the emporium Menzlin on the Peene (in fact, situated outside Pomerania), are dated to the same period, i.e., the 9th century. The jugs, decorated with a multiplied motif of an equilateral cross made from silver foil (German: Zinnfolie), were produced in the area situated between northern France and the Rhine and distributed almost exclusively in northern and north-western Europe[884]. Considering the small number of the artefacts, their decoration, and the fact that the oldest finds were excavated in the vicinity of the putative places of their production, it may be assumed that the original purpose of the jugs was connected with Christian liturgy (the Eucharist or baptism). However, it would be hard to determine conclusively what the purpose of the artefacts found in the Baltic emporia was; whether their original function was ignored and the jugs were used solely for secular purposes or is they are evidence of the spread of Christianity in these population centres. They were found in richly furnished graves, both skeletal and cremation burials, which suggests that among the Norman elites the jugs' original function was reduced, though it might still have remained within the sphere of religious observances[885].

These few, if not exceptional, discoveries dated to the 9th century only indicate that Christians may then have appeared in the trading centres situated on the Baltic – and nothing more. Yet their presence had no influence whatsoever on the native Slavic population inhabiting the Pomeranian coast of the Baltic; no changes in funerary rites and other premises indicating otherwise have been observed.

It is the flat skeleton cemeteries that appeared in the early 11th, or possibly even at the end of the previous century, that are of special significance in the discussion of the beginnings of inhumation among the Pomeranian Slavs. Apart from other furnishings found in the graves, the cemeteries' chronology is substantiated by the coins minted at the end of the 10th and in the 11th centuries, and especially Saxon cross denars. The oldest excavated cemeteries of this type include Wolin-Młynówka[886], Cedynia (site 2a)[887], Usedom-Am Hain situated on the edg-

[881] E.g., A.-S. Gräslund, *The Burial Customs…*, *passim*; U. Arends, S. Eisenschmidt, *Die Gräber von Haithabu*, vol. 1–2, Neumünster 2010; M. Gerds, *Das Gräberfeld des frühmittelalterlichen Seehandelsplatzes von Groß Strömkendorf, Lkr. Nordostmecklenburg*, Wiesbaden 2015 (= Frühmittelalterliche Archäologie zwischen Ostsee und Mittelmeer 6).

[882] W. Łosiński, *Początki wczesnośredniowiecznego osadnictwa…*, p. 263, 270; *idem*, *Wczesnośredniowieczny zespół osadniczy w Bardach i Świelubiu pod Kołobrzegiem*, "Koszalińskie Zeszyty Muzealne" 3, 1973, p. 102–119; H. Zoll-Adamikowa, *Wczesnośredniowieczne cmentarzyska ciałopalne Słowian na terenie Polski*, part 1: *Źródła…*, p. 229–232.

[883] J. Olczak, K. Siuchniński, *Źródła archeologiczne do studiów nad wczesnośredniowiecznym osadnictwem grodowym na terenie województwa koszalińskiego*, vol. 2, Poznań 1968, p. 75, no. 40; H.J. Eggers, *Funde der wendisch-wikingischen Zeit in Pommern*, Kiel 1978, p. 178.

[884] H. Stilke, *Tatinger Ware*, [in:] *Handbuch zur mittelalterlichen Keramik in Nordeuropa*, vol. 1, ed. H. Lüdtke, K. Schietzel, Neumünster 2001, p. 257–270; U. Müller, *Tatinger Ware im Gebiet des Mare Balticum*, [in:] *Aus der Frühgeschichte des südwestlichen Ostseegebietes*, ed. G. Mangelsdorf, Frankfurt am Main 2002 (= Greifswalder Mitteilungen 5), p. 9–24; U. Schoknecht, *Menzlin. Ein frühgeschichtlicher Handelsplatz an der Peene*, Berlin 1977, p. 111 f., 136, tab. 50; B. Stanisławski, *Garncarstwo wczesnośredniowiecznego Wolina a rekonstrukcja procesów kulturowych*, Wolin 2004 [typescript], p. 97.

[885] J. Staecker, *Legends and Mysteries. Reflections on the Evidence for the Early Mission in Scandinavia*, [in:] *Visions of the Past. Trends and Traditions in Swedish Medieval Archaeology*, ed. H. Andersson, P. Carelli, L. Ersgård, Stockholm 1997 (= Lund Studies in Medieval Archaeology 19), p. 430 f.; *idem*, *Die Christianisierung des westlichen Ostseeraumes – die archäologische Perspektive*, [in:] *Culture Clash or Compromise? The Europeanisation of the Baltic Sea Area 1100-1400 AD*, ed. N. Blomkvist, Visby 1998 (= Acta Visbyensia 11), p. 212 ff.

[886] J. Wojtasik, *Wczesnośredniowieczne cmentarzysko na wzgórzu "Młynówka" w Wolinie*, Szczecin 1968; *idem*, *Cmentarzysko wczesnośredniowieczne na wzgórzu "Młynówka" w Wolinie (Badania w 1969 r.)*, "Materiały Zachodniopomorskie" 16, 1970, p. 289–323; W. Łosiński, reviewer of *J. Wojtasik, Cmentarzysko wczesnośredniowieczne na wzgórzu "Młynówka" w Wolinie*, "Sprawozdania Archeologiczne" 22, 1970, p. 501–504; *Frühmittelalterliche Münzfunde aus Pommern…*, p. 592.

[887] A. Porzeziński, *Wczesnośredniowieczne cmentarzysko szkieletowe na stanowisku 2a w Cedyni, województwo zachodniopomorskie*, Szczecin 2006; *Frühmittelalterliche Münzfunde aus Pommern…*, p. 116 f.

es of the area discussed here[888], Pruszcz Gdański[889] and the older phase of the necropolis in Ciepłe on the Vistula[890]. Another few necropolises situated in various parts of Pomerania may also be dated to the 11th century[891]. Apart from chronology, they have a few other features in common, as well. The first is the diversity of the graves' orientation, so different from the arrangement of graves in rows, which would be adopted in Pomerania not until the 12th century. The second is their location right next to important settlement centres, usually strongholds. Interestingly,

[888] F. Biermann, *Bootsgrab – Brandgrab – Kammergrab. Die slawischen Gräberfelder von Usedom im Kontext der früh- und hochmittelaterlichen Bestattungssitten in Mecklenburg und Pommern*, Rahden 2009 (= Archäologie und Geschichte im Ostseeraum 7), p. 20–39, 54–97.

[889] Z. Ratajczyk, *Wczesnośredniowieczne cmentarzyska płaskie regionu gdańskiego*, [in:] *Pomorze we wczesnym średniowieczu w świetle źródeł archeologicznych. Historia, stan aktualny i potrzeby badań*, ed. H. Paner, M. Fudziński, W. Świętosławski, Gdańsk 2014, p. 36–38.

[890] Z. Ratajczyk, *The cemetery in Ciepłe – current research results*, [in:] *Scandinavian Culture in Medieval Poland…*, p. 323–351; *eadem*, *Wczesnośredniowieczne cmentarzyska…*, p. 45–50; *eadem*, *Groby komorowe z wczesnośredniowiecznego cmentarzyska w Ciepłem, gm. Gniew, woj. pomorskie*, [in:] *Pochówki w grobach komorowych na ziemiach polskich w okresie wczesnego średniowiecza*, ed. D. Błaszczyk, D. Stępniewska, Warszawa 2016, p. 90–101; B. Paszkiewicz, *Monety z wczesnośredniowiecznego cmentarzyska w Ciepłem*, [in:] *XVII Sesja Pomorzoznawcza*, vol. 1: *Od epoki kamienia do wczesnego średniowiecza*, ed. M. Fudziński, H. Paner, Gdańsk 2011, p. 171–176; and recently *Ciepłe. Elitarna nekropola wczesnośredniowieczna na Pomorzu Wschodnim*, ed. S. Wadyl, Gdańsk 2019.

[891] Dębczyno near Białogard (see H. Kóčka-Krenz, A. Sikorski, *Grób "księżniczki" z Dębczyna koło Białogardu w woj. koszalińskim (stan. 53)*, [in:] *Kraje słowiańskie w wiekach średnich. Profanum i sacrum*, ed. H. Kóčka-Krenz, W. Łosiński, Poznań 1998, p. 525–535; A. Sikorski, T. Szczurek, *Monety z wczesnośredniowiecznego cmentarzyska szkieletowego w Dębczynie na Pomorzu*, [in:] *Moneta i kontakty mennicze w rejonie Morza Bałtyckiego XIII–XVIII w.*, ed. A. Musiałowski, Toruń 2002, p. 7–32); Stargard – M. Majewski, *Ecclesia sub ecclesia – czyli o świątyni odkrytej pod kościołem augustiańskim w Stargardzie*, [in:] *Kościoły w dobie chrystianizacji*, ed. M. Rębkowski, Szczecin 2016 (= Wolińskie Spotkania Mediewistyczne 3), p. 247 ff., and Ostrowite (J. Sikora, *Czy w Ostrowitem, gm. Chojnice, woj. pomorskie, odkryto wczesnośredniowieczne groby komorowe?*, [in:] *Pochówki w grobach komorowych na ziemiach polskich w okresie wczesnego średniowiecza*, ed. D. Błaszczyk, D. Stępniewska, Warszawa 2016, p. 62–79; *Frühmittelalterliche Münzfunde aus Pommern…*, p. 404); Lubin (site 6) on the island of Wolin (W. Filipowiak *Badania archeologiczno-konserwatorskie w Lubinie, pow. Wolin*, "Materiały Zachodniopomorskie" 5, 1959, p. 319 f.), Żydowo (site 6) (W. Łosiński, J. Olczak, K. Siuchniński, *Źródła archeologiczne do studiów nad wczesnośredniowiecznym osadnictwem grodowym na terenie województwa koszalińskiego*, vol. 4, Poznań 1971, p. 239 f.), and possibly Kołobrzeg (*Kołobrzeg. Wczesne miasto nad Bałtykiem*, ed. L. Leciejewicz, M. Rębkowski, Warszawa 2007, p. 161–163). In the same way should be dated a cemetery situated on the northern, Pomeranian bank of the Noteć in Santok (J. Brzeżycki, *Cmentarzysko i grodziska średniowieczne na stanowisku 2 w Santoku*, [in:] *Santockie zamki*, ed. D. Rymar, Z. Czarnuch, Gorzów Wielkopolski 1997 (= Biblioteczka Nadwarciańskiego Rocznika Historyczno-Archiwalnego 3), p. 7–41; A. Michalak, S. Sinkowski, *An Ottonian Spur from the early medieval cemetery in Santok in Western Poland*, "Acta Militaria Medievalia" 13, 2017, p. 133–147).

in terms of spatial position at least some of them resemble the cremation burial cemeteries (e.g., Cedynia), while others accommodate both cremated and inhumed graves (e.g., Usedom-Am Hain, Wolin-Młynówka, Ciepłe). Even considering the fact that probably not all cemeteries of this type have been registered, three distinct areas of their concentration may be determined. The first is the region of the lower Odra river, the second – the area situated on the lower Vistula, while the third lies in the central part of Pomerania, approximately from the Parsęta river in the west to the Słupia river in the east.

Flat necropolises with skeleton graves are not the only new form of cemeteries that appeared in the 11th century in Pomerania. Another is that of barrow cemeteries, where the non-cremated dead or – intriguingly – both cremated and inhumated bodies were buried[892]. The barrows, whose plans were either oval or approximated a square, frequently had stone casings. Their interiors, sometimes divided into sections outlined with rows of stones and pavement, sometimes accommodated a few burials. On the basis of the pottery excavated in their mounds and the individual finds of coins[893] it may be concluded that such objects did not appear until the end of the 10th century and were in use during the 11th century. Their distribution is very interesting. With but a single exception, the western boundary of the area of their occurrence does not go beyond the valley of the lower Odra river. They occur mainly in the lake zones in three distinct concentrations: the area of the upper and middle Rega river; in the Szczecinek Lake District and on the upper Radwia river; as well as in the Kashubian Lake District[894].

The dead in the cemeteries of both categories of necropolises with skeleton burials, which appeared at the turn of the millennium, were rather rarely equipped with objects that might be interpreted as grave goods proper. If found at all, they were usually standard decorative elements (temple rings), clay vessels, knives in leather sheaths, etc. Flat burials also rarely displayed evidence of coffins or other wooden grave structures. It is, however, significant that graves of exceptional

[892] Together: M. Rębkowski, *Chrystianizacja...*, p. 102–109.

[893] W. Łęga *Kultura Pomorza we wczesnym średniowieczu na podstawie wykopalisk*, Toruń 1930, p. 371, 605; H.J. Eggers, *Funde der wendisch-wikingischen Zeit…*, p. 156–159; *Frühmittelalterliche Münzfunde aus Pommern…*, p. 397, 512.

[894] M. Rębkowski, *Chrystianizacja…*, p. 102–109; J. Sikora, *Skandynawowie a ziemie polskie w badaniach archeologicznych*, [in:] *Wikingowie w Polsce? Zabytki skandynawskie z ziem polskich*, ed. M. Bogacki, A. Janowski, Ł. Kaczmarek, Gniezno-Szczecin 2019, fig. 1.

sizes and unusual construction forms as well as containing spectacular deposits, such as weapons (especially swords), were discovered in some of these flat skeleton cemeteries (e.g., Ciepłe, Żydowo).

In view of the above, the inevitable question arises: can the appearance of such necropolises be perceived in the context of Christian influences, however indirect they might have been? The answer might initially involve some scepticism as there are opinions that in some parts of the *Barbaricum* inhumation was a demonstration of social prestige[895] and thus its appearance did not necessarily have to be a manifestation of Christian eschatological concepts. Such scepticism may be further strengthened by the fact of the characteristically diversified orientation of burials in these cemeteries, which seems contrary to the Christian custom. Yet these arguments are not conclusive. Comparative research proves that in many Christianized areas, in the initial period when the influence of ecclesiastical institutions was still weak, skeleton cemeteries with diversified orientation of graves appeared, and only later were they replaced by necropolises with graves arranged in rows. This was the case of the Franks, possibly Silesia, Sweden, and later – the lands of the Lutici. This prompts the conclusion that during the initial period of Christian influence the very fact of inhumation was much more important than the appropriate orientation of graves.

Leaving the problem aside for a moment, we should note that the oldest finds representing individual symbols of the Christian faith excavated in Pomerania, such as crosses and pendants, are dated to the same period as the skeleton cemeteries discussed above. Some of them, deposited together with coins in silver hoards, were probably seen, at least when they were hidden, as precious metal and jewellery rather than symbols of a religious cult[896]. Finds of this type were

[895] L. Leciejewicz, *Die sozialen und politischen Voraussetzungen des Glaubenwechsels in Pommern*, [in:] *Rom und Byzanz im Norden. Mission und Glaubenwechsel im Ostseeraum während des 8.-14. Jahrhunderts*, ed. M. Müller-Wille, vol. 2, Mainz 1997, p. 45.

[896] E.g., a silver cross of the Hiddensee type found in the hoard from Gralewo (hidden after 966; J. Żak, *"Importy" skandynawskie na ziemiach zachodniosłowiańskich od IX do XI wieku (część katalogowa)*, Poznań 1963, p. 145 f., a hollow cross made from silver sheet from the hoard from Noskowo-Bzowo (11th century) (T. Kiersnowska, R. Kiersnowski, *Wczesnośredniowieczne skarby srebrne z Pomorza. Materiały*, Warszawa 1959, p. 76), and two silver crosses made in the similar way from the hoard from Blumenhagen, situated practically beyond Pomerania (end of 11th century) (W. Karbe, *Der wendische Silberschatz von Blumenhagen*, "Prähistorische Zeitschrift" 16, 1925, p. 76–80, tab. V–VI; A. Hollnagel, *Die vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Denkmäler und Funde des Kreises Neustrelitz*, Schwerin 1958, p. 31, tab. 55 and 56; J. Żak, *"Importy"…*, p. 30 f., fig. 21; R. Kiersnowski, *Wczesnośredniowieczne skarby srebrne z Połabia. Materiały*, Wrocław 1964, p. 28).

also discovered in the settlement context. It is important that, with a single exception, all the remaining objects were excavated in Wolin. The exception is the crucifix cast in bronze found in Żółte near Drawsko Pomorskie in the lake, in the place where there was a quay[897]. The cross, depicting a Crucified Christ wearing a short tunic, is dated to the 11th century at the latest. The finds from Wolin are older (end of the 10th and the turn of the 10th and 11th centuries): a silver cross and a bone pendant displaying a motif of a plaiting cross typical of Scandinavian decorative art[898]. Two other artefacts from Wolin of Scandinavian provenance have an identical chronology. They are circular fibulas of the Terslev type with a characteristic motif of a ribbon plaiting cross[899]. According to a widely accepted hypothesis, the fibulas, worn by the representatives of Scandinavian elites, were in those social groups treated as a Christian symbol[900]. A fragment of a similar decoration was also probably found in a hoard hidden at the end of the 10th century in nearby Dramino-Piaski[901]. Another pendant in the shape of a cross known from archival sources (discovered in the cemetery Wolin-Młynówka mentioned above) should also be dated to the 11th century[902].

Summing up the facts presented above, we may conclude that at the turn of the 10th and 11th centuries, or possibly even earlier, at the end of the 10th century, traditional funerary rites began to erode in Pomerania. One of the manifestations of this was the emergence of the peculiar form of skeleton cemeteries. As a result, throughout the 11th century and into the next, funerary rites did not have a uni-

[897] *The Island in Żółte on Lake Zarańskie…*, p. 269.

[898] W. Filipowiak, *Wolin-Jomsborg. Ein Vikingetids – Handelsby i Polen*, Roskilde 1991, p. 27; B. Stanisławski, *Sztuka wikińska z Wolina*, [in:] *Średniowiecze polskie i powszechne*, vol. 4, ed. I. Panic, J. Sperka, Katowice 2007, p. 32, 43, 46, fig. 20; A. Janowski, *W wolińskim porcie…*, Wolin 2014, p. 31.

[899] W. Filipowiak, *Some aspects of the development of Wolin in the 8th–11th centuries in the light of the results of new research*, [in:] *Polish Lands at the Turn of the First and the Second Millennia*, ed. P. Urbańczyk, Warsaw 2004, p. 65, fig. 19.

[900] S. Kleingärtner, *Der Terslev-Schmuck – Zeugnis christlicher Missionierung?*, "Archäologie in Schleswig" 9, 2001, p. 105–114.

[901] T. Kiersnowska, R. Kiersnowski, *Wczesnośredniowieczne skarby…*, p. 80 f., tab. XIV, 2.

[902] W. Filipowiak, M. Gierke, K. Kokora, M. Kowalska, *Zaginiona dokumentacja z przedwojennych badań archeologicznych w Wolinie*, [in:] *Kościoły w dobie chrystianizacji…*, p. 25.

form character and remained diversified relative to the region[903]. At the same time, symbols of Christian faith appeared in various contexts, whose concentration is especially well seen in Wolin and the vicinity. It should be added here that another two fragments of jugs of the Tating type discovered in Wolin and Usedom are dated to the 10th century[904].

There are two possible explanations of the origin of the phenomena discussed above, which – incidentally – are not mutually exclusive. The first assumes that they resulted from Pomerania's subjugation to the state of the Piasts in the last decades of the 10th century[905]. The Piasts' influence in Pomerania expanded along the Odra river (and possibly also along the Vistula river as well) from the seventh decade of the 10th century at the latest and soon afterwards Mieszko I subdued the whole of Pomerania. From then on, at least until the first decade of the 11th century, these lands remained under the control of the Piast rulers, who themselves had converted the Christianity only a little earlier, having thereupon begun to Christianize their own country.

The conquered lands must also have been subjected to Christianization, which is substantiated by the establishment of the bishopric of Kołobrzeg in 1000[906]. It is quite possible that the diocese was to comprise the whole area situated between the lower Odra and the lower Vistula. The fact that the bishopric proved ephemeral is quite another matter. It was then that the first Christian temple appeared, built in the stronghold of Kołobrzeg restructured by the Piasts in the last decade of the 10th century. The remains of the cathedral have not yet been discovered, but there are archaeological premises proving

903 M. Rębkowski, *Christian mission, state formation and the changes in burial customs*, "Archaeologia Polona" 48, 2010 [2015], p. 259 f.

904 I. Gabriel, *Hof- und Sakralkultur sowie Gebrauchs- und Handelsgut im Spiegel der Kleinfunde von Starigard/Oldenburg*, [in:] *Oldenburg – Wolin – Staraja Ladoga – Novgorod – Kiev. Handel und Handelsverbindungen im südlichen und östlichen Ostseeraum während des frühen Mittelalters*, ed. M. Müller-Wille, Mainz am Rhein 1988 (= Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission 69), p. 135, footnote 107; B. Stanisławski, *Garncarstwo…*, p. 97.

905 *Historia Pomorza*, vol. 1: *do roku 1466*, part 1, 2, ed. G. Labuda, Poznań ²1972, p. 307 ff.; J. Strzelczyk, *Mieszko Pierwszy…*, p. 81 ff.; G. Labuda, *Mieszko I*, Wrocław 2002, p. 72 ff.; B. Śliwiński, *Początki Gdańska. Dzieje ziem nad zachodnim brzegiem Zatoki Gdańskiej w I połowie X wieku*, Gdańsk 2009, p. 23–31.

906 G. Labuda, *Aspekty polityczne i kościelne tzw. "zjazdu gnieźnieńskiego" w roku 1000*, [in:] *Ziemie polskie w X wieku…*, p. 17–34; J. Petersohn, *Der Akt von Gnesen…*, p. 24–35.

that construction had begun[907]. Unfortunately, apart from Thietmar's account of the destruction of Christian temples, not much is known about the mission accomplished by the bishop of Kołobrzeg, Reinbern[908]. There is still no convincing evidence of the short-lived existence of the diocese, which fact might result from the very limited range of the excavations carried out to date[909].

Of all the skeleton cemeteries from that period known to us, only some may possibly be linked with the Piasts' influence, such as the necropolises in Santok and Cedynia (site 2a), i.e., in places situated on the path of the Piast expansion towards the north, in Kołobrzeg, and possibly in Stargard, Dębczyno, as well as in Ciepłe and Pruszcz Gdański on the Vistula. However, an analogous interpretation of the finds from Wolin and Usedom seems unfounded. After the conquest of Pomerania, Wolin itself may still have enjoyed independence or may have broken free from Piast rule earlier than other Pomeranian lands. Therefore, it must be assumed that the reasons for the appearance of Christian symbols and inhumation lie elsewhere.

In the second half of the 10th and in the early 11th centuries Wolin was a great trading emporium at the peak of its development and significance for Baltic trade. The cultural layers excavated there and dated to that period display evidence of contacts with Scandinavia, primarily Denmark, and the presence of representatives of Danish elites, who were at that time already Christian[910]. The artefacts obtained include some of the decorations mentioned above, i.e., Christian religious symbols of Scandinavian origin, a few of which are typical of the Danish aristocracy. The other foreign community

907 On the issue of Reinbern's cathedral church see L. Leciejewicz, *Czy biskup Reinbern budował katedrę w Kołobrzegu?*, "Archaeologia Historica Polona" 15, 2005, 1, p. 59–67; M. Rębkowski, *Chrystianizacja…*, p. 22–25; *idem*, *Początki architektury chrześcijańskiej na Pomorzu*, [in:] *Materiały V Kongresu Mediewistów Polskich*, vol. 4: *Badania interdyscyplinarne*, ed. A. Buko, K. Kollinger, S. Jędrzejewska, Rzeszów 2018, p. 101.

908 S. Rosik, *Reinbern – Salsae Cholbergiensis aecclesiae episcopus*, [in:] *Salsa Cholbergiensis. Kołobrzeg w średniowieczu*, ed. L. Leciejewicz, M. Rębkowski, Kołobrzeg 2000, p. 87–90.

909 Excavations hitherto conducted are listed in *Kołobrzeg. Wczesne miasto…*, *passim*.

910 About archaeological finds of Scandinavian origin in Wolin, see W. Duczko, *Obecność skandynawska na Pomorzu i słowiańska…*, p. 25–30; B. Stanisławski, *Sztuka wikińska…*, p. 28–50; *idem*, *Norse culture in Wolin-Jómsborg*, [in:] *Scandinavian Culture in Medieval Poland…*, p. 193–246. On the development of Wolin, recently *Wolin – the Old Town*, vol. 1–2, ed. M. Rębkowski, Szczecin 2019.

of Christians residing in the 11th century in the multi-ethnic emporium of Wolin were Saxons, if Adam of Bremen is to be believed[911].

In view of the above we may table the hypothesis that in the late 10th and 11th centuries a group of Christians lived in still pagan Wolin. They were primarily foreigners: Saxons and Scandinavians, and – possibly – Ruthenian traders ("Greeks"). As I tried to prove elsewhere, the main reason for locating the Pomeranian bishopric in Wolin in 1140, when the town's greatness was already a thing of the past, was this tradition of the existence of a Christian community[912]. Considering the political situation in the second quarter of the 12th century, the bishopric should have been located in Kamień, where the duke had his main residence. This recalls the developments in Denmark: according to the relevant researchers, Hedeby and Ribe were chosen as the seats of the first bishoprics founded in 948 because Christian communities had already lived there in the 9th century[913].

In view of the results of archaeological research carried out to date it would be difficult to attempt a realistic assessment of the actual influence which the bishopric in Kołobrzeg and Christian foreigners living in the Odra's estuary had over the local Slavs. The reliability of any such attempt would be doubtful. Yet we should not ignore the speculations expressed in the literature that even after the fall of Piast rule in Pomerania some of the local elites may have retained their Christian faith. The example might be the mysterious Pomeranian Duke *Zemuzil*, who – according to the *Annales Altahenses* – was received in 1046 at the court of the Emperor Henry III in Merseburg as a peer of the Bohemian Duke Břetislav and Polish Duke Kazimierz[914]. According to some scholars, this would not have been possible if *Zemuzil* had not been a Christian.

[911] Adam II, 22: "Est sane maxima omnium quas Europa claudit civitatum, quam incolunt Sclavi cum aliis gentibus, Graecis et barbaris. Nam et advenae Saxones param cohabitandi legem acceperunt, si tamen christianitatis titulum ibi morantes non publicaverint. Omnes enim adhuc paganicis ritibus oberrant […]".

[912] M. Rębkowski, *Die Christianisierung Pommerns…*, p. 146.

[913] M Müller-Wille, *Ansgar und die Archäologie. Der Norden und das christliche Europa in Karolingischer Zeit*, "Germania" 82, 2004, 2, p. 451.

[914] *Annales Altahenses maiores*, ed. L. Giesebrecht, L.B. Oefele, MGH SSrerGerm in usum scholarum, Hannoverae 1891, under the year 1046 (p. 41). See E. Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich*, Szczecin ^{2}2005, p. 77–82.

V

Poland of the Piasts and the birth of Pomerania

Stanisław Rosik

Reconstitution of the Polish monarchy after the crisis of the 1030s coincided with the appearance of the Pomeranians in contemporary sources as its northern neighbours. The earliest evidence of the community's functioning is the mention of *Zemuzil* "the duke of the Pomeranians" (*dux Bomeraniorum*) in the *Annales Altaheses maiores* under the year 1046[915]. Further confirmation of the existence of the Pomeranians is seen in the *Deeds of the bishops of Hamburg* written in the 1070s by Adam of Bremen[916], who located this people between the Lutici and Poland. He did not mention that they directly neighboured with the Prussians, which is not evident in the sources until the 12th century. It is difficult to speculate how the author saw the extent of Pomerania's eastern frontier, but he indicated the Odra as its western border[917].

Interestingly, the sources from the 11th century mentioned above do not restrict the name of Pomeranians solely to the inhabitants of the coastal area, i.e., in accordance with the etymology of the noun "Pomorze" referring to a relatively narrow strip of land directly adjacent to the sea. It is already then that the key process of forming Pomerania as a historical land had taken place, stretching its borders further south from the Baltic. Gallus Anonymus' chronicle written

[915] See above, footnote 914.

[916] Adam II, 22, IV, 12, schol. 14.

[917] *Ibidem*.

in the second decade of the next century conclusively states that they extended as far as the strip of land on the Noteć river.

In the chronicler's account the Pomeranians appear to be the people who several times threw off the Polish rule imposed by Bolesław I the Brave[918]. This view seems anachronistic because the author assumed the existence of this seaside community as early as during the expansion of the first Piasts to the Baltic. Nevertheless, these were times when the whole of the population in the lands situated in the north of the Noteć river were beginning to be perceived as an entity called the Pomeranians. And thus the key question that arises here concerns the extent to which this was a result of the integration of the lands which they inhabited under Polish rule. This view earned its place in the historical research of the 20th century[919], which is rooted in the conviction that Mieszko I had subordinated the lands of the future Pomerania to his rule.

According to the canonical picture from 20th-century historiography, this was decided during his struggles with the Wolinians in 967 and ultimately by the outcome of the battle of Cedynia in 972[920]. The battle was to result in consolidating Piast rule over Pomerania. Yet in fact these are hypotheses based on shaky foundations. Firstly, Mieszko's victory over the Wolinians led by the Saxon outlaw, Wichmann the Younger, consisted in repulsing the attack on his own territory[921] and thus tabling that it resulted in an expansion of the Polish sphere of influence to the Odra estuary is pure speculation. Secondly, determining the place of the clash at *Cidini* in 972 as Cedynia on the Odra river, which was supposed to be the Saxons' gateway to Pomerania, is rather uncertain[922], and thus it is not only difficult to acknowledge that this military campaign was in any way decisive for Pomerania's fate, but also to assume that its lands were then the object of Polish-Saxon rivalry[923].

918 E.g., Gall II, 29.

919 E.e. J.M. Piskorski, *Pomorze…*, p. 18 ff.

920 See above, p. 66 f., 79 f.

921 Widukind III, 69.

922 See above, p. 97 f.

923 According to E. Rymar's hypothesis, worth mentioning here, the area of Pomerania – identified with the tributary territory reaching "as far as the river of Warta" mentioned by Thietmar – from the Carolingian times was to constitute an entity formally subordinated to the Roman empire in the West, i.e., to the Ottonians in the times of Mieszko I. Due to the circumstantial nature of the hypothesis' premises, it is not universally recognized in the historical debate. See above, p. 100 f.

Despite the controversies surrounding the "textbook" version of the facts, it is quite possible that the first Piasts did want to subordinate the Odra estuary[924], in competition with the Saxons[925]. We should emphasize here that it was the borderland zone of the Veleti[926], whom the Saxons wanted to subordinate[927]. Thus, the question arises whether *civitas Schinesghe* with its dependent territories (Lat. *pertinentiae*), i.e., the Piast realm, did actually reach the Odra estuary as it is often assumed on the basis of the regest of the document known as *Dagome iudex* (from ca. 990). The note says that its border "on the first side" runs along the sea[928] and then further on along the border with Prussia as far as Rus'. In this way we are confronted with the picture of the northern and eastern reach of the emerging Pomerania, which is confirmed by the account from Thietmar's chronicle about Reinbern's activity on the Baltic near Kołobrzeg and the oldest life of St. Adalbert devoted to his missionary work in the coastal *Gyddanyzc* (most probably Gdańsk)[929].

Precisely determining the western border of the coastal area indicated in *Dagome iudex* is more problematic. The traditionally adopted interpretation is that it ran along the Odra (*iuxta Odera*) as far as its estuary, which can hardly be reconciled with the notion that the border reached *Schines-*

924 Due to their significance in the long-range trade, the centres in the Odra estuary, including Wolin as the most prominent, constituted a natural target of expansion of the first Piasts. Ibrahim ibn Yaqub mentions Mieszko I's struggles with the *Weltaba* people and their big city with twelve gates, which – despite its fairy-tale character – constitutes a premise for the Polish ruler's expansion in the direction of the Veleti, whose circle also included the Wolinians. One of the arguments supporting the view that at some stage Mieszko I managed to conquer Wolin was the specific technique of "hook construction" of the local stronghold's rampart, typical of the fortifications in the strongholds of the first Piasts. See W. Filipowiak, H. Gundlach, *Wolin – Wineta. Die tatsächliche Legende vom Untergang und Aufstieg der Stadt*, Rostock 1992, p. 52.

925 Which did not exclude Polish-Saxon co-operation within the compass of the empire.

926 According to Thietmar (VI, 33), *Livilni* was the town connected with the Lutici.

927 The Lutici threw off their rule in 983. See Thietmar III, 17–19; lately: P. Babij, *Wojskowość Słowian Połabskich*, vol. 1, Wrocław 2017, p. 136–138 (there is a further litterature on the issue).

928 *Dagome iudex* in: B. Kürbis, *Dagome iudex – studium krytyczne*, [in:] *Początki państwa polskiego. Księga tysiąclecia*, vol. 1: *Organizacja polityczna*, ed. K. Tymieniecki, Poznań 1962, p. 394 f. The phrase "longum mare" is of key significance here: interpreted either as the "long sea" or "along the sea", it indicates the Baltic as the border. There was also an idea that "longum mare" was Pomerania as a country situated "along the sea" belonging to "civitas Schinesghe" (e.g., G. Labuda in: *Historia Pomorza…*, vol. 1, p. 31; E. Rymar, *Dagome iudex…*, p. 330), which, however, departs considerably from the literary meaning of the account.

929 See above, p. 245.

ghe interpreted as Gniezno[930]. It is thus hardly surprising that attempts were made to interpret *Schinesghe* as Szczecin, a notion that reappeared in academic debate in recent years[931]. However, it would be difficult to accept this solution, considering that the stronghold on the Odra was at best situated on the periphery of Mieszko I's rule[932] and, consequently, it cannot be attributed with the central role in the state, which *Schinesghe* is attributed with in the regest.

It is noteworthy that the phrase *iuxta Odera* – "at the Odra" or even "along the Odra" – may in this case refer to the middle part of the river's course as after passing Silesian territories, it reached *civitas Schinesghe* understood not as the capital itself but the adjacent territory treated as the central part of the whole state (with the adjoining dependent territories – pertinentia – mentioned above). This hypothesis seems to better reflect the reality of Mieszko I's monarchy, whereby its capital is not situated on the Odra. Still, it is no longer certain that the Odra's lower course as far as its estuary was at all taken into account in the description. In this context Thietmar's information about the envoys from *Livilni* (Wolin) at the German court in 1006 – let's recall: who complained that Bolesław I the Brave wanted to implicate them in the military action against Henry II[933] – which was often interpreted as evidence of the Polish ruler's waning influence in the Odra estuary, at most testifies to his unsuccessful attempt to involve the Wolinians in a military alliance, and in a broader perspective – to the existence of political contacts proving that the Odra estuary was within the sphere of political plans of the first Piasts.

Thus, the question about the extent of *civitas Schinesghe*'s dependent territories (*pertinentiae*) on the Baltic must remain open. The sources

930 Similarly as the inscription "civitas Gnezdun" known from Bolesław I the Brave's coins, identified unequivocally with Gniezno, see above, p. 135.

931 E.g., P. Urbańczyk. See also above, p. 97.

932 The hypothetical view that Mieszko I occupied Szczecin is not particularly well confirmed in the sources. The main premise is the phrase "iuxta Odera" in the description of the Piasts' border in the *Dagome iudex* regest, suggesting that it runs along the Odra to its estuary; however, this interpretation causes doubts (see above, p. 282). Additionally, attempts were made to make this view more plausible by interpreting the place of the battle of *Cidini* (972) as Cedynia and thus to prove that Mieszko defended the occupied Pomerania comprising Szczecin (see above, p. 283 f.). Due to their *a priori* nature, accompanied by the lack of relevant information in the sources, these views do not seem to deserve serious consideration at this stage of historical debate.

933 Thietmar VI, 33.

currently available provide an affirmative answer as far as the lands on the Parsęta are concerned; in accordance with Thietmar's mention of Reinbern's diocese in Kołobrzeg, it is emphasized that the stronghold in Budzistowo near Kołobrzeg – mentioned above – was most probably garrisoned by the Piasts' men at the end of the 10th c.[934] Interestingly, in view of the latest archaeological excavations this discussion should also take into account the Rega river basin situated further west. Complex excavations carried out on the local remains of strongholds indicate that in the first half of the 11th c. some of the strongholds were abandoned and then – after a relatively short period of time – new ones were erected ca. mid-11th c. This change may prove that the Piasts' stronghold system had collapsed and was replaced with a new one connected with Pomeranian rule, possibly even *Zemuzil*'s himself[935]. Obviously, this a working hypothesis requiring further research.

One way or another, the strongholds in the Rega river basin cannot be considered to have been garrisoned by Piast men; at most it may be assumed that their inhabitants recognized the Piasts' suzerainty. This would constitute proof that the extent of Polish control over the lands on the Baltic varied. The example of Kołobrzeg aside, it is quite possible that in different parts of the emerging Pomerania, power was wielded by local elites who recognized Mieszko I's or Bolesław I the Brave's suzerainty and entered into political alliances with them, ones possibly sealed with family ties[936].

Thus formed the part of the first Piasts' realm that reached the Baltic. However, the question remains to what extent an attempt to form a province around Kołobrzeg, substantiated by establishing a bishopric there, affected the internal integration of the area as the monarchy's province. In other words, was it a province that could be – following the risky path of hypothesizing – entrusted to, e.g., Dietrich, a putative descendant of Mieszko I and Oda, in 1032[937]? He was sup-

934 See above, p. 96 f., 244 ff.

935 A. Janowski, *Grodziska wczesnośredniowieczne w dorzeczu Regi…*, p. 127.

936 The only testimony for this period mentions a Pomeranian duke asking to marry a Piast princess (cf. *Tempore illo*, chap. 12); it comes from the 12th c. and may render the reality of a later period. See M. Smoliński, *Pommerellen, seine Herrscher und Polen im 12. Jahrhundert*, [in:] *Poland, Pomerania and Their Neighbours' Shaping…*, p. 285 f.

937 See E. Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich…*, vol. 1, p. 74; M. Smoliński, *Pommerellen, seine Herrscher und Polen…*, p. 287.

posed to participate in the Piast rule after Mieszko II was forced by Conrad II to divide it. However, considering that merely a year later Mieszko II was already the sole ruler of Poland, it is doubtful whether his mysterious relative had at all assumed his post. Yet we need to bear in mind that the sources offer no concrete premises to conclude that his province was at all situated on the coast.

Reflecting on a possible Baltic province of the first Piasts' monarchy constitutes part of a broader spectrum of research on how the zone reaching the Baltic formed, perceived as a "natural" area of Polish expansion, which coincided with naming it Pomerania. For it would then have emerged as a territorial and social entity, a vast sweep of land and the communities inhabiting it, as seen from an external perspective, especially from the Greater-Poland core of the Piast monarchy. It is noteworthy that this concept appeared as an alternative to older views, ones assuming that at the beginning of the Middle Ages a big tribe of Pomeranians existed, which later fell apart into smaller entities[938].

However, the sources do not offer any support for this conjecture; though in a sense it is reflected in the idea that the Kashubians were the original core of the Pomeranian population[939]. Still, the fact that their name appeared in the sources late – not until the 13th century – prevents any conclusive inference[940]. Thus the only option remaining is to acknowledge the dynamics of population transformations in the coastal areas between the lower Odra and Vistula before the emergence of states, something also caused by the penetration of the "aliens" – namely, Scandinavians – and accept the fact that their perception as a unified entity functioning under the name of Pomerania emerged only at the time when the early-Piast monarchy became their neighbour in the 11th century.

Bearing in mind that the etymology of the name of Pomerania and Pomeranians refers to the coastal area and its inhabitants, it is worthwhile considering the fact that its emergence as a description of the country situated to the north of Greater Poland and Kuyavia was considerably affected by the internal factor, i.e., local elites establishing political, cultural, and possibly ecclesiastical ties with the Piasts.

[938] The history of the issue in an academic debate is discussed by J.M. Piskorski, *Pomorze…*, p. 38 ff.

[939] More about this subject: G. Labuda, *Historia Kaszubów…*, p. 38 ff.

[940] See J.M. Piskorski, *Pomorze…*, p. 19 ff.

We are then faced with a certain common circle of elites of the Polish monarchy reaching the Baltic, where the identity of the communities living on the other side of the Noteć river was affected by the proximity of the sea. In this view it would be difficult to accept a strictly external origin of the name of Pomerania, but rather admit that it is one of the examples of forming a new identity during the process of reclaiming the post-tribal world.

Interestingly, even the demise of Piast rule in the first half of the 11th c. in the lands adjacent to the Baltic did not hinder their tendency to "Pomeranize", both in Poland and the neigbouring areas, including Pomerania and its elites. A certain indication here is the fact that *Zemuzil*'s titles featured Pomerania as mentioned in an account by a contemporary German annalist. At this stage of its history, i.e., after the Piasts had lost control over the strongholds in its territory, Pomerania became the area of their expansion, quite possibly as early as in the time of Bolesław I the Brave. Here, the discussion of the fate of the bishop of Kołobrzeg, Reinbern[941], should be resumed. His trip to Rus' may testify to the demise of his diocese, which prompts the speculation that Poland had lost control over the lands on the Baltic. On the other hand, if it is assumed that Bolesław sent Reinbern to Rus' to carry out a mission as a high-ranking dignitary of his monarchy, the suzerainty of the Piasts over the Baltic lands may have lasted even until the times of Mieszko II.

The late-medieval Hungarian tradition mentions Mieszko II's struggles with the Pomeranians, and in particular a duel between the Hungarian Prince Bela from his entourage with an unnamed knight representing the Pomeranian prince[942]. The information itself – assuming that there is a grain of truth in it[943] – corresponds with the view that Poland had lost control over the Pomeranian lands (or at least a part of them) during the first stage of the monarchy's crisis at the latest, when Mieszko II struggled to regain the power which he had

[941] See above, p. 261 ff.

[942] *Chronici Hungarici Compositio Saeculi XIV*, ed. A. Domanovszky, [in:] Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum 1, ed. E. Szentpétery, Budapest 1937, chap. 78 (p. 334 f.). In the alternative version presented by Simon of Keza, Bela's opponent is the prince of the Pomeranians himself – Simonis de Keza, *Gesta Hungarorum*, ed. A. Domanovszky, [in:] Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum 1, Budapest 1937, chap. 52 (p. 177). See D. Bagi, *Pomorze i Polska w Kronice węgierskiej*, [in:] *Polska – Pomorze – sąsiedzi…*, p. 173–183.

[943] Even though the chronicle was written in the 14th century, it is rooted in the tradition of the 12th century, which renders a reference to a historical element in this episode more credible. See D. Bagi, *Pomorze i Polska…*, p. 174 ff.

been deprived of in 1031–1032 by his brother Bezprym[944]. The analysis of the Hungarian theme also takes into account the option that the events from the times of Kazimierz I the Restorer, whose battles with the Pomeranians were mentioned by Gallus Anonymus[945], were transferred to the times of his predecessor, Mieszko II. His campaigns were to have culminated in a victory: after regaining Mazovia from Masław supported by the Pomeranians, in his next campaign Kazimierz restored Polish suzerainty over Pomerania.

The chronology of the chronicle's narration hypothetically dates these events to ca. 1048, i.e., the times of the Pomeranian *Zemuzil*, confirmed in the sources from two years before[946]. Was he baptized? The sources remain silent about this matter, but the fact that the annals mention him alongside the rulers of Poland and Bohemia as participants of the emperor's congress prompts the conclusion that he enjoyed a similar status, which in the case of an unbaptized ruler, a *de facto* barbarian, would be hard to explain. Was he formerly a member of the Piast elite, similarly as Masław? Attempts are made to trace in the inscription of his name (*Zemuzil*) the name of Siemomysł, Siemysł in short, used by the Piasts, which might support the conjecture that he was related to them[947].

We will never be able to give a definitive answer to these questions and speculations, but – interestingly – they are based on the plausible conviction that *Zemuzil* belonged to the generation of the Pomeranian elites, who – while maintaining political contacts with the Piasts – strove to gain or maintain independence. It is possible that this is what the reference in the *Annales Altahenses maiores* mentioned above was concerned with as it writes about the reconciliation on Henry III's initiative between the dukes invited to Merseburg, which was to happen after a few days, albeit in Meissen[948]. Yet this is far from certain because the annalist might have meant, e.g., merely a conflict between the rulers of Poland and Bohemia confirmed in other sources[949].

[944] Soon murdered, more about the subject see e.g., G. Labuda, *Mieszko II król Polski (1025–1034). Czasy przełomu w dziejach państwa polskiego*, Kraków 1992; B. Śliwiński, *Bezprym. Pierworodny syn pierwszego króla Polski. 986 – zima/wiosna 1032*, Kraków 2014.

[945] D. Bagi, *Pomorze i Polska…*, p. 179.

[946] See above, footnote 914.

[947] See E. Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich…*, vol. 1, p. 80 ff.

[948] See footnote 914.

[949] The dispute between them concerned the lands appropriated by Břetislav I during his invasion of Poland in 1038 (or 1039). See *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum*, ed. B. Bretholz, MGH SS NS 2, Berolini 1923 [further: Cosmas], II, 8–10.

Whatever the case, according to Gallus Anonymus, Kazimierz I the Restorer subordinated Pomerania after subjugating Mazovia. However, the Pomeranians regained their independence during the reign of Kazimierz's successor, Bolesław II the Generous, when he set off on an expedition to Bohemia[950]. In Gallus' account, his fate and attitude constitute an antithesis for the creation of the image of the protagonist, Bolesław III the Wrymouth[951], whose historic mission was the successful conquest and conversion of the Pomeranians. It is thus quite possible that the chronicler presented the fact very selectively in order to highlight the message of his work[952]. Therefore, while reading Gallus' narration, it is worthwhile to focus on the very idea of treating Pomerania as a sphere of Polish expansion, primarily in reference to the conquests attributed to Bolesław I the Brave and Bolesław III the Wrymouth, who followed in his footsteps[953].

Thus, in Gallus Anonymus' era the Pomeranians were perceived by their Christian neighbours as an entity firmly established on the scene of history, which is substantiated by other contemporary accounts, such as *The Tale of Bygone Years* in its ultimate version from ca. 1115 in Rus'[954], the Bohemian chronicle by Cosmas of Prague from the third decade of the 12th century[955], and Ekkehard of Aura's chronicle written in southern Germany[956]. It is thus a continuation of the view of Pomeranians known from the sources confirming

[950] Gall I, 22.

[951] The theme of crime and atonement is of key significance here. While Bolesław II the Generous lost the throne as a consequence of an attempt on the life of God's anointed bishop of Cracow, St. Stanisław (Stanislaus), Wrymouth spectacularly repented his misdeed against his brother Zbigniew and remained on the throne. More about this matter see e.g., Z. Dalewski, *Rytuał i polityka. Opowieść Galla Anonima o konflikcie Bolesława Krzywoustego ze Zbigniewem*, Warszawa 2005, p. 50 ff.; and also S. Rosik, *Bolesław…*, p. 137 ff.

[952] About ideological contexts of Bolesław III the Wrymouth's northern policy in Gallus Anonymus' chronicle see S. Rosik, *Bolesław…*, p. 155 ff., 165 ff.

[953] About Bolesław III the Wrymouth's expansion in Pomerania – taking into consideration Władysław Herman's activity in this area – see below, p. 337 ff.

[954] In this view the Pomeranians are one of the four Slavic peoples originating from Lendians, together with Poles, Mazovians, and Lutici, see *The Russian Primary Chronicle*..., p. 53.

[955] Cosmas III, 58. See J. Sobiesiak, *The Oldest Connections of Poland with Western Pomerania in Medieval and Modern Czech Historiography*, [in:] *Poland, Pomerania and Their Neighbours' Shaping…*, p. 314 f.

[956] *Ekkechardi Uraugiensis chronica*, ed. D.G. Waitz, [in:] MGH SS 6, Hannover 1844 [further: Ekkehard of Aura], under the year 1124 and 1125 (p. 262 ff.).

their existence in the 11th c.; they are perceived as an entity not solely due to the fact of inhabiting a specific territory but also for their common origins. This interpretation was additionally strengthened by the common use of the notion of *gens Pomeranorum* in the context of the emerging socio-cultural memory (*memoria*) of St. Otto of Bamberg's missions (in 1124–1125 and 1128) in western Pomerania during his life[957].

This view of the Pomeranians in the 11th and the first part of the 12th c. cannot have been unknown to their elites, if only because of their external contacts, though they might not have entirely approved of it. This perspective blurred the internal tribal and political divisions present in their vast territory. Gallus Anonymous' chronicle and the annals referring to the 12th c.[958] testify to the existence of multiple Pomeranian dukes residing in individual centres, i.e., local leaders. Whether and to what extent they were related to the Piasts will remain the subject of controversies and conjectures; yet the very fact of their family links with the Polish dynasty was confirmed *expressis verbis* by Gallus Anonymus[959].

His account also features an anonymous character of the "duke of the Pomeranians"[960], which supports the view that some sort of superior authority over the local leaders must have existed[961]. Yet this is hardly certain as the statement is not specific enough. Such superior ducal power is clearly seen only in St. Otto of Bamberg's hagiography, when the duchy of western Pomerania is mentioned, but this could have stemmed from the dynamics of the political transformation triggered by the intensification of Polish expansion to the Baltic during Bolesław III the Wrymouth's reign. What is important, the Pomeranian element soon became the indicator of the identity of political and ecclesiastical entities in Pomerania,

[957] Ekkehard of Aura, under the year 1124 (p. 262 f.); see S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 57 ff. See also below, p. 573 f.

[958] Credibility of these accounts from the annals can hardly be verified, yet the very fact that the oldest historiographic tradition concerned with the history of Pomerania emphasizes the phenomenon of coexistence of many Pomeranian dukes seems important.

[959] Gall II, 29, III, 26.

[960] *Ibidem*, II, 28, 39.

[961] K. Maleczyński (*Bolesław III…*, p. 133 f.), continuing his guesswork, acknowledged that not only was this duke superior to local dukes but was also the head of the dynasty related to the Piasts. Critical debate does not recognize this view as sufficiently justified, see especially J.M. Piskorski, *Pomorze…*, p. 39 ff.

which is substantiated by the titles of western-Pomeranian rulers (*dux Pomeranorum*)[962] and the description of the dioceses in their duchy as *Pomerana*[963].

The idea of Pomerania as a territorial and social entity between the Baltic Sea and Noteć river and between Lower Odra and Lower Vistula formed in the mental environment of the elite of the Piast state in the 11th c., most probably with the contribution of its members from the Baltic lands and their successors after throwing off Polish control, only to become a permanent component of the geographical notions of the 12th c. and undergo a fundamental transformation in the various social and political contexts. It transformed from an area belonging to the sphere of the *Barbaricum*, constituting a target of political-military expansion of the Christian neighbours and Christianizing missions, to an area reclaimed by subjects forming the civilizational unity of medieval Europe, identified with – and increasingly often identifying itself with – reference to the Pomeranian element.

[962] The titles known from external accounts: Gallus Anonymus' chronicle or St. Otto's hagiography are used in Pomeranian chancelleries: *Pommersches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 1: *786–1253*, part 1: *Urkunden*, ed. K. Conrad, Köln–Wien 1970 [further: PUB], e.g., no 54, 63.

[963] See below, p. 291.

3

POMERANIA – POLAND – EUROPE. IN SEARCH OF THEIR OWN PATHS

I

Pomerania within the Communicational Realm of an *Intermarium*

Aleksander Paroń

The region of Pomerania (Pomorze), both as a physical and cultural space, is usually perceived in two ways: as part of the Baltic zone and as part of the Polish interior[964], adjacent to it from the south. These are not contradictory perceptions. Quite the contrary, they seem to make the researcher aware of the strategic location of Pomerania, especially from the point of view of communication. Awareness of this fact seems long to have been present in studies on both the region's past and its relations with Poland. Even so, for a deeper insight into the nature of the changes that affected Pomerania in the early Middle Ages, the attempt to place this Baltic land in a much wider communicational space, referred to above as an *Intermarium*, seems a necessary and interesting approach. The Latin term in fact refers to a much vaster area, located between the Baltic Sea, the Black Sea, and extending as far as the Caspian Sea. The use of the Latin term instead of its Polish counterpart is intended to distinguish and detach it from the category of *Międzymorze* (the inter-sea region)[965], very popular in Polish political

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[964] G. Labuda, *Przeszłość Pomorza w syntezach historiograficznych*, [in:] *Historia Pomorza…*, vol. 1, part 1, p. 51–81; M. North, *Historia Bałtyku*, transl. A. Peszke, Warszawa 2018, p. 19–29; J. Hackmann, *Dzieje Bałtyku i jego historia pisana z wielu perspektyw: o polskim wydaniu "Historii Bałtyku" Michaela Northa*, [in:] M. North, *Historia Bałtyku…*, p. 10–18.

[965] Cf. L. Moczulski, *Narodziny Międzymorza: ukształtowanie ojczyzn, powstanie państw oraz układy geopolityczne wschodniej części Europy w późnej starożytności i we wczesnym średniowieczu*, Warszawa 2007; M.J. Chodakiewicz, *Międzymorze*, Warszawa 2016; J. Bartosiak, *Rzeczypospolita między lądem a morzem: o wojnie i pokoju*, Warszawa 2018.

thought, and obviously burdened with a number of associations hindering historical reflection on the early medieval past of Central and Eastern Europe. *Intermarium* will therefore be understood as an area consisting of the southern and south-eastern part of the Baltic Sea's drainage basin and the northern part of the Black Sea and Caspian Sea basins. Areas located south and west of the Carpathian range and the Danube valley are not within the scope of this study. Areas located west of the Odra river[966] (*Oder*, in German) are included in a much lesser extent – with the exception of the Polabian region, which had strong cultural, economic, and political ties with Pomerania.

The region delineated in this way was characterized by special values that allowed for the formation of extensive inter-communicating communities. Communication should not be understood only as the phenomenon of the movement of individuals or whole human communities in space. Although this most elementary aspect of communication is also the subject of this study, it hardly exhausts the meaning of the term; for communication also – perhaps above all – entails an extensive network of political and cultural connections and relations built up over time. Such connections, if they reach a certain degree of intensity and become organized, may or may not take the form of a system whose nature can be political *par excellence*. A state, especially a great empire, can be seen as a great communication system, whose ruler was able to develop impressive communication and transportation infrastructure to ensure lasting foundations for their dominance. In principle, every state, including early medieval ones, is an integrated hodological space. Its creation is necessary not only as a prerequisite for domination over the given territory, but also as a source of income for the ruling elite. If one accepts as true the thesis that the reign of early medieval Slavic rulers was founded more on the access to valued and desirable goods (slaves, cattle, furs, amber, expensive ores) than on the control over a specific territory[967],

[966] Adam of Bremen (2nd half of the 11th century) recognized the Odra river as the western border of the Pomeranian lands ("trans Oddaram comperimus degere Pomeranos", Adam IV, 13; cf. II, 22). At least from the mid-12th century, this river was also seen as the border line of the Roman-German Empire influence and as defensive line of the Piast state. Cf. A.F. Grabski, *Polska w opiniach obcych X–XIII w.*, Warszawa 1964, p. 130 f., 209.

[967] L. Leciejewicz, *Słowianie zachodni…*, Wodzisław Śląski ²2010, p. 157; D. Adamczyk, *Srebro i władza…*, p. 13 f., 336, 339 f. The latter scholar seems to overestimate the role of external income as a material basis of the early medieval monarchies.

then the early Slavic states should be perceived primarily as large channels of communication focused on gaining a share in the long-distance trade.

However, this is not the only form of communication able to consolidate communities, including consolidation in the strictly political sense. Symbolic and cultural communication also enable a community to last, not only by building up the community's political identity as an extension from its ruling elites with their satellite society, but also by creating opportunities for the given community to establish relations with neighbouring political communities. There are symbolic and cultural values whose range of impact exceeds the boundaries of a particular political organism. Monotheistic religions tend to be carriers of such values.

The communication potential of a particular political community is thus a result of communication in both of the meanings outlined above: as the migration of people and things, and as a shaper of social and cultural relations. In other words, it is a kind of fusion of the ability to organize and master a specific physical communicational space with the ability to adopt and creatively cultivate symbolic and cultural values that create a sense of a native community and help establish and maintain relationships with the outside world.

It is obvious that in an area as extensive as the *Intermarium*, numerous communicational communities developed, thrived, and collapsed, although towards the end of the first millennium CE it seems that the process of the division into the communicational centre of the region and its peripheries was already advanced. The concept of peripheries is not used here to indicate a lower level of development, but to refer to areas lying on the rim of the *Intermarium*, which thus might also have participated in other communicational zones.

1. *Intermarium*: natural premises for communication

The area described here stretched between the sea basins, each of which created further communicational potential: the Baltic Sea with the Nordic zone and the west of Europe; the Black and the Caspian Seas – with the Mediterranean area and the Middle East, with its civilization centres that were the world's best-developed ca. 1000 CE. The com-

munication between the seas was greatly facilitated by the systems of large rivers, mainly the Vistula, the Odra, the Dnieper, and the Volga. Their remarkably advantageous arrangement, supported by the system of portages[968], meant that the distance from the Baltic coast to the Black or Caspian Sea could be covered by a waterway. A well-known trail is the "from-the-Varangians-to-the-Greeks" trade route, connecting the Gulf of Finland with the Black Sea[969] through lakes Ladoga and Ilmen and the upper Dnieper, and then further along the river. No less important was the Volga route, which provided communication between the Nordic zone and the Caspian Sea basin as well as the Caliphate of Baghdad, the main economic centre of western Eurasia[970] from the late 8th century to the early 11th. In addition to these two communicational arteries, there were less known waterways encouraging communication both in meridian and latitudinal directions. The Black Sea and the Baltic Sea were connected by the Dnieper-Pripyat-Bug-Vistula river-route. According to written sources, an example of its use was the expedition of Yaroslav the Wise against the Mazovians, dated 1041. As indicated in the chronicles, the Ruthenian ruler "attacked them by boat"[971]. Another route connecting the Baltic Sea with the Black Sea led from the Odra estuary through the Warta river to Lake Gopło and further as far as Kiev, through the Vistula, the Bug, and the Pripyat rivers[972].

968 Ch. Westerdahl, *Boats, portages and texts. Comments on society and water transport in inland Russia during the Viking Age*, "Årbok Norsk Maritimt Muzeum" 14, 2015, p. 71–109; E. Kowalczyk, *Powracający temat:* przewłoka, "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej" 43, 1995, 3, p. 491–510. E. Siemianowska, *O przewłokach…*, p. 115–139. Portages are a phenomenon much better attested to the Rus', their occurrence in Poland, though unquestionable, seems to be much rarer.

969 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio…*, chap. 9, p. 56–63. Cf. I. Sorlin, *Voies commerciales, villes et peuplement de la Rôsia au Xe siècles d'après le De aministrando imperio de Constantin Porphyrogénète*, [in:] *Les centres proto-urbains russes entre Scandinavie, Byzance et Orient*, ed. M. Kazanski, A. Nercessian, C. Zuckerman, Paris 2000 (= Réalités Byzantines 7), p. 338–355.

970 Th.S. Noonan, *When did Rūs/Rus' merchants first visit Khazaria and Baghdad?*, "Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi" 6, 1987–1991, p. 213–219.

971 *Лаврентьевская летопись*, Полное собрание русских летописей 1, Ленинград 1926 [further: *Лаврентьевская летопись*], under the year 6549 (1041), col. 153; *The Russian Primary Chronicle…*, p. 138.

972 W. Kowalenko, *Przewłoka na szlaku żeglugowym Warta-Gopło-Wisła*, "Przegląd Zachodni" 8, 1952, 5–6, p. 46–100. E. Siemianowska (*O przewłokach…*, p. 118 f.) speaks critically about the route Warta-Gopło-Vistula, with the lake and the rivers interconnected by the Ślesińska portage and smaller waterways, the Bachorza and the Zgłowiączka rivers. On the other hand, she points to the existence of an alternative connection between the Odra and the Vistula rivers systems in the region of Bydgoszcz. Its nodal points were to be the strongholds of Bydgoszcz, Pawłówko and Nakło (*ibidem*, p. 132; W. Chudziak, P. Błędowski, *Wczesnośredniowieczny zespół osadniczy w Pawłówku – "wrota" do Pomorza Wschodniego*, [in:] *Pradoliny pomorskich rzek. Kontakty kulturowe i handlowe społeczeństw w pradziejach i wczesnym średniowieczu*, ed. M. Fudziński, W. Świętosławski, W. Chudziak, Gdańsk 2017, p. 315–326). Without rejecting her findings, it should be noted though that the existence of the Warta-Gopło-Vistula connection *via* the Ślesińska portage cannot be denied. Its destination would have been Włocławek, a town located at the fork formed by the Zgłowiączka and the Vistula rivers. The town belonged to the most important early-Piast strongholds and its communication with the centre of the monarchy must have mattered. Cf. M. Bogucki, *The Archaeological Context of the Bodzia Cemetery and the Trade Route along the Middle and the Lower Vistula during the Middle and Late Viking Period*, [in:] *Bodzia. A Late Viking-Age Elite Cemetery in the Central Poland*, ed. A. Buko, Leiden-Boston 2014, p. 9–33; R. Michałowski, *The Historical Context of the Discoveries at Bodzia*, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 34–44.

The *Intermarium* was also covered by a network of land routes. Some of the roads ran along rivers, complementing the water transport, while others crossed the rivers creating completely separate land-transport arteries. An example of such a connection was the long-distance route between the countries of Central and Western Europe and Volga Bulgaria, located at the confluence of the Volga and the Kama rivers. It ran through Kiev, to the "Cherven Grads" (either of the strongholds of Przemyśl or Cherven), then *via* Cracow and Prague to Regensburg. This route is believed to have existed already in the 9th century[973].

In the early Middle Ages, one could not overestimate the importance of communication *via* waterways[974], which even today is still cheaper than land transport. This is well illustrated by Peter Brown, who compared the significance of water transport in the reality of Late Antiquity to railway transport during the industrial period[975]. Water communication was not only much faster than land transport, especially in areas without beaten roads, but also enabled cheaper and more efficient trans-

973 This is a controversial thesis, however. Some researchers indicate that the Kiev – Kraków – Prague route became operational not until the 2nd half of the 10th century M. Jankowiak, *Two systems of trade in the Western Slavic lands in the 10th century*, [in:] *Economies, Monetisation and Society in the West Slavic Lands*, ed. M. Bogucki, M. Rębkowski, Szczecin 2013 (= Wolińskie Spotkania Mediewistyczne 2), p. 142. The traditional viewpoint: A. Назаренко, *Русь на "пути из немец в хазары" (IX-X века)*, [in:] *idem*, *Древняя Русь на международных путях. Междисциплинарные очерки культурных торговых, политических связей IX-XII веков*, Moskva 2001, p. 71–112.

974 R.S. Lopez, *The Evolution of Land Transport in the Middle Ages*, "Past and Present" 9, 1957, p. 22 f. The researcher coined the term 'fluvialisation' in reference to the early Middle Ages, suggesting the dominant role of water transport at that time.

975 P. Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity. From Marcus Aurelius to Muhammad*, London 1971, p. 12 f.

port of heavy loads. However, land transport should not be underrated, especially as according to experts in the subject, early medieval *Barbaricum* communities often used complementary routes for long-distance transport, combining land roads and waterways[976].

The above observations also seem to explain the incredible spread of Nordic ethnic groups in Eastern Europe. The presence of the Vikings/Varangians can be traced in almost every region that could be reached by water. This kind of mobility can only be compared to that of nomadic tribes on land, who in turn tended to avoid any watercourses, wandering instead in the highlands located between the river valleys of today's Ukraine. Using the upland as a natural communication channel, they easily reached areas outside their natural habitats in the steppe and forest-steppe[977]. Just as we are not surprised by the presence of artefacts of Nordic origin far from the Baltic coast, nor should we be surprised by "nomadic" findings discovered far from the steppe which surround the Black Sea[978]. Thanks to the mobility of Scandinavians and Eurasian nomads, the *Intermarium* became a communicational network. This observation particularly concerns the eastern part of this area, where the Khazars on the one hand, and the Rus' Varangians on the other, had connected the northern ends of the European continent with the Middle East and Byzantium.

Reflection on the migration of nomads brings to mind yet another phenomenon, one that additionally emphasizes the communicational valours of the *Intermarium*. Its south-eastern end was in fact a steppe belt – part of the Great Steppe, which extended from the Korean Peninsula to Pannonia. Deprived of natural obstacles, already in early antiquity it served as a great on-land communication artery dominated by nomadic peoples and their culture, one that was clearly distinguishable from that of their settled neighbours[979].

[976] Ch. Westerdahl, *The relations between land roads and sea routes in the past – some reflections*, "Deutsches Schiffahrtsarchiv" 29, 2006, p. 59–114.

[977] M. Makohonienko, *Przyrodnicze aspekty pradziejowych i wczesnohistorycznych szlaków tranzytowych bałtycko-pontyjskiej przestrzeni kulturowej*, [in:] *Między Bałtykiem a Morzem Czarnym. Szlaki międzymorza IV-I tys. przed Chr.*, ed. M. Ignaczak, A. Kośko, M. Szmyt, Poznań 2011, p. 21–60.

[978] An extensive approach to the communicative role of nomads and Vikings in an anthropological comparative context: A.B. Головнёв, *Антропология движения (древности Северной Евразии)*, Ekaterinburg 2009, p. 156–310.

[979] J.H. Bentley, *Old World Encounters. Cross-Cultural Contacts and Exchanges in Pre-Modern Times*, New York–Oxford 1993, p. 110–164.

This general characteristic of the communication assets of the *Intermarium* presents the area as particularly conducive to both regional and supra-regional communication. Its eastern part was exceptionally open to extensive and quite diverse cultural influences – a fact which could provide favourable phenomena, but could equally become a curse, especially in the case of expansion from strong external centres. Hence in wartime the *Intermarium* turned into a battlefield or a transit zone used by external powers.

2. The "Centre"

In the last centuries of the first millennium CE, the natural communication attributes of the region were supported by historical and cultural factors – primarily widespread slavicization. It is beyond my purposes to discuss in detail here the various aspects of this process, or to confront the allochthonous and autochthonous viewpoints. Suffice it to say that by the 8th century, the Slavic population had come to dominate a huge stretch of Central and Eastern Europe, reaching as far west as the Elbe and the Saale rivers and the foreland of the north-eastern Alps. Although divided due to the migration of the Magyars at the end of the 9th century, the northern part of the region, inhabited by the Western and Eastern Slavs, still remained a territorial monolith forming a communicational unity primarily in terms of language. In the 9th century, a Slav from Pomerania could easily communicate with a Slav from northern or south-eastern Russia. In the following centuries, the Slavic language community began to diverge. However, this was a very slow process. In the mid-10th century, Ibrahim ibn Yaqub claimed that the Slavic language was spoken in the lands of Germans, Hungarians, Rus', Pechenegs, and Khazars because of close contacts with the Slavs[980]. This statement should be understood as practical information for merchants that Slavic dialects were an important communication tool in Central and Eastern Europe. 13th-century Latin sources originating in Western Europe were still dominated by the belief in the existence of a pan-Slavic language community[981].

[980] Ibrahim ibn Yaqub, p. 52; D. Mishin, *Ibrahim Ibn-Ya´qub At-Turtushi's account of the Slavs from the middle of the tenth century*, [in:] *Annual of Medieval Studies at the CEU 1994-1995*, ed. M.B.L. Davis, M. Sebők, Budapest 1996, p. 190.

[981] A.F. Grabski, *Polska w opiniach obcych…*, p. 97, 107.

Naturally, the importance of this linguistic continuum should not be overestimated. It did not usually affect the political choices of Slavic leaders, otherwise the Pomeranian-Polish antagonism would never have arisen. Linguistic affinity, however, tends to open the way to broadly understood communication, while its lack usually turns out to be a step towards deep antagonism, expressed in such linguistic categories for classifying foreign communities as the Slavic term *niemtsy* ('mutes') to describe Germans, or the ancient Greek term *barbaroi* ('babblers') for barbarians[982]. The conviction of the existence of a linguistic community was often accompanied by the myth of common origin[983].

The last two centuries of the first millennium CE also brought state-creating processes that resulted in the creation of two vast monarchies within the *Intermarium* region. The role of the Piast and Rurikid dynasties in creating far-reaching connections, and thus strengthening the communicational potential of the *Intermarium*, seems indisputable. Mieszko I entered history due to his efforts to subordinate the mouth of the Odra to his power in 963[984]. The attempts of the first Piasts to gain control over the mouth of the Vistula are not well covered by the written sources, though such attempts unquestionably did take place[985]. The Rurikids were more aggressive and expansive when it came to subjecting long-distance communication routes under their power. Their activities not only created new connections, but also destroyed the old ones. With the takeover of Kiev at the end of the 9th century, they initiated a series

[982] Generally on the linguistic differences and the antagonism caused by them: A. Classen, *Multilingualism in the Middle Ages. Theoretical and Historical Reflections. An Introduction*, [in:] *Multilingualism in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age. Communication and Miscommunication in the Premodern World*, ed. A. Classen, Berlin–Boston 2016, p. 1–46.

[983] *Лаврентьевская летопись*, col. 5 f., 25 f.; *Chronica Dzirsvae*, ed. K. Pawłowski, MPH SN 15, Kraków 2013, p. 2; *Chronica Poloniae Maioris*, ed. B. Kürbis, MPH SN 8, Warszawa 1970, p. 4.

[984] Widukind III, 66. Cf. G. Labuda, *Dzieje polityczne (VI-XII wiek); ekspansja państwa polskiego na Pomorze (X–XII wiek)*, [in:] *Historia Pomorza…*, vol. 1, part 1, p. 309.

[985] The earliest hagiography of St. Adalbert seems to indicate a permanent presence of the Piasts on the lower Vistula. Gdańsk (*urbs Gyddanyzc*) was mentioned there as a place on the edge of the Piast lands; Vita Adalberti I, chap. 27. Cf. G. Labuda, *Dzieje polityczne (VI–XII wiek)*, p. 307 f. (marks the beginning of the Piast expansion in this region in the mid-10th century); J. Powierski, B. Śliwiński, K. Bruski, *Studia…*, p. 7 f. (in the initial period of Mieszko's rule, all Pomerania was to be included within the Piast domain); M. Bogucki, *The Archaeological Context of the Bodzia Cemetery…*, p. 22 f. (the researcher presumes that it was the rise of Gdańsk that caused the collapse of the Old Prussian trading post at Truso).

of expeditions aimed mainly at strengthening communication on the route from the Varangians to the Greeks[986]. In the first half of the 10th century they were also very active on the Volga route. The Rus' expeditions, however, aroused the distrust of the Khazars, who tried either to block their plundering raids, or to redirect them towards the Black Sea and Byzantium – for example, during the famous raid by Oleg and Igor in 941[987]. Ultimately, Sviatoslav Igorevich destroyed the Khazar Khaganate (965)[988] and at least partially took over its trade connections, mainly in the Black Sea zone. This was facilitated by the capture of Tmutarakan (probably at the end of the 10th century) and Oleshe on the lower Dnieper[989]. Both centres facilitated Kiev's communication with the Black Sea zone by shortening the distance across the steppe. The Piasts and Rurikids also sought to gain control over long-distance latitudinal routes. This is evidenced by their competition for the border territory of the so called Cherven Grads[990]. Evidence of this is also found in the unsuccessful attempt of Vladimir the Great to take over the capital of the Volga Bulgars in the 980s [991].

Thus the expansion of both dynasties contributed to the integration of the *Intermarium* regions into more extensive communicational systems. Control over these systems, especially in the early stages of the history of both countries, was of fundamental importance as a source for the influx of goods and precious metals that were indispensable for consolidating the dominance of the Piasts and the Rurikids dynasties over their lands. Concentration on obtain-

[986] *Лаврентьевская летопись*, under the year 6375 (866), col. 21; under the year 6415 (907), col. 29–32; under the year 6420 (912), col. 32–38; under the year 6452 (944), col. 45 f.; under the year 6453 (945), col. 46–54. Cf. W. Duczko, *Viking Rus…*, p. 202–252; S. Franklin, J. Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus' 750-1200*, London–New York 1996, p. 91–138.

[987] *Лаврентьевская летопись*, under the year 6449 (941), col. 44 f.; N. Golb, O. Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew documents of the tenth centaury*, Ithaca–London 1982, p. 114–121. Cf. C. Zuckerman, *On the Date of the Khazars' Conversion to Judaism and the Chronology of the Kings of Rus Oleg and Igor. A Study of the Anonymus Khazar Letter from the Genizah of Cairo*, "Revue des Etudes Byzantines" 53, 1995, p. 256–268.

[988] *Лаврентьевская летопись*, under the year 6473 (965), col. 65.

[989] A. Paroń, *Pieczyngowie. Koczownicy w krajobrazie politycznym i kulturowym średniowiecznej Europy*, Wrocław 2015, p. 345.

[990] *Лаврентьевская летопись*, under the year 6489 (981), col. 81 f. Cf. A. Jusupović, *"Cherven' i iny grady" or "gorody Cherven'skyia"? History of the Domain of Cherven' in the Written Record (10th-13th Centuries)*, [in:] *From Cherven' Towns to Curzon Line*, vol. 1, ed. M. Wołoszyn, Kraków 2017, p. 31–58.

[991] *Лаврентьевская летопись*, under the year 6493 (985), col. 84.

ing income from long-distance trade and the crude – if not rapacious – exploitation of their own people after a series of 11th-century crises, had to be replaced by more sophisticated forms of using own resources[992]. Long-distance trade did not collapse, yet its importance slightly decreased. Being cut from the supply of Arabian silver meant for the Rus' a long-lasting period of using various forms of 'primitive' money (mainly fur money) as the basic means of exchange in minor transactions. The Rurikids, except for Vladimir the Great and Yaroslav the Wise, did not mint native coins until the 14th century[993]. Whereas in Poland, thanks to the inflow of German silver and the increasing exploitation of domestic deposits, the "white metal" remained the basis for trade transactions, and this paved the way towards monetization of economic relations[994]. Therefore, the two countries eventually adopted slightly different models of economic development. The Piast monarchy followed the patterns typical of post-Carolingian European countries, while the Rurikid principality and duchies, especially when it came to the organization of goods exchange and payments, resembled other peripheral countries of the Byzantine Commonwealth[995].

This situation by no means put a stop to the economic relations between the two countries. The relative limitation of the role of far-distance trade as a source of income for the rulers and the elites surrounding them was by no means connected with the fall of communication. On the contrary, the communication seems to have intensified, except that alongside the long-range routes, the economic importance of local connections increased. The expansion of route networks and

[992] An attempt to characterize the phenomena leading to the crises that affected the early Central and Eastern European monarchies: A. Pleszczyński, *Kryzys i upadek wczesnych państw słowiańskich oraz ich odbudowa (IX–XI wiek). Zarys problemu*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" 125, 2018, 2, p. 263–302.

[993] J. Adamczyk, *Płacidła w Europie Środkowej i Wschodniej w średniowieczu. Formy, funkcjonowanie, ewolucja*, Warszawa 2004, p. 154–172; *idem*, *Fur money – a by-product of the inflow of Arabic silver*, [in:] *Economies…*, p. 159–167.

[994] P. Boroń, *Where did the Piasts take silver from? The research on metallurgy and mining centre on the border of Silesia and Lesser Poland in the early Middle Ages,* [in:] *Economies*, p. 209–221; D. Adamczyk, *Srebro i władza…*, p. 265, 284 f., 314–319, 326. From the 2nd half of the 11th century, the Piasts started minting their own coins for good.

[995] The rulers of some medieval states did not issue their own coins for a long time, e.g., in Bulgaria – not until the 13th century, and in Serbia – not until the 14th century. Cf. S. Suchodolski, *Początki mennictwa w Europie Środkowej, Wschodniej i Północnej*, Wrocław 1971, p. 228, 231.

control over road infrastructure was in the interest of the monarchs, who derived considerable revenues from customs and other toll charges – just as from the development of local trade carried out at trade fairs controlled by the rulers[996].

The communicational potential of the *Intermarium* was also strengthened by the Christianization of both monarchies, although it opened their elites to the impacts of two different versions of Christian civilization. The strong antagonism growing between Rome and Byzantium in the era of the crusades, however, should not be directly related to the Polish-Rus' territories far away from Constantinople. Although it is true that this antagonism was noticeable starting from the 12th century also in texts created in Polish and Rus' ecclesiastical environments[997], one still should be aware of the fact that we are often dealing with a secondary antagonism – a consequence of certain scholarly clerical circles adopting the tendencies of the major

[996] There were ca. 250 markets in Poland in the late 12th century. Estimating their numbers in Rus' seems much more difficult because trading posts functioned not only at strongholds, but also in the villages (N. Makarov, *Rural settlement and trade networks in northern Russia, AD 900-1250*, [in:] *Byzantine Trade 4th-12th centuries. The Archaeology of local, regional and international exchange*, ed. M.M. Mango, Farnham–Burlington 2009, p. 443–461). Cf. P. Guzowski, *Karolińska rewolucja gospodarcza na wschodzie Europy (do końca XII wieku)*, [in:] *Granica wschodnia cywilizacji zachodniej w średniowieczu*, ed. Z. Dalewski, Warszawa 2014, p. 161–164.

[997] The most glaring testimony of this kind of antagonism seems to be the letter to Bernard of Clairvaux, written in the 1140s by Mateusz, the bishop of Cracow, and Peter Wlast, a Polish noble; *Codex diplomaticus Silesiae…*, vol. 1, no. 17, p. 43–46. However, the meaning of this document is highly ambiguous. Although we will find there passages proving Rus' was perceived as a separate and foreign land, it seems doubtful that the authors would deem it necessary to re-Christianize the land. On the most likely motives for writing this letter: M. Dygo, *A Letter from Matthew, A Bishop of Cracow, to Bernard of Clairvaux "On the Conversion of Russians" (1145?)*, [in:] *Rome, Constantinople and Newly-Converted Europe. Archaeological and Historical Evidences*, ed. M. Salamon *et al.*, vol. 1, Kraków 2012, p. 203–213. At about the same time (mid-12th century), a controversial polemic *On the Christian and Latin Faith* was created in Rus', addressed to Grand Prince Iziaslav II Mstislavich, who ruled in Kiev in the years 1146–1154. What is peculiar, the authorship of this work is attributed to Theodosius, the ihumen of the Kiev Monastery of the Caves. Cf. F. Sielicki, *Polskie i ruskie stosunki wyznaniowe w XI i XII wieku*, [in:] *Dzieło chrystianizacji Rusi Kijowskiej i jego konsekwencje w kulturze Europy*, ed. R. Łużny, Lublin 1988, p. 39–41. The Polish-Rus' antagonism also appears in the *Polish Chronicle* by bishop Vincent Kadłubek. What is striking, however, is that the chronicler never describes the Rus' people as infidels, although he sometimes mentions their peculiar relations with pagans (Iatvingians, Cumans). Cf. J. Powierski, *Ruś w opiniach najwcześniejszych kronikarzy polskich*, [in:] *Polacy o Ukraińcach, Ukraińcy o Polakach*, ed. T. Stegner, Gdańsk 1993, p. 41–49.

metropolises of the Christian world: Rome and Constantinople. It is also doubtful whether the moods prevailing among the clergy were shared by the rest of the Rus' or Polish elites. Political pragmatism often made the rulers resistant to clerical incitement. Contrary to Church recommendations, marriages were concluded between the Rurikids and the Piasts. In the 11th and 12th centuries, 14 such marriages were concluded, making it the most common type of matrimony of the early Piasts[998]. The importance of this type of matrimonial exchange for intercultural communication is enormous. It is enough to note that a spouse's arrival into a foreign country entailed a kind of medium through which a multifaceted and diverse transmission of the foreign culture could take place, and be received primarily by local elites[999].

In the context of political cooperation, it is also worth recalling the Old Rus' custom of confirming political arrangements, which included the allied princes having to kiss the crucifix[1000]. This custom was also practiced in relations with Polish rulers. Written sources

[998] D. Dąbrowski, *Piasten und Rjurikiden vom 11. bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts*, [in:] *Fernhändler, Dynasten, Kleriker. Die piastische Herrschaft in kontinentalen Beziehungsgeflechten vom 10. bis zum frühen 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. D. Adamczyk, N. Kersken, Wiesbaden 2015 (= Deutsches Historisches Institut Warschau. Quellen und Studien 30), p. 155–157. Equally often, the Piasts concluded their inter-dynastic marriages only with German noble houses. Cf. K. Jasiński, *Powiązania genealogiczne Piastów (małżeństwa piastowskie)*, [in:] *Piastowie w dziejach Polski. Zbiór artykułów z okazji trzechsetletniej rocznicy wygaśnięcia dynastii Piastów*, ed. R. Heck, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1975, p. 138.

[999] An example of such achievements are those of Gertrude-Olislava, sister of Casimir I the Restorer and wife of the Grand Prince of Kiev, Iziaslav Yaroslavich. Her achievements clearly show that in the case of early medieval monarchies of Central and Eastern Europe, there was no denominational border between Eastern and Western Christianity. Around 1055, Gertrude founded in Kiev a female monastery of St. Nicholas, whose patronage clearly refers to the traditions of the Rhineland Ezzonen dynasty, the native house of Richeza of Lotharingia, Gertrude's mother. Cf. A. Poppe, *Gertruda-Olisława, regina Russorum. Materiały do życiorysu*, [in:] *Scriptura custos memorie. Prace historyczne*, ed. D. Zydorek, Poznań 2001, p. 575–591; G. Pac, *Kult świętych a problem granicy między chrześcijaństwem zachodnim i wschodnim w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej X–XII wieku*, [in:] *Granica wschodnia cywilizacji zachodniej w średniowieczu…*, p. 381–386.

[1000] This custom is usually derived from the early Christian liturgical *ritus pacis*, known both in the Eastern and Western Church, whose integral part was the so-called kiss of peace (*osculum pacis, φίημα εἰρήνης*). As a tool for confirming political arrangements, however, it was known mainly in Rus', despite the reluctant attitude of the Orthodox Church towards this rite. П.С. Стефанович, *Крестоцелование и отношение к нему церкви в Древней Руси*, "Средневековая Русь" 5, 2004, p. 86–113; J. Komendová, *Ritual in Intercultural Communication in Medieval Eastern Europe*, [in:] *Process of Cultural Exchange in Central Europe, 1200-1800*, ed. V. Čapská, Opava 2014, p. 333–338.

report at least two such cases in the years 1145 and 1262[1001]. They seem to prove that the Christian religion was a factor that facilitated communication in Polish-Rus' relations, despite the ritual differences.

Thanks to the church's extensive organization, Christianity was also a tool for the integration of vast territories. A distinct ecclesiastical province together with its centre in the form of one of the Christian metropolises helped ensure unity and advanced the independence of both eastern and western medieval monarchies. On the other hand, the Gospel message, whose main carrier and propagator was the clergy, allowed an earthly community *par excellance*, including the monarch and his subjects, to create a transcendent community, whose salvation was the ruler's responsibility before God. The Christian Church, therefore, greatly valued the ruler, but also emphasized the importance of his relationship with the people and his special responsibility for them. The church organization, especially if it had the character of a separate metropolis, turned early medieval monarchies into strongly integrated communicational communities, both in the down-to-earth, political dimension, as well as in the symbolical sense. It became a symbol of their unity especially during periods of political defragmentation, or regional partition. Thus, the Piasts and the Rurikids, as well as other medieval dynasties, tried their best to protect the integrity and independence of their metropolises[1002].

[1001] *Ипатьевская летопись*, Полное собрание русских летописей 2, Санкт-Петербург 1908, under the year 6653 (1145), col. 318; under the year 6670 (1262), col. 858. The practice of *krestocelovanie* – or crucifix kissing – while confirming the arrangements between Polish and Rus' princes could have been much more frequent. Some researchers assume that Gallus Anonymus was the first to mention this custom while describing the famous kiss of peace that was to be given to Iziaslav by Bolesław II the Bold in Kiev; Gall I, 23. Cf. N. Mika, *"Крестьное целование" – geneza i praktyka stosowania przez władców ruskich, polskich i węgierskich (do końca XII wieku)*, [in:] *Ruś a kraje kultury łacińskiej*, ed. V. Nagirnyy, Kraków 2016 (= Colloquia Russica, Seria 1, 6), p. 119–121. Some Polish-Rus' settlements could have been confirmed by crucifix kissing, but this fact was not mentioned in the sources. In 1229, Conrad of Mazovia and the Romanovich Princes, Daniel and Vasilko, "created an oath among themselves" that in the event of a conflict they would not abduct each other's subjects. It seems that the confirmation of such a "pledge" through the rite of crucifix-kissing seems very likely. *Chronica Galiciano-Voliniana (Chronica Romanoviciana)*, ed. D. Dąbrowski, A. Jusupović, MPH SN 16, Kraków 2017, p. 141.

[1002] A. Poppe, *The Christianization and Ecclesiastical Structure of Kyivan Rus' to 1300*, "Harvard Ukrainian Studies" 21, 1997, 3/4, p. 349–361; J. Kłoczowski, *Nowe chrześcijaństwo świata zachodniego. Chrystianizacja Słowian, Skandynawów i Węgrów między IX a XI wiekiem*, [in:] *Historia chrześcijaństwa*, vol. 4: *Biskupi, mnisi i cesarze 610–1054*, ed. G. Dagron, P. Riché, A. Vauchez, Warszawa 1999, p. 705–727; *idem*, *"Nowe chrześcijaństwo" w XII wieku: od Skandynawii po Bałkany*, [in:] *Historia chrześcijaństwa*, vol. 5: *Ekspansja Kościoła rzymskiego 1054–1274*, ed. A. Vauchez, Warszawa 2001, p. 267–275.

The message of the Christian religion has a universal dimension, therefore it is theoretically addressed to every individual. This great potential for inclusion in the era of the monarchist churches was somewhat weakened by the fact that the boundaries of an archbishop's see could be the state's borders, as well. In the case of the Polish-Rus' borderland, there was also the above-mentioned problem of the clash between two religious traditions – both Christian, but clearly distinct. These differences, as I tried to demonstrate above, did not have to become a source of inevitable antagonism. Usually, a long-term peaceful neighbourhood encouraged friendly tolerance. It seems that until the end of the 12th century, even the missionary activities of the Latin clergy could rely on the support and kindness of Rus' princes, if aimed at converting pagans, and not Eastern-Rite Christians[1003]. It is only the 13th century that brought about a distinctive change[1004].

3. The "Peripheries"

In the early Middle Ages, the *Intermarium* clearly had a great communicational potential resulting from its geographical, as well as historical and cultural premises. However, this potential was impeded by certain factors that should also be considered. It is easy to notice that there were peripheral areas within the *Intermarium* region, inhabited as it was by communities which strongly emphasized their dis-

[1003] Both Christian Churches followed slightly different strategies of Christianization. It seems that the Western Church was more active and practiced a more radical formula of *missio ad gentes*. Latin missions that entered the sphere of political influence of the Rurikid rulers, could count on their support for a long time. Apart from the famous mission to Pechenegs by Bruno of Querfurt (1008), worth recalling is the mission of Meinhard, a canon regular from Segeberg (northern Old Saxony), who in 1184 received the permission of Vladimir, Prince of Polotsk to convert Livonians, his subjects. Meinhard managed to build a church in Ikšķile (Ykescola) and become its bishop. In 1212, Albert, the successor of the first bishop of Livonians, was called by the same Prince of Polotsk to end his mission. Vladimir's decision can be explained by his indifferent attitude to the issue of the conversion of pagans (as related by Henry of Livonia; see W. Brojer, *Polska – Ruś w XI–XII wieku. Granica misyjności*, [in:] *Granica wschodnia cywilizacji zachodniej w średniowieczu…*, p. 339), however, it is also necessary to point out to the likely fears of the Rus' prince that along with the Latin version of Christianity, also foreign political influences would take root among Livonians. *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. L. Arbusow, A. Bauer, MGH SSrerGerm 31, Hannover 1955, I, 1, p. 2; XVI, 2, p. 103.

[1004] Б.Н. Флоря, *У истоков религиозного раскола славянского мира (XIII век)*, Sankt-Peterburg 2004, *passim*, particularly, p. 174–212.

tinctiveness and showed separatist tendencies towards the monarchies established in the Central and Eastern European lowlands. At the northern edge of the *Intermarium*, independence was long maintained by the Pomeranian "tribes", next to the Balts and Ugro-Finns, of which only some were to be finally conquered in the 13th century by the German element, represented mainly by the Teutonic order[1005].

Their otherness was favoured by the relative isolation of Pomerania from the south. What hampered communication there was the swampy valley of the lower Warta river and its tributary, the Noteć, constituting part of the Toruń-Eberswalde ancient meltwater valley, together with the vast expanses of primeval forest on both its sides[1006]. Further to the north of these latitudinal rivers stretched the hilly ranges of the ground moraine (the Southern Pomeranian Lake District) and the terminal moraine (the West Pomeranian Lake District)[1007]. Finally, another factor that additionally hindered communication between Pomerania and the Greater Poland interior was the watershed along the terminal moraine, separating the rivers that empty directly into the Baltic Sea from the drainage basins of the Odra and the Vistula[1008]. On the one hand, this condition favoured the inclusion of the coastal areas into the Baltic communication zone, but on the other, it simulta-

[1005] J. Powierski, *Stosunki polsko-pruskie do 1230 r. (ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem roli Pomorza Gdańskiego)*, Toruń 1968 (= Roczniki Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu 74/1); *idem*, *Czynniki warunkujące rozwój polityczny ludów zachodniobałtyjskich*, [in:] *idem*, *Prussica. Artykuły wybrane z lat 1965–1995*, vol. 1, Malbork 2004, p. 399–454; *idem*, *Bałtowie i ich relacje z Polską do końca XII wieku (na tle stosunków w strefie bałtyckiej)*, [in:] *idem*, *Prussica…*, vol. 2, Malbork 2005, p. 599–640; D.A.[dam] Sikorski, *Instytucje władzy u Prusów w średniowieczu (na tle struktury społecznej i terytorialnej)*, Olsztyn 2010; W. Długokęcki, *Instytucja wodzostwa u Prusów w XIII wieku*, [in:] *Instytucja "wczesnego państwa" w perspektywie wielości i różnorodności kultur*, ed. J. Banaszkiewicz, M. Kara, H. Mamzer, Poznań 2013, p. 355–387.

[1006] The Noteć Forest was still referred to as *silva magna* in the 13th century (cf. *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, vol. 2, ed. I. Zakrzewski, Poznań–Warszawa 1878, no. 745). In the hagiography of St. Otto of Bamberg, the dense forests north of the Noteć river were described as vast, frightening, desolated backwoods; Vita Prieflingensis III, 1 ("horrenda heremi vastitas"); Ebo II, 4 ("desertum magnum"); Herbord II, 10 ("nemus horrendum et vastum"). Cf. K. Górska-Gołaska, *Puszcza Notecka*, [in:] *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny województwa poznańskiego w średniowieczu*, vol. 3/2, ed. A. Gąsiorowski, Poznań 1995, p. 299; Z. Wielgosz, *Pogranicze wielkopolsko-zachodniopomorskie we wczesnym średniowieczu. Krajobraz naturalny i struktury osadnicze*, Poznań 2006, p. 79–107; A.M. Wyrwa, *Czynniki związane z procesem formowania się grodów…*, p. 281–286.

[1007] Z. Wielgosz, *Pogranicze wielkopolsko-zachodniopomorskie…*, p. 61–72.

[1008] W. Chudziak, E. Siemianowska, *Z badań nad systemem komunikacji we wczesnym średniowieczu*, [in:] *Pradoliny…*, p. 293 (fig. 2).

neously fostered the relative separation of Pomerania from the interior. However, this was not a case of complete isolation, since the early medieval archaeological material originating from sites located in the Warta-Noteć Valley and in northern Greater Poland shows noticeable Pomeranian and North-Polabian influences[1009]. Therefore, contacts between the Baltic coastal regions and the interior must have existed before the period of the Piast expansion.

Archaeological findings from the 2nd half of the 10th century indicate the aspirations of the rulers in Gniezno to connect their area with the Baltic Sea. At that very time, at least two extremely important "gateway cities" were captured and probably rebuilt by the Piasts: Santok and Ujście. Both were situated on the Noteć river: the former, where the Noteć flows into the Warta, the latter – at the mouth of the Gwda river to the Noteć. Due to its location, Santok was particularly important as it opened the possibility of expansion towards the lower Odra, and also "bolted" the communication from the West to the East, along the lower Warta and the Noteć[1010]. Ujście, situated eastward, allowed the control of a section of the Noteć waterway, but above all it opened the path for northbound expansion, up the Gwda river, which runs only 1.5 km from a streamlet connected with the Parsęta river, flowing directly into the Baltic Sea[1011].

The Parsęta river had acted as an axis attracting settlements since the 9th century. Two important strongholds lay in its valley: Białogard and Kołobrzeg. The latter, located near the mouth of the Parsęta on the Baltic Sea, in addition to its valuable salt evaporation ponds, had been subordinated to the Piasts already in the last quarter of the 10th century[1012]. The Piasts were probably also inter-connected with cen-

1009 L. Leciejewicz, *Słowianie zachodni…*, p. 57. The researcher states that in the early Middle Ages (8th–9th centuries) the inhabitants of the lowlands of Greater Poland were not culturally uniform. The north referred more to the region on the Baltic coast, the south was more inclined towards Silesia and Lesser Poland. Cf. Z Kurnatowska, *Początki i rozwój państwa*, [in:] *Pradzieje Wielkopolski. Od epoki kamienia do średniowiecza*, ed. M. Kobusiewicz, Poznań 2008, p. 305–309; M. Kara, *Najstarsze państwo Piastów – rezultat przełomu czy kontynuacji? Studium archeologiczne*, Poznań 2009, p. 155–201 (particularly 169–170).

1010 A.M. Wyrwa, *Czynniki związane z procesem formowania się grodów…*, p. 286 ff., 293; K. Zamelska-Monczak, *Santok – "klucz i strażnica królestwa"…*, p. 213 f.

1011 L. Leciejewicz, *Rola mniejszych rzek w dziejach dawnych społeczeństw na przykładzie Parsęty*, [in:] *Rzeki: kultura – cywilizacja – historia*, vol. 1, Katowice 1992, p. 123, 128 f.; A.M. Wyrwa, *Czynniki związane z procesem formowania się grodów…*, p. 291.

1012 L. Leciejewicz, *Rola…*, p. 133 f.; *idem*, *Kołobrzeg – wczesne miasto na pomorskim wybrzeżu Bałtyku*, [in:] *Salsa Cholbergiensis. Kołobrzeg w średniowieczu…*, p. 75 f.

tral Pomerania through the Żółte settlement, located in the area of the Lake Zarańskie and the Stara Rega river. It consisted of a lake island, of symbolic and cultic significance, separated from the mainland by a narrow strip of water, and a stronghold located on a peninsula. The settlement complex is believed to have existed already in the 9th century. Contemporary researchers believe it acted as a centre for a larger territorial community (mesoregion), but also a border point, located on the watershed between the Rega (flowing directly into the Baltic Sea) and the Drawa, a southbound right tributary of the Noteć river. The distance between the rising areas of these rivers was very small, not exceeding several hundred meters, which leads to the supposition that both watercourses could have been connected by a portage[1013]. If so, it would have been part of the water-land route infrastructure that communicated the towns of Kamień Pomorski and Kołobrzeg with Greater Poland through the centres in Drezdenko and Wieleń on the Noteć river. Besides the waterway, there was probably a land-based communication variant that led through the settlement of Drawsko Pomorskie and Lubieszew towards Wieleń and Ujście. At the end of the 10th century, the settlement in Żółte was subordinated to the stronghold in Nętno, located on the island on Lake Gągnowskie. The creation of the latter of these centres, dated to mid-10th century, is usually associated with the Pomeranian expansion of the Piasts[1014].

Based on archaeological findings, supported by written sources, we can therefore conclude that Mieszko I managed to settle not only on the lower Vistula, but also on the Parsęta and Rega, in the region of central Pomerania. The first Piasts managed to control the area around the mouth of the Parsęta, which is also confirmed by the establishment in the year 1000 of the bishopric in Kołobrzeg, associated with the Gniezno metropolis[1015]. We are not sure, however, whether the Polish rulers managed to capture the centres on the lower Odra.

1013 W. Chudziak, E. Siemianowska, *Żółte settlement centre against the Pomeranian background*, [in:] *The Island in Żółte on Lake Zarańskie: early medieval gateway into West Pomerania*, ed. W. Chudziak, R. Kaźmierczak, Toruń-Szczecin 2014, p. 425–430, 434–439; W. Chudziak, R. Kaźmierczak, *Wyspa w Żółtym na Jeziorze Zarańskim w okresie wczesnego średniowiecza – "brama" do Pomorza Zachodniego*, [in:] *Pradoliny…*, p. 327–331.

1014 W. Chudziak, E. Siemianowska, *Żółte Settlement…*, p. 432; W. Chudziak, R. Kaźmierczak, *Wyspa w Żółtym…*, p. 331–334.

1015 Thietmar IV, 45, VII, 72. Cf. L. Leciejewicz, *Kołobrzeg…*, p. 76 f.; S. Rosik, *Reinbern…*, p. 85–93.

Their rule over the island of Wolin, powerful especially in the 10th and 11th centuries, seems particularly doubtful[1016]. It is also relevant that the starting point for the northern predominance of the Piasts was the strip of land on the lower Warta and the Noteć. For the period of interest here (the turn of the 10th and 11th centuries) it seems less than apt to call it a *limes*[1017]. This term would suggest a clear separation of the Greater Poland interior from Pomerania. At the beginning of the Piast monarchy, the ancient valley of the lower Warta and the Noteć river was not yet an area of fierce Polish-Pomeranian fights. However, the dominance of the Gniezno monarchs in this region seems evident. They held in their hands all the communication centres located along the Noteć – in addition to the most important ones, the already mentioned Santok and Ujście, also Drzeń, Wieleń, Czarnków and Nakło[1018]. Although some of them were later taken over by the Pomeranians[1019], probably during the crisis of the Piast monarchy, this does not change the fact that initially the Noteć strong-

[1016] Cautiously on this question: L. Leciejewicz, *Początki nadmorskich miast…*, p. 267; *idem*, *Wolin*, [in:] SSS, vol. 6, ed. G. Labuda, Z. Stieber, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1977, p. 561–564. Skeptically on the Piast presence at the Odra estuary: J.M. Piskorski, *Pomorze…*, p. 73–77.

[1017] Cf. A.M. Wyrwa, *Czynniki związane z procesem formowania się grodów…*, *passim*, particularly p. 285–288.

[1018] Santok and Ujście were the earliest created strongholds. By the dendrological method, they are dated to ca. the 970s. Other similar settlements are generally dated to the so-called Phase D of the early Middle Ages (around 950-1050), but generally not later than the first decades of the 11th century. Cf. Z. Kurnatowska, *Wielkopolska w X wieku…*, p. 99–117; A.M. Wyrwa, *Czynniki związane z procesem formowania się grodów…*, p. 294 f.; *idem*, *Wczesnośredniowieczny gród w Wieleniu w systemie grodów nadnoteckich*, [in:] *Z najdawniejszych dziejów ziemi wieleńskiej. Materiały z konferencji, Wieleń 22 luty 2002*, ed. P. Waśko, K. Heppner, H. Machajewski, Wieleń 2002, p. 168, 177.

[1019] Of all the strongholds on the Noteć river, Nakło, Czarnków, Wieleń, and Ujście were certainly in the hands of Pomeranians. According to Gallus Anonymus, at the beginning of the 12th century, Bolesław III the Wrymouth had to reconquer them (Gall II, 44, 47, 48, III, 1). Cf. E. Rymar, *Fragmenty najdawniejszych dziejów Santoka*, [in:] *Santok – początki grodu*, ed. D. Rymar *et al.*, Gorzów Wlkp 1995, p. 66 f.; A.M. Wyrwa, *Czynniki związane z procesem formowania się grodów…*, p. 296 f.; *idem*, *Wczesnośredniowieczny gród w Wieleniu…*, p. 176 f. (Both researchers assume that in the period between the crisis of the Piast monarchy and the conquest of Bolesław III the Wrymouth, all strongholds on the Noteć river were in Pomeranian hands). The case of Santok is more complicated, as we know that before 1102 it was attacked several times by Pomeranians, probably unsuccessfully. Of course, it cannot be ruled out that during the crisis of the Piast monarchy the stronghold was lost and then relatively quickly recovered. Cf. A. Paroń, *Dzieje Santoka w świetle źródeł pisanych*, [in:] *Santok. Strażnica…*, p. 47 f. Due to the lack of reference in written sources, it is difficult to conclude about the history of the Drzeń stronghold.

holds were tools for Piast expansion, rather than a barrier separating the Piast state from their northern neighbours.

However, for a long time the reign of the first Polish rulers over the Baltic coast was ephemeral and limited to a few important nodal points and gateway centres located in the vicinity of rivers. After a period of successful expansion in the 2nd half of the 10th century and the beginning of the 11th, a period of regression followed that restored independence to Pomerania[1020]. In the case of the local communities, regaining their independence can be explained not only by their relative isolation from the central Polish interior, which undoubtedly hindered the expansion of the Piasts, though it did not render it impossible; neither did it determine a sense of separateness among the inhabitants of Pomerania. What was of particular importance, however, was the early inclusion of these communities in the long-distance communicational network – much earlier than in the case of the inhabitants of the Polish interior. This fact also preceded the political unification of Pomerania, which meant that trade, one of the main sources of wealth in early medieval Central and Eastern Europe, had not been controlled there by one political centre[1021].

It seems that the opposite was true of the Piast and Rurikid monarchies, whose rulers, as demonstrated above, sought to take over strategic points of road infrastructure and to monopolize trade, thus including their realms into the network of long-distance contacts. This fact also resulted in the formation of two separate economic models. In the interior, trade was controlled by the monarch through a traditional and autarkical internal economic sector, which generated tributes and provided obligatory services, the recipient of which was the prince and his early state apparatus (the court, the armed retinue,

[1020] L. Leciejewicz, *U źródeł konfliktu Pomorzan z państwem Piastów w X–XI wieku*, "Archaeologia Historica Polona" 8, 2000, p. 39 f.

[1021] W. Łosiński, *Miejsce Pomorza i Wielkopolski…*, p. 166–172; *idem*, *Pomorze – bardziej słowiańskie czy bardziej "bałtyckie"?*, [in:] *idem*, *Pomorze Zachodnie we wczesnym średniowieczu. Studia archeologiczne*, Poznań 2008 (= Collectio archaeologica, historica et ethnologica 3), p. 133; D. Adamczyk, *Fernhandelsemporien, Herrschaftszentren, Regional- und Lokalmärkte: Die ökonomischen Funktionen von Silber oder: Wie lässt sich der Grad der Monetarisierung in den frühmittelalterlichen Gesellschaften des Ostseeraums "messen"?*, [in:] *Economies…*, p. 122–127. The earlier inclusion of Pomerania into the network of long-distance trade is demonstrated by the influx of Arabian silver, earlier there than in the case of Greater Poland. In coastal areas it is said to have appeared as early as the beginning of the 9th century, while in the Greater Poland interior – not until the 930s.

and an embryo of the monarchical Church). In Pomerania, at least initially richer, though politically divided, participation in long-distance trade was much more common, which resulted in the creation of local markets, which connected the early towns with long-distance trade[1022]. It is difficult to say whether, as Władysław Łosiński would put it, these early towns were also the capitals of tribal territories; but the fact remains that the largest of them adopted a socio-political organization which some researchers, primarily Lech Leciejewicz, describe as "urban republics"[1023]. This expression, even if it sounds exotic for the Western Slavic reality, seems to well reflect the nature of these Pomeranian communities, ones deprived of strong central power and centred around the early town-emporia, dominated by rich elites involved in long-distance trade and robbery. Their most powerful representatives sometimes also owned extensive land estates and enjoyed a large clientele. Despite considerable social and material capital, Pomeranian *primates* were not able to take full control over Pomeranian towns. In the largest of them (Wolin, Szczecin) still in the 1st half of the 12th century, as described in the hagiography of St. Otto of Bamberg, a significant role was played by public councils consisting of all free residents of the town and surrounding villages. These were certainly not merely occasions to proclaim the decisions already taken by the richer and more influential minority and announce them to the majority[1024].

In external relations, the most powerful of Pomeranian towns enjoyed complete independence for a long time. The most representative is the case of Wolin. According to Ibrahim ibn Yaqub, "the mighty city by the ocean" was not subordinated to any authority[1025]. In the early 11th century, Thietmar also described Wolin (*civitas magna Livilni*) as a completely independent political centre [1026]. In the 1st half of the 12th century, when the times of the town's greatest splendour were over, Ebo called it *urbs magna Iulin* and placed it a on par with Szczecin[1027]. Herbord, another biographer of Bishop Otto of Bamberg, described the latter stronghold thus: *civitatem antiquissimam et nobilissimam in terra Pomeranorum*, as well as *matrem civitatum*[1028]. These words, especially those of Herbord, seem clearly to indicate that Szczecin, just as Wolin had earlier, acted as a pattern-creating centre for other Pomeranian settlement centres[1029]. Indeed, the model of both Pomeranian emporia, each of which formed a wealthy and independent community, must have seemed attractive and worth imitating.

The distinctiveness of Pomeranian towns, if not their particularism, also strengthened their persistence in pagan worship. Despite the existence of "sanctuaries" that enjoyed more universal respect, each of the pagan cults had a remarkably local dimension and, above all, strengthened the identity of the local community of a particular urban centre or settlement. The deity worshiped by a given community became its guardian and the master of the area the community inhabited, but in no way did the deity claim (nor was it attributed) control over other communities[1030].

From the above observations, the question must arise as to whether Pomerania was a communicational community. Pluralism and political particularism did not exclude the existence of the sense of distinctiveness which manifested itself especially in confrontation with expansive neighbours, especially the Piast monarchy. However, did the antagonism

1022 W. Łosiński, *Pomorze…*, p. 131–134.

1023 L. Leciejewicz, *Początki…*, p. 267–277; *idem*, *U źródeł…*, p. 43–45; *idem*, *Słowianie zachodni…*, p. 203–212.

1024 We do not know much about Slavic public councils (*veche* – *wiec* in Polish; cf. *thing*). Virtually all mentions of the Pomeranian public councils come from the *Vitae* of St. Otto of Bamberg, prompting researchers to disregard this socio-political phenomenon. *Veches* were to be convened only to approve decisions of fundamental importance for the given community, such as a conversion to another religion. This interpretation is not convincing. The scarcity of sources counsels caution. In addition, reports on the conversion of the Pomeranians clearly indicate that the attitude of the people was of great importance for the success of the mission of St. Otto of Bamberg. The Pomeranian elite did not have full control over them (the people). Nor did the elite present a unified position towards the new religion. These circumstances, especially the latter, seem to indicate that in certain conditions the public council was not only a place for communicating decisions made earlier by the "elders", but could also be an arena of real political rivalry. Cf. P. Boroń, *Słowiańskie wiece…*, p. 97 f., 107, 109 f.; S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 221–227, 246–252, 274 f.

1025 Ibrahim ibn Jakub, p. 50.

1026 Thietmar VI, 33.

1027 Ebo II, 7, III, 1.

1028 Herbord II, 25.

1029 An interesting manifestation of this pattern-creating role, one which did not have to be associated with political subordination, concerns how the Wolinians seem to have based their decision to accept baptism on the attitude of the Szczecinians; Vita Prieflingensis II, 7; Herbord II, 25. Cf. P. Boroń, *Słowiańskie wiece…*, p. 86 (the researcher recognizes the position of the Wolinians to be a political excuse for ridding the town of the embarrassing missionary); S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 250 f.

1030 Thietmar VI, 23–25; Helmold I, 52. Cf. D.A. Sikorski, *Religie dawnych Słowian…*, p. 241–260.

initiated at that time contribute to the creation of something more among Pomeranians than an *ad hoc* alliance formed only to fend off an attack? In other words, was there really a system of "old values" that united Pomeranian people and made them its "ultimate defenders"[1031]?

We know that the ethnonym "Pomeranians" (*Bomerani, Pomerani*) and the associated choronym *Pomerania* are terms of foreign origin, probably Polish, and refer to the inhabitants of the part of the Baltic coast bounded by the mouths of the Odra and the Vistula[1032]. Both names became accepted over time by those to whom they refer, but the very names do not mean anything other than a relationship with a specific territory[1033]. In the early Middle Ages, in the period preceding the Christianization of the inhabitants of the southern Baltic coast, the ethnonym *Pomorani* was often replaced by the word *pagani* – yet this was also a foreign term, not denominating anything but the exclusion of Pomeranians from the Christian community[1034]. This pagan world, as we have seen above, was not uniform by definition. The "urban republics", though probably impressive due to their wealth and independence, did not reveal expansionist tendencies. In addition, it is worth remembering that they were found mainly in western Pomerania. Pomeranian princes, who started to appear regularly in written sources from the 12th century[1035], never managed to unify Pomerania politically. It was the Piasts who came nearest to its complete unification. The political breakthrough that took place not until the 1st half of the 12th century was an achievement of the Piasts and it also meant the Christianization of the region[1036]. The separateness

1031 See L. Leciejewicz, *Słowianie zachodni…*, p. 201.

1032 This ethnonym was mentioned for the first time in 1046. Under this year, in the *Annales Altahenses*, next to the princes of Břetislav I and Casimir the Restorer, also *Zemuzil dux Bomeraniorum* was mentioned. *Annales Altahenses Maiores*, under the year 1046 (p. 41). Cf. L. Leciejewicz, *Początki…*, p. 269 f. (he suposed that *Zemuzil's* seat was Kołobrzeg or Białogard); *idem*, *Pomorzanie*, [in:] SSS, vol. 4, ed. G. Labuda, Z. Stieber, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1970, p. 223 f.; *idem*, *Pomorze*, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 224–226; J.M. Piskorski, *Pomorze…*, p. 26, 70–72 (the origin of the said prince is unclear – whether he came from a local family or from the Piasts); E. Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich…*, Szczecin ²2005, p. 52, 73–82 (the researcher assumes that *Zemuzil* represented all of Pomerania).

1033 J.M. Piskorski, *Pomorze…*, p. 26–28. From the 12th century, the West Pomeranian dynasty of Wartislawovice-Gryffin begins to use the ethnonym and toponym *Pomeranians / Pomerania* as an ideological tool for their expansion. What is striking, though, is that the terms are also used to describe lands located west of the Odra.

1034 This term was frequently used by Gall II, 3, 5, 6, 17, 22, 43, 49.

1035 E. Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich…*, Szczecin ²2005, p. 31.

1036 G. Labuda, *Dzieje polityczne (VI–XII wiek)…*, p. 323–326; S. Rosik, *Bolesław…*, p. 155–216.

of Pomerania, however, never disappeared completely, persisting or reviving in the form of principalities ruled by local dynasties[1037]. Especially the House of Gryffin – which ruled over western Pomerania, meandering between Poland, the Roman-German Empire and Denmark – became particularly powerful at the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries[1038].

At the eastern edge of the *Intermarium*, Volga Bulgaria remained an independent state and should be seen not only as an important centre of long-distance trade, linking the rich empires of the Caspian-Black Sea zone with the Baltic region in the north. For Islamization, which took place in the 10th century, made Volga Bulgaria a carrier of a serious civilizational alternative to the Christianity predominant in Rus' and Poland[1039].

At the south-eastern edge of the *Intermarium*, in the steppes between the Black and Caspian seas, there were communities that separated the Rurikids from the Black and Caspian Seas – just as Pomeranians separated the Piasts from the Baltic. From the 10th to the beginning of the 13th century this area was occupied by nomadic Turkish peoples, in turn: the Khazars, Pechenegs, Uzes, and Cumans. The Khazar Khaganate, which had been a local Eastern European power since at least the 9th century, for a long time dominated Rus' and constituted an equal cultural alternative, especially after the conversion of the Khazar elite to Judaism, which probably took place in the last third of the 9th century[1040]. The Khazars also succeeded in creating a communication system, sometimes referred to as *Pax Chazarica/Khazarskii Mir*, which also included Rus' and vast areas of the Eastern Slavs[1041]. The collapse of the Khaganate (965)[1042], an accomplishment of Prince Sviatoslav I Igorevich, meant the destruction of the communicational system that connected the steppe zone with the forest zone of north-eastern Europe.

1037 E. Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich…*, Szczecin ²2005, p. 97 f., 219 f.

1038 B. Zientara, *Stosunki polityczne Pomorza Zachodniego…*, p. 546–676; K. Ślaski, *Zwycięstwo stosunków feudalnych na Pomorzu Zachodnim (1124–1295)*, [in:] *Historia Pomorza…*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 5–167.

1039 Р.Г. Фахрутдинов, *Очерки по истории Волжской Булгарии*, Moskva 1984; I. Zimonyi, *Volga Bulgars and Islam*, [in:] *idem*, *Medieval Nomads in Eastern Europe. Collected Studies*, Bucharest-Brăila 2014, p. 35–40.

1040 C. Zuckerman, *On the Date of the Khazars' Conversion…*, p. 237–270.

1041 B. Zhivkov, *Khazaria in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, Leiden–Boston 2015, p. 147–220.

1042 *Лаврентьевская летопись*, under the year 6473 (965), col. 65.

The nomadic Turkish peoples who inhabited the steppes between the Black and Caspian Seas at the time of the fall of the Khazar empire, or arrived to this area later, never created a centralized political system, just like the inhabitants of the northern periphery of the *Intermarium*. Their segmentary, dispersed power structure hindered the application of an effective political strategy towards them, while the nomadic lifestyle in practice prevented their subordination to neighbouring political organisms[1043]. The nomadic lifestyle of the steppe ethnic groups was also the source of their radical cultural disparateness, evident in relations with their settled neighbours. This otherness usually gave rise to sharp antagonism. A nomad was perceived as a "perfect stranger", an *Idealtypus* of an outsider, often given diabolical features – and this applies not only to the three ethnic groups listed above[1044].

From a purely political point of view, Rus' relations with nomads in the post-Khazar period were characterized by a state of balance, sometimes only slightly shifted towards one party or the other. In the 11th century, the Great Steppe underwent human migration twice, which transformed its ethnic structure. In mid-11th century, the Pechenegs left the steppes for good, briefly making room for Uzes, called "Torks" in Rus'. Soon, i.e., in the 1060s, the latter were replaced by the Cumans, called Polovtsy in Slavic sources. These changes did not result *via* the influence of Rus' rulers, but were beyond their control. However, long-term co-existence in the vicinity of the nomads opened the way for their habituation and cooperation. Steppe-dwellers were useful not only as *ad hoc* political allies, but also as intermediaries in long-distance exchange[1045]. There were

[1043] P.B. Golden, *The peoples of the south Russian steppes,* [in:] *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, ed. D. Sinor, Cambridge 1990, p. 270–284; A. Paroń, *Nomadic peoples of the Black Sea Steppes – from Cimmerians to Polovtsy. Outline of the Political Relations*, "Sprawozdania Archeologiczne" 61, 2009, p. 113–117; *idem, Pieczyngowie…*, p. 283–366.

[1044] Cf. L.S. Chekin, *The Godless Ishmaelites: the Image of the Steppe in Eleventh-Thirteenth-Century Rus'*, "Russian History" 19, 1992, p. 9–28.

[1045] Participation in long-distance trade is well attested for the Pechenegs and the Cumans. Cf. Th.S. Noonan, *Rus', Pechenegs, and Polovtsy: Economic Interaction along the Steppe Frontier in the Pre-Mongol Era*, "Russian History" 19, 1992, p. 301–327; A. Paroń, *Wielbłąd, handel dalekosiężny i "odwieczna przyjaźń" Piastów z Pieczyngami*, [in:] *Polska, Ruś i Węgry: X–XIV wiek*, ed. D. Dąbrowski, A. Jusupović, T. Maresz, Kraków 2018 (= Monografie Pracowni Badań nad Dziejami Rusi UKW w Bydgoszczy 5), p. 196–199; K. Golev, *On the Edge of "Another World": The Balkans and Crimea as Contact Zones between the Cuman-Qïpchaqs and the Outside World*, "Études Balkaniques" 54, 2018, 1, p. 89–126.

even mixed marriages in the Cuman period[1046]. However, both communities lived side by side rather than together.

4. Conclusions

The Baltic-Black-and-Caspian *Intermarium*, despite its natural (geographical) attributes that promoted the creation of a unified, compact communicational system, in the early Middle Ages revealed a clear division into the communicational areas of a "centre" and "peripheries". To avoid the slightly evaluative character of these two categories, one can suggest a division into the "interior", dominated by the Houses of Piast and Rurik, and the "peripheries". The latter showed connections with the interior of the *Intermarium* region, but their special location on its edges, or even within two different zones of communication, determined the separateness of the communities that inhabited these lands.

The example of Pomerania, particularly important for the considerations of this publication, seems to well illustrate the consequences arising from belonging to two different communicational zones. The quick inclusion of Pomerania in the long-distant trade, which had to be accompanied by the emergence of extensive cultural links with the Baltic zone, seems to be the main source of the peculiarity and telltale "separatism" of this region, despite its early contacts with Greater Poland and later with the interior of the Piasts. For a long time in Pomerania the dispersed communication model was maintained, wherein there was no place for a strong, centralized monarchical power that would make an individual – originating from a family seeking to monopolize their power – the centre of political, economic, and symbolic relations. Instead of a strong central power, we can speak of a network of communicational links in Pomerania, whose nodes were for a long time strong early towns managed by groups of oligarchs, who, however, had to consider the voice of free residents.

[1046] А.Ф. Литвина, Ф.Б. Успенский, *Русские имена половецких князей. Междинастические контакты сквозь призму антропонимики*, Moskva 2013; M. Michalski, *Małżeństwo Włodzimierza Igorewicza z córką chana Konczaka: przyczynek do badań nad wpływem małżeństw mieszanych na relacje rusko-połowieckie*, "Res Gestae. Czasopismo Historyczne" 6, 2018, p. 55–68.

Though not showing expansionist tendencies, the strongest of these towns could have acted as pattern-creating centres for smaller Pomeranian settlements.

The example of Pomerania, despite the fundamental differences, can be used as a tool for understanding the mechanisms by which other "peripheral" communities of the *Intermarium* developed, whether those sitting on the southern and south-eastern coast of the Baltic Sea, or on the Black and Caspian Sea steppes. Like the inhabitants of Pomerania, the latter also existed for a long time as dispersed communities deprived of a strong central power. However, they retained their separateness, which, as in the case of the Pomeranians, seems to be a consequence of their existence in two communicational zones. The border zone between the Baltic Sea and the Interior, as well as between the Interior and the Great Steppe, favoured the creation of such forms and structures of social existence that assumed an existential formula alternative to that of the Interior, rather than a hybrid of cultural patterns from the two communicational zones. It seems that the cultural universes of the inhabitants of the "peripheries" of the *Intermarium* can no longer be seen merely as "anachronistic, traditionalist, and tribal", because they were not just collections of cultural relics, but rather attempts to survive, founded on different cultural values from those that began to dominate within the Interior.

In a similar context, Pomeranians, Balts, Pechenegs, or Cumans do not appear as "defenders of old values," but rather as defenders of different values. Talk of anachronisms in the case of the rich and influential residents of Wolin or Szczecin seems especially inappropriate. Their persistence with the "traditional" and "republican" form of government resulted not so much from the traditionalism they are attributed with, but rather from political calculation, which saw in the "old and traditional" system the optimum for the fulfilment of political and economic interests. Faithfulness to pagan religion, apart from strictly spiritual and ideological dimensions, at the same time guaranteed the political separateness of the native community. Its Christianization, especially if it came from outside, could have been perceived as a tool for consolidating foreign domination. It is also worth remembering that the defence of the native cultural universe does not exclude the reception of foreign patterns. Persistence

with native values does not have to be connected with the attitude of blind traditionalism, which must irrevocably lead to anachronism. On the contrary, if a community holds up its own cultural universe against a strange culture while striving to preserve its universe under such external pressure, then this is testimony to the vitality and strength of the community.

II

Pomerania in the zone of Polish expansion in the age of Bolesław III the Wrymouth. Conquest and Christianization

Gallus Anonymus' account from 1115, the basic source of knowledge about Polish-Pomeranian history in the second half of the 11th c. and the beginning of the 12th c., portrays Bolesław III the Wrymouth's northern policy: he is fighting wars with the "barbarians" – Prussians, Pomeranians, and the inhabitants of the mysterious "Selentia" – in order to convert them[1047]. This view fails to discern the internal divisions within those communities, divisions obvious not only in the face of the multitude of Prussian tribes, but also as concerns contemporary political relations in Pomerania (it is hard to say anything conclusive about "Selentia"). However, the information provided by the chronicler, in conjunction with laconic mentions in the annals, provide sufficient grounds to acknowledge the multitude of dukes in Pomerania during the dawn of the 12th c.

The history of Pomerania later on in the 12th c., more clearly presented in the sources, is best known in the case of the western-Pomeranian duchy of the Griffins. Yet it would be difficult to challenge the hypothesis of the existence of a political organization in Pomerania's eastern part, comprising Gdańsk, even though the quality of the sources does not allow much more than mere conjectures until the third quarter of the 12th c. On the other hand, the hypothesis assuming the existence of the duchy of Sławno

[1047] Gall, Prohemium I.

in the central part of Pomerania as early as in the 12th c. has such poor underlying premises in our sources that only very few scholars are prepared to argue for it.

What is striking in Gallus' narration is the existence of the strongholds on the Noteć river, over which Wrymouth fought with the Pomeranians. Defending Pomerania's interior, they constituted a convenient base for the invasions of Poland. It is therefore tempting to consider them a defensive element of a greater political entity. The older literature acknowledged the emergence of superior ducal power in Pomerania, but the sources arguing for considering it a permanent element of local political relations existing there after the demise of the rule of the first Piasts offer only very circumstantial evidence. The "duke of the Pomeranians" mentioned by Gallus, whom Bolesław the Wrymouth was supposed to subjugate, seems such a supralocal ruler, but the sources offer no unequivocal confirmation as to whether he continued his predecessors' rule and, primarily, what the extent of his rule might have been.

Gallus' accounts of Wrymouth's battles focus primarily on the centres on the Parsęta river, such as Białogard and Kołobrzeg, which in the 1120s. – in view of St. Otto of Bamberg's hagiography – were situated within the borders of the western-Pomeranian duchy of the Griffins. It remains a riddle whether the duchy originated from the areas on the Parsęta[1048] or on the lower Odra, where its main centres were situated in the times of the Apostle of Pomeranians' mission. It is evident that at that time there were powers striving to reorganize Pomerania along new lines with the aim of joining the circle of Christian neighbours[1049]. It is quite possible that an even earlier policy of Pomerania with regard to Poland, especially the plundering

[1048] The political organization comprising the lands on the Parsęta river may have also reached the river basin of the Rega, where a few new strongholds appeared from the mid-11th c.; at the present stage of research they are hypothetically interpreted as a constituent of a single duchy, see A. Janowski, *Grodziska wczesnośredniowieczne w dorzeczu…*, p. 140 f.

[1049] Pomeranian elites remained in contact with the Piasts, which resulted in family ties. It is thus hardly surprising that Zbigniew and the Pomeranians co-operated (as emphasized by Gallus Anonymus, albeit not without a certain degree of exaggeration) in their fight with Władysław I Herman and Bolesław the Wrymouth for the rule of Poland. It is noteworthy that the descent from the Piasts was taken into consideration while discussing the origins of the Pomeranian dynasty, yet in view of the sources only the above-mentioned kinship remains certain. See S. Rosik, *Bolesław…*, p. 99 f., 167 f.; and below, footnotes 1108, 1126, 1136.

raids[1050], constituted an element in constructing local early-state entities (following the example of the first Piasts).

At the same time the Pomeranians fought with their neighbours – with Poland, with Germany and their allies, the Obodrites, and Denmark – and not only to maintain their political sovereignty but also – in the case of western Pomerania – to conquer or control the area in Odra estuary, and then also the territories west of the Odra in the lands of the Lutici. Characteristically, at this stage of the development of western-Pomeranian statehood, i.e., in the 1120s, the country was dependent on Poland and open to the Christianization of public life. In this situation the processes of consolidation of the local ducal power intensified, which also involved a fundamental decrease of the political significance of dependent early-urban centres.

Until then they constituted key links in (predominantly economic) contacts with the realms of Christianity, even offering permanent residence to its followers[1051]. However, they nevertheless were the mainstay of vernacular religion, customs, and social organization and thus – quite paradoxically – their civilizational potential constituted a barrier to the processes leading to full integration of Pomerania with the political and cultural sphere of medieval *Christianitas*. It was only after the success of St. Otto of Bamberg's mission that the whole of the western-Pomeranian duchy joined the circle of Christian monarchies centred around the Roman empire (*de facto* Germany) and the papacy.

Thus, reflection on the processes culminating in the turning point that consisted in leading the local communities from the sphere of the *Barbaricum* towards »cultural Europe« should commence from the changes in the functioning of these urban centres during the early stages of Pomerania's statehood. Two sequences of phenomena and occurrences – here historical science has had no doubts for generations – were of key significance: the military expansion of the region's neighbours (with Bolesław III the Wry-

[1050] Confirmed not only by Gallus Anonymus, but also by the hagiography of St. Otto of Bamberg – *ibidem*, p. 163 ff.

[1051] *Iumne* (Wolin) in Adam of Bremen's account from the second half of the 11th c. remains a classical example here (Adam II, 22); there were also crypto-Christians present in Wolin and Szczecin on the eve of Otto of Bamberg's missions in 1124–1125 mentioned in his hagiography; see e.g., Ebo II, 8–9; Herbord II, 26.

mouth's Poland in the lead) and the already-mentioned Christianization. Due to the quality of the sources we are forced to study these issues focusing primarily on the duchy of western Pomerania. However, ultimately we will be able to formulate certain conclusions and research guidelines concerning the remaining parts of the land on the Baltic, especially in terms of Polish conquests and ecclesiastical policy[1052].

(Editor)

1. Inside the turning point: towns and ducal power in Pomerania (11th c. – first half of the 12th c.)

Marian Rębkowski

Consolidation of the structures of early-state authority in Scandinavian countries brought about the end of the Viking era, the Baltic economic zone, and the crisis of the long-distance trade exchange, these matters being observed from the mid-11th century at the latest. The effects of these changes were also felt on the Slavic coast of the Baltic. Their scale was intensified by political and social transformations that began in Pomerania in the last third of the 10th century. First came the conquest of a substantial part of these lands and their incorporation into the state of the Piasts and in effect their subordination, which would last for another several decades. Next, in the 1040s at the latest, local structures of centralized power began to emerge. Ultimately, the processes culminated in the formation of the duchy of Pomerania, which is mentioned in more detail in the written sources devoted to the 1120s[1053].

At that time old tribal structures of power survived on the lower Odra, functioning in the old early-urban settlements of various origins, such as Wolin and Szczecin. This phenomenon is quite appropriately described by the phrase of "oligarchic urban republics" adopted for their description. Their existence was terminated by their subordination to the ducal

[1052] These issues are elaborated in the chapter by Marcin R. Pauk (see below).

[1053] Cf. e.g., L. Leciejewicz, *Kilka uwag o najstarszych ośrodkach państwa zachodniopomorskiego*, "Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza" 5, 1959, 1, p. 5–22; J. Spors, *Studia…*, *passim*; B. Śliwiński, *Pomorze w polityce i strukturze państwa…*, p. 3–38.

power in the third decade of the 12th century[1054]. Since then the only existing form of an early-urban settlement was a polycentric stronghold complex functioning within the constrictions of *ius ducale*. Its political organization and spatial arrangement is naturally rooted in the 11th century and resulted from the economic and political changes mentioned above. As a result of the collapse in long-distance trade in the Baltic area in the mid-11th century, the trade in Pomerania began to operate locally, concentrating in the marketplaces which emerged in the vicinity of big strongholds. Its consequence was the transformation of the structure and character of Pomeranian early-urban settlements and the eventual demise of trade and craft settlements[1055]; the evidence of craft production within the strongholds disappeared. Trade exchange was concentrated in marketplaces situated in the suburbs and other ancillary settlements emerging during the 11th century in the vicinity of main defensive settlements of Pomerania. The centres of this type were one of the targets of the political expansion of early-state power, becoming important elements in state structures after having been successfully taken over[1056].

A typical early-urban centre of that time was a settlement complex comprising a few elements differing in their functions and shapes. It consisted of a stronghold surrounded by a rampart, suburbs – open or also surrounded by ramparts and a ring of open settlements. The fortified stronghold was the seat of a representative of the ducal power, while crafts and trade concentrated in the suburbs; the town's main church, i.e., one of religious centres in a barely Christianized duchy, was also situated in the suburb. The institutions typical of an urban environment also functioned in the suburbs, i.e., markets, inns, mints, whose existence is mentioned primarily in the documents from ducal chancellery in the 12th and the first half of the 13th centuries[1057].

These polycentric complexes were the centres of political and economic life in the duchy of Pomerania, performing military, adminis-

[1054] L. Leciejewicz, *Sporne problemy genezy niezależności politycznej miast przy ujściu Odry we wczesnym średniowieczu*, [in:] *Ars historica. Prace z dziejów powszechnych i Polski*, Poznań 1978, p. 295–309.

[1055] The settlement in Wolin may be en exception as it survived in its original shape until the second half of the 11th century, see M. Rębkowski, *The central settlement of Medieval Wolin…*, *passim*.

[1056] M. Rębkowski, *Archeologiczne wyznaczniki przemian XII–XIII w. w księstwie zachodniopomorskim. Zarys problematyki*, "Fontes Archaeologici Posnanienses" 51, 2015, p. 184 f.

[1057] L. Leciejewicz, *O rozwoju miast w księstwie zachodniopomorskim na przełomie XII/XIII wieku*, [in:] *Studia z dziejów i kultury zachodniej Słowiańszczyzny*, ed. J. Żak, J. Ostoja-Zagórski, Poznań 1983, p. 121–153.

trative, and religious functions – as well as producing and distributing goods. Their location quite clearly reflects the duchy's administrative division, which is substantiated by analysis of the distribution of marketplaces, mints, and inns known from written sources, which confirm the existence of both an inn and a marketplace in nine (Usedom, Groźwin, Kołobrzeg, Demmin, Wolin, Kamień, Szczecin, Prenzlau, Pyrzyce) out of twelve castellan strongholds and just an inn in one (Gützkow). In another three cases a marketplace or an inn was confirmed in the strongholds that were the centres of the provinces subordinated to castellanies (Pasewalk, Trzebiatów on the Rega, Białogard) and in one case they existed in the place where there was no stronghold (Ziethen). The latter, similarly as older *Clodona* on the Rega, may be considered a sideline in the process of Pomerania's urbanization. This probably is not a full list of all the centres performing urban functions, but it is justified to assume that their number at the beginning of the 13th century hardly exceeded a dozen[1058].

Two examples are a good illustration of this type of settlement complex. The first is Kołobrzeg; a stronghold emerged there at the end of the 9th century as the seat of the tribal authorities and soon became a craft production centre. After the Piast conquest it was expanded and became the centre of Piast authority in Pomerania, which was substantiated by the establishment of an ephemeral Polish bishopric in 1000. During the 11th century the stronghold grew and two extensive suburbs were built. The Church of St. Virgin Mary was erected there in 1125, which in the 1170s became a collegiate church. In the 12th century the stronghold was the seat of ducal representatives (castellans), while the institutions important for economic life functioned in the suburbs: an inn and a marketplace mentioned as early as 1149, and later a mint. The continuously exploited sources of salt were situated half-way between the stronghold complex and the sea[1059].

[1058] M. Rębkowski, *An urban landscape in transition. The Pomeranian towns in the 13th century from the archaeological perspective*, [in:] *Städtelandschaften im Ostseeraum im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. R. Czaja, C. Jahnke, Toruń 2009, p. 121–124.

[1059] See jointly L. Leciejewicz, *Wczesnośredniowieczny Kołobrzeg*, "Slavia Antiqua" 7, 1960, p. 307–372; H. Bollnow, *Studien zur Geschichte der pommerschen Burgen und Städte im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, Köln–Graz 1964, p. 102 ff.; W. Schich, *Die pommersche Frühstadt im 11. und frühen 12. Jahrhundert am Beispiel von Kolberg (Kołobrzeg)*, [in:] *Die Frühgeschichte der europäischen Stadt im 11. Jahrhundert*, ed. J. Jarnut, P. Johanek, Köln–Weimar–Wien 1998, p. 273–304; L. Leciejewicz, M. Rębkowski, *Uwagi końcowe. Początki Kołobrzegu…*, p. 309–312.

Another good example is Usedom situated on the island of the same name. A huge stronghold, built during tribal times circa 900 at the latest, was subordinated to the ducal power in the 1120s and soon became the centre of administrative authority. Suburbs and ancillary settlements emerged around it and in 1128 a church was built in one of the suburbs. Construction of a Premonstratensian monastery began in the ancillary settlement Grobe soon after the mid-12th century. Archaeological excavations from recent years found intensive craft production in this suburb settlement and extensive investment endeavours undertaken due to the construction of the monastery; written sources mention that it also had a marketplace[1060].

The location of towns according to the German Law (Magdeburg or Lübeck), which began in the 1230s, brought the existence of polycentric early-urban settlements to an end. In the next fifty years the towns of a new type emerged at all old centres or in their place, usually taking over their names and setting a new stage in urbanization of Pomerania[1061].

2. The space of the turning point in the context of its neighbours: Pomeranian communities within the circle of the pagan "international"

Stanisław Rosik

On the eve of the Christianizing turning point, two of the early-urban centres in the Odra estuary discussed above, i.e., Wolin and Szczecin, are believed to have been tied with hierarchical relations. According

[1060] See jointly F. Biermann, D. Forler, *Die Burgstadt Usedom zu Zeiten Ottos von Bamberg – neue archäologische Untersuchungen*, [in:] *Bischof Otto von Bamberg in Pommern. Historische und archäologische Forschungen zu Mission und Kulturverhältnissen des 12. Jahrhunderts im Südwesten der Ostsee*, ed. F. Biermann, F. Rüchhoft, Bonn 2017 (= Studien zur Archäologie Europas 30), p. 171–194 (here the older literature). Cf. also H. Bollnow, *Studien zur Geschichte der pommerschen Burgen und Städte…*, p. 212 ff.

[1061] See D. Lucht, *Die Städtepolitik Herzog Barnims I. von Pommern 1220–1278*, Köln–Graz 1965 (= Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Pommern 5/10); W. Kuhn, *Die deutschen Stadtgründungen des 13. Jahrhunderts im westlichen Pommern*, "Zeitschrift für Ostforschung" 23, 1974, p. 1–58; J.M. Piskorski, *Miasta Księstwa Szczecińskiego do połowy XIV wieku*, Warszawa–Poznań 1987; M. Rębkowski, *Pierwsze lokacje miast w księstwie zachodniopomorskim. Przemiany przestrzenne i kulturowe*, Kołobrzeg 2001; *idem*, *An urban landscape in transition…*, p. 124 ff.

to the hagiography of St. Otto of Bamberg (died in 1139), the Wolinians were to have recognized Szczecin's authority if they decided to change their religion[1062]. This phenomenon has its analogy in the pre-eminence of the Rugians in the "whole" of Slavdom (*de facto* restricted to the last communities professing paganism) described by Helmold of Bosau. Their hegemony stemmed not only from their military potential, but also from the highest authority of the oracle in the temple of Svantevit in Arkona. Their role is confirmed in the biographies of St. Otto in their theological interpretation of the geographical space of Slavic paganism[1063] as well as in the presentation of the political issues. The Rugians were said to have attacked Szczecin in retaliation for its ultimate conversion in 1128[1064] in a punitive or preventive expedition.

Informing us of these matters, Ebo of Michelsberg reached eastwards, describing the scope of the pagan "brotherhood" formed by the Pomeranians and Prussians. The Wolinians were aware not only of St. Adalbert's fate suffered at the hands of the latter, but also of an unspecified misfortune which they experienced in retaliation for his murder[1065]. This is most probably apocryphal information, yet it would be hard to deny that it resulted from a more general awareness of contacts between the inhabitants of the Odra estuary and the Prussian centres on the Baltic. The obvious consequence was also the contacts between Pomeranians and Prussians in their borderland in the lower Vistula river basin. However, sources do not confirm their bilateral co-operation; they only mention situations when they formed wider alliances[1066].

1062 Vita Prieflingensis II, 7; Herbord II, 25. In Herbord's narration (II, 5 and 25) Szczecin features as the capital (*metropolis*) of the whole "province" of Pomerania. This is of course the interpretation of the world of Baltic Slavs from the point of view of Latin-based educated culture of the Middle Ages. Similarly, according to Herbord (II, 15), the inhabitants of Pyrzyce were initially to refuse to convert during Otto's missions, arguing that when making such an important decision they must respect the superior will of unspecified elders – *maiores* (they did not mean the duke as his representatives were in Otto's retinue).

1063 This theological interpretation is meaningfully illustrated with a miraculum, which according to Ebo (III, 1) happened in Güzkow. An enormous swarm of terrifying flies flew out of a pagan temple destroyed during Otto's missions, embodying the residing evil forces. Chased away with prayers and signs of cross they ultimately flew to Rugia.

1064 Ebo III, 23; Herbord III, 31.

1065 In this Ebo's account (II, 1) the Wolinians simply call the Prussians "brothers".

1066 See J. Powierski, *Weryfikacja przekazu Herborda o antypolskim sojuszu pomorsko-prusko-ruskim w czasach Bolesława Krzywoustego*, "Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Historia" 24, 1990, p. 125–141; A. Dobrosielska, *Prusowie między Polską i Pomorzem – w poszukiwaniu relacji sąsiedzkich (X–XII w.)*, [in:] *Polska – Pomorze – sąsiedzi…*, p. 185–205.

According to the sources, the Pomeranians offered their support to Masław, who ruled Mazovia, in his battles with Kazimierz I the Restorer (1046), though in this case it would be safer to mention separate alliances: Mazovian-Pomeranian[1067] and (possibly) Mazovian-Prussian[1068], refraining from any conclusive statements concerning the existence of a triple alliance. Similarly, Herbord of Michelsberg – the author of the most extensive of the three lives of St. Otto written ca. two decades after his death – in the prelude to the account of the mission in Pomerania described its conquest by Bolesław III the Wrymouth, listing his enemies who formed a great coalition involving Ruthenians, Polovtsians, Prussians, and Pomeranians[1069]. The fact that the Polish ruler fought with all these neighbours at different stages of his reign does not raise doubts, but combining them in one multilateral alliance certainly does[1070].

Admittedly, during his Pomeranian military campaign Bolesław III the Wrymouth indeed came into conflict with Rus', but there is no evidence that the Rurikids decided to form a coalition with the Pomeranians[1071]. Herbord's account is not very helpful here as it is very vague in its descriptions[1072]; the author also applied the name of *Rutheni* to both Ruthenians and the Rugians[1073] and it is therefore difficult to rule out his confusing the Ruthenians with the Rugians. Leaving the matter unresolved, it is noteworthy that the view assuming an alliance between the centres situated in the Odra estuary (with Szczecin in the lead) with the Rani is quite probable[1074].

The long-lasting contacts within this circle of Baltic communities are substantiated by many common features in their beliefs, worship,

1067 Confirmed by Gallus Anonymus (Gall I, 21).

1068 This information came from the Master Vincent, which could have been a "creative" elaboration on Gallus' story; cf. *Magistri Vincentii…*, II, 14. See A. Dobrosielska, *Prusowie między Polską…*, p. 196.

1069 Herbord II, 3.

1070 Bilateral agreements between these peoples seem more probable; however, even this remains in the sphere of speculation.

1071 Archaeological evidence confirms Pomeranian-Rus' contacts in the 11th–12th c., see e.g., L. Leciejewicz, *O kontaktach Słowian nadbałtyckich z północną Rusią we wczesnym średniowieczu*, [in:] *Viae historicae…*, p. 208–214.

1072 Herbord's account devotes merely a few lines to the above-mentioned sequence of Bolesław III the Wrymouth's wars, failing to mention, e.g., his war with the ruler of Germany, Henry V, in 1109. More about Wrymouth's wars, see e.g., K. Maleczyński, *Bolesław…*, *passim*; S. Rosik, *Bolesław…*, *passim*.

1073 Ebo III, 11, 23; Herbord III, 30.

1074 The alliance is mentioned in St. Otto's hagiography, see Herbord III, 30.

and organization of social life, such as many-headed images of idols worshipped in central sanctuaries in Rugia and Szczecin, and thus forming the system of power in this context – seen also in the case of Wolin and the nearby Lutician centres on the Peene river – founded on the co-operation between the assembly (*veche*; *wiec* in Polish) and the temple. In this case both institutions are rooted in tribal tradition[1075]. The assembly in Pyrzyce[1076], known from St. Otto's hagiography, is interpreted in a similar way; it is associated with the hypothetical Pyritzans/Pyrzyczanie, a tribe mentioned by the *Bavarian Geographer* as *Prissani*[1077].

The key significance of the oracle affiliated with the temple in making decisions at assemblies in the case of Szczecin, similarly as in that of Arkona, imparted a theocratic trait to local systems of power[1078]. Triglav, similarly as Svantevit, was worshipped as the supernatural sovereign of the whole community[1079]. The precursor here was

1075 The debate on the origins of these assemblies in Pomeranian towns, especially heated fifty years ago, is worth mentioning here. Klaus Zernack (*Die burgstädtischen Volksversammlungen bei den Ost und Westslaven. Studien zur verfassungsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung des Veče*, Wiesbaden 1967, p. 227 f.) proposed that they originated later, with the emergence of monarchies replacing earlier tribal structures (e.g., an assembly [*veche*, *wiec*] in Wrocław at the end of the 11th c. described in Gall II, 4). It is difficult, however – taking into consideration the fact that the origins of Pomeranian and northern-Polabian towns go back to the tribal times – to question the fact that this kind of assembly was a continuation of more archaic, tribal forms of life of old Slavdom, see especially L. Leciejewicz, *Sporne problemy genezy niezależności politycznej miast przy ujściu Odry we wczesnym średniowieczu*, [in:] *idem*, *Opera selecta. Z dziejów kultury średniowiecznej Polski i Pomorza*, ed. M. Rębkowski, S. Moździoch, Wrocław 2006, p. 203–212, and also K. Modzelewski, *Barbarzyńska Europa…*, p. 376–378. For wider discussion, see P. Boroń, *Słowiańskie wiece…*, *passim*.

1076 Herbord II, 4.

1077 See P. Boroń, *Zgromadzenie ludowe w Pyrzycach w 1124 roku. Relikt plemienny czy wiec grodowo-miejski*, [in:] *Wieki stare i nowe*, vol. 1, ed. I. Panic, M.W. Wanatowicz, Katowice 2000 (= Prace Naukowe Uniwersytetu Śląskiego 1916), p. 30–54.

1078 The emphasis on the significance of the worship of local gods and their priests in the narrations by Christian authors writing about Slavs results not only from objective descriptions of the reality but also from its theological interpretation. On the one hand a confrontation between paganism and Christianity in the spiritual dimension was important, but on the other hand what mattered was the unique view of the so-called barbarians. Esp. phenomena that did not occur in the compass of Christianity were frequently highlighted, e.g., the important role of priests or oracles in the deliberations during assemblies affecting the fate of the whole community. For instance Helmold II, 108, proclaimed that among the Rugians a priest was more important than the "king", cf. S. Rosik, *The Slavic Religion…*, p. 359.

1079 See below.

the cult of Svarog in Radogošč[1080], in the country of the Redars, constituting the centre of the whole Lutician Confederation from the times of the uprising of the Polabian Slavs in 983. The common feature of all these centres was that of temples covered with roofs and the significance of hippomancy in oracles[1081]. The moment when Radogošč fell is unknown[1082], but it is certain that in the 12th century Svantevit's temple in Arkona, in Rugia, was the most important in the remaining part of pagan Slavdom.

The theocratic feature in the image of the authority ruling these communities went hand in hand with the outstanding role of priests highlighted in the sources. Controlling the oracle, they had key influence on the assembly's decisions and sometimes they acted on behalf of the whole community[1083]. It was one of the variants of a more general model combining the assembly and sanctuary known from the sphere of the Obodrites, and more precisely from the country of the Wagrians; people gathered in the sacred grove dedicated to the deity called Prove to administer justice with the contribution

1080 Thietmar VI, 23–25. Radogošč corresponds to Rethra in Adam of Bremen's account (Adam II, 21) and as such it is usually identified. However, the differences seen between the description of Retra and Thietmar's account of Radogošč allow that, during the approx. fifty years separating the writing of the two accounts, the central temple of the Lutician Confederation was rebuilt or even relocated (however, in the latter case it still remained in the territory of the Redars).

1081 The prophecies with the participation of horses are noted by: Thietmar in his account of Radogošč, Saxo Grammaticus about Arkona, lives of St. Otto – about Szczecin, and generally about Polabian Slavs by William of Malmesbury. More about hippomancy among Baltic Slavs, see L.P. Słupecki, *Slavonic Pagan Sanctuaries…*, p. 52 f.; *idem*, *Wyrocznie i wróżby pogańskich Skandynawów. Studium do dziejów idei przeznaczenia u ludów indoeuropejskich*, Warszawa 1998, p. 144 ff.; S. Rosik, *The Slavic Religion…*, p. 129 ff.

1082 It is quite possible that it happened as early as in 1068, when the bishop of Halberstadt, Burchard, burnt the shrine in Rethra and abducted the sacred horse (*Annales Augustani*, ed. G.H. Pertz, [in:] MGH SS 3, Hannover 1839, under the year 1068), which is the earliest possible date; the possible end of Rethra might also have been the destruction of an unnamed Lutician "town with the temple" by Lothair of Supplinburg in about 1126. See K. Maleczyński, *Bolesław…*, p. 184; cf. Ebo III, 5.

1083 Such a situation concerning the Rugians negotiating with Henry, son of Gottschalk, was described by Helmold (I, 38); cf. S. Rosik, *The Slavic Religion…*, p. 302. A similar role was played by the main priest (*pontifex idolorum)* in the description of the deliberations during an assembly in Szczecin, when the town's reconversion was at stake during Otto of Bamberg's mission in 1128; see Ebo III, 16; Herbord III, 18. More about the issue: J. Banaszkiewicz, *Otto z Bambergu i pontifex idolorum. O urządzeniu i obyczaju miejsca wiecowego pogańskiego Szczecina*, [in:] *Biedni i bogaci. Studia z dziejów społeczeństwa i kultury ofiarowane Bronisławowi Geremkowi*, M. Aymard *et al.*, Warszawa 1992, p. 275–284; S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 456 ff.

of the duke and a priest[1084]. This analogy from the Wagrian world is important because in this case the other centre of power functioning in this tribal ecumene was the stronghold of Starigard. There, in this seat of ducal power, was another place of worship[1085]. Similarly, the duke in Rugia had a sanctuary with the trinity of idols in Garz[1086], which – however – functioned in the shadow of Arkona.

The system of power of the Lutici centred around Radogošč was different. As substantiated by Thietmar of Merseburg's accounts, a general assembly of the tribes gathered without the participation of ducal power[1087]. Similarly, a "republican" model formed in Szczecin and Wolin. Again, ducal power entered these centres from outside, as it were, which was a distinct trait of the development of the structures of the Griffins' duchy. It is also quite probable that numerous attempts of forming this kind of power system were undertaken in the lands adjacent to the Odra at the turn of the 11th and the first half of the 12th c.

The Veletian Ukrani, the neighbours of Szczecin[1088], need to be mentioned here. They resisted attempts at their conversion by Otto of Bamberg in 1128[1089] and maintained their independence until the mid-12th c. Recent archaeological excavations in Stolpe on the Odra, situated in their territory or at least in the sphere of their influence, revealed the burial of a man with a sword dated approximately to the third or fourth decade of the 12th c. The rich furnishing of the grave is interpreted as evidence of the ostentation of power and attempts in Stolpe to create authority following the ducal model[1090]. The stronghold, similarly as nearby Cedynia, situated on the other side of the Odra, owed its importance to the location on the river – an important communication route and at the same time a barrier for anyone who wanted to cross it. Control over the crossing routes provided favourable conditions for the local elites to accumulate wealth and make attempts to form more centralized structures of power.

[1084] Helmold I, 84. Making an offering before administering justice was also of key significance.

[1085] This place of worship has been well researched archaeologically; it functioned as early as in the 10th c. but alternately with a church destroyed after a consecutive wave of pagan reaction – see e.g., I. Gabriel, *Christentum und Heidentum*, [in:] *Starigard-Oldenburg. Ein slawischer Herrschersitz des frühen Mittelalters in Ostholstein*, ed. M. Müller-Wille, Neumünster 1991, p. 279–297.

[1086] See Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum / The History of the Danes*, ed. K. Friis-Jensen, transl. P. Fisher, vol. 1, Oxford 2015 [further: Saxo Grammaticus], XIV, 39; more about the issue J. Banaszkiewicz, *Pan Rugii – Rugiewit i jego towarzysze z Gardźca: Porewit i Porenut (Saxo Gramatyk, Gesta Danorum, XIV, 39, 38–41)*, [in:] *Słowiańszczyzna w Europie średniowiecznej. Księga pamiątkowa dla Lecha Leciejewicza*, vol. 1: *Plemiona i wczesne państwa*, ed. Z. Kurnatowska, Wrocław 1996, p. 75–82. See also A.L. Miś, *Przedchrześcijańska religia Rugian*, "Slavia Antiqua" 38, 1997, p. 105–149.

[1087] Thietmar VI, 25. The attempt to create monarchy among the Lutici is interpreted as one of the causes of the civil war which broke out in ca. 1057 and brought about the decline of their might. See G. Labuda, *Fragmenty…*, vol. 2, p. 162 ff., and lately e.g., P. Babij, *Wojskowość…*, p. 154 f.; T. Skonieczny, *Przeobrażenia społeczno-ustrojowe…*, p. 161 ff.

[1088] Hypothetically Szczecin may originally have been a centre of the Ukrani, see J.M. Piskorski, *Pomorze…*, p. 93 f., 157 f. (here also the literature of the issue).

[1089] Ebo III, 14; Herbord III, 11–12. Analysis of these accounts, see S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 446 ff.

It is thus tempting to connect the mysterious "Odranian duke" Świętopełk, whose death in 1122[1091] is reported in the oldest Polish annals, with Stolpe and Cedynia. Obviously, other centres on the lower Odra or even in its estuary should also be taken into consideration, such as the stronghold in Kamień, which in St. Otto's hagiography is explicitly called a "duke's stronghold" (*castrum ducis*)[1092]. It is of course impossible to establish any ties between the "Odranian" Świętopełk and the progenitor of the Griffins, Wartislaw I, who ultimately assumed control over the lands on the Odra on the eve of the mission carried out by the Apostle of the Pomeranians. Whatever the case, the lands of the lower Odra emerge as a sphere offering favourable conditions for the emergence of political entities controlling the centres situated on this water communication route.

The above does not alter the fact that until at least the 1120s the Odra constituted a border[1093]. It marked the eastern range of the Veleti/Lutici as early as in the 10th c. and thus the eastern range of the Pomerania that formed later[1094]. Naturally, the border in question did not include solely the river, for also the adjacent strip of lands inhabited

[1090] More about the issue: F. Biermann, T. Kersting, *Siedlungs- und Geschichtsraum*, [in:] *Das slawische Gräberfeld von Stolpe…*, p. 23 ff.

[1091] *Rocznik świętokrzyski dawny*, [in:] MPH 2, ed. A. Bielowski, Lwów 1872, under the year 1122 (p. 774). See lately: M. Rębkowski, *Gdzie rezydował Świętopełk dux odrensis? Przyczynek do badań struktury politycznej Pomorza w pierwszej połowie XII wieku*, [in:] *Cum gratia et amicitia. Studia z dziejów osadnictwa dedykowane Pani Profesor Marcie Młynarskiej-Kaletynowej z okazji 65-lecia działalności naukowej*, ed. D. Adamska, K. Chrzan, A. Pankiewicz, Wrocław 2017, p. 125–136.

[1092] Ebo II, 5. The notion of *sedes ducis* ("duke's capitol") appeared in St. Otto's hagiography, describing Wartislaw I welcoming him to western Pomerania.

[1093] Confirmed in Adam of Bremen's account from as early as the second half of the 11th c., cf. Adam II, 22.

[1094] See above, p. 281.

by the Veletian element. This gave rise to the view that the borderland areas marked the eastern frontier of the polytheism of the Baltic Slavs and thus the occurrence of roofed temples and cult statues[1095]. However, taking into consideration the wide range of the communication community on the Baltic, comprising the centres situated on the coast, it is hardly plausible that Kołobrzeg situated in the estuary of the Parsęta would have been excluded from the transfer of ideas and elements of symbolic culture taking place in this area[1096].

However, the diversity in the development of pre-Christian forms of religious life in different parts of Pomerania should be taken into consideration. The situation was similar in neighbouring Polabia, where hierophanies manifesting themselves in trees, groves, and stones enjoyed great popularity. Nor should the development of aquatic cults, involving the Baltic[1097], numerous lakes[1098], and flowing waters be ignored either.

Close analogies, especially concerning sacred groves, can be found in the descriptions of the beliefs and cults of the neighbouring Prussians[1099]. There were probably also figurative representations of deities, but – given the scarcity of written sources devoted to the lands situated east of the Odra – in this respect we can rely only on the ever intensifying archaeological excavations.

At the present stage the results of archaeological research indicate the diversity of local cult objects and rituals in early-medieval Pomerania, partly involving syncretic forms[1100]. There is no reason to doubt that

[1095] Hence the attempts were made to disparage Thietmar's mention that temples of idols occurred further east; according to Thietmar they were destroyed by the bishop of Kołobrzeg, Reinbern, appointed in 1000. See above, p. 266 ff.

[1096] Thus the attempt – very frequently made in the 20th century – to establish the border of Slavic polytheism and the related forms of worship on the Odra should be considered groundless. More about the issue, see recently S. Rosik, *The Slavic Religion…*, p. 173 ff.

[1097] About the sacred nature of the sea (in the context of Thietmar's mention about the bishop of Kołobrzeg, Reinbern), see above, p. 264.

[1098] In this respect especially fascinating are the recent discoveries of skeletons of horses in lake Zarańskie near the Island of Sacred Horses, interpreted as the evidence of the functioning of a place of worship there in the 11th c.; see *The Island in Żółte on Lake Zarańskie…*, *passim*.

[1099] See especially Petrus Dusburg's information about a sacred grove called Romove (Piotr z Dusburga, *Kronika ziemi pruskiej*, ed. J. Wenta, S. Wyszomirski, MPH NS 13, Kraków 2007, III, 52; cf. e.g., W. Szafrański, *Religia Bałtów*, [in:] *Zarys dziejów religii*, ed. J. Keller *et al.*, Warszawa 1976, p. 524 f.).

[1100] A complex view of the issue, recently: K. Kajkowski, *Obrzędowość religijna Pomorzan we wczesnym średniowieczu. Studium archeologiczne*, Wrocław 2019.

the centres situated in the Odra estuary – populous, wealthy, urbanized, with advanced organization of social and economic life – had developed the most advanced forms of religious life. This was naturally of great significance when attempts were made to carry out missions there in the 1120s; however, before it became a real problem in the policy of the Piasts, military expansion to the Baltic was of key significance.

From the point of view of Polish elites, the Pomeranians, similarly as the Prussian or Polabian tribes, were part of the area defined with the category of the *Barbaricum*, which on the one hand emphasized the danger that they posed, something intensified by their plundering raids, but on the other it constituted a natural area of conquest and, thereafter, the dissemination of the Christian religion. Apart from Poland, the German Reich, i.e., the Saxons and the co-operating Obodrite rulers[1101] as well as Denmark, joined the scramble to subordinate this "pagan wedge" to their influence. Interestingly, Bolesław III the Wrymouth's aim was not only to reach the estuary of the Odra or move further on, into the interior of northern Polabia, but also to penetrate the very centre of the pagan "international" – Rugia. He gambled for these stakes until the last years of his reign, which is substantiated by the decisions made at the congress in Merseburg in 1135[1102]. But let us not get ahead of the story…

3. The first Pomeranian conquests in the era of Bolesław III the Wrymouth (in Gallus Anonymus' view)

Stanisław Rosik

Gallus Anonymus' chronicle is the basic source for research into the Pomeranian policy of the Piasts from the mid-11th c. to the second decade of the next[1103]. As the chronicler notoriously fails to mention the dates of the key events described, the chronology is determined

[1101] Especially Henry, son of Gottschalk (died 1127), see below, p. 352.

[1102] According to Otto of Freising, Bolesław III the Wrymouth paid homage to emperor Lothair III not only from Pomerania but also from Rugia. See below, p. 495.

[1103] Master Vincent drew extensively from Gallus' chronicle and his work was more widely adopted in the medieval historiography than that of his predecessor. The data referring to the 11th and the beginning of the 12th c., complementing Gallus' accounts, are very difficult to verify, although they are not ignored by the science of history. See above, footnote 1068.

by referring to other contemporary accounts[1104]. Most of the dates related to Polish-Pomeranian relations are determined on the basis of the data from the oldest Polish annals, which – however – in their majority may have been based on Gallus' tradition. Therefore, the chronology of the events in question, widely accepted also due to the commentaries in the chronicle's contemporary editions, in most cases proves to be approximate, which is the case of Władysław I Herman's conquests in Pomerania (1079–1102).

Let us not forget that control over the Pomeranians – imposed by Kazimierz I the Restorer – was lost by Bolesław II the Generous[1105], and it was his successor, Władysław I Herman – in Gallus Anonymus' words – who undertook another attempt at expansion to the Baltic. In the campaign dated to 1090[1106] he captured – we are assured by Gallus Anonymus[1107] – the strongholds in the country's interior and on the coast and appointed his own governors, who – following orders – burnt the Pomeranians' strongholds under their control. Yet even this attempt to weaken the Pomeranians' military potential did not result in the consolidation of Polish rule. Soon a rebellion of the Pomeranians cost the lives of some of the governors, while the rest were chased away[1108]. The expedition undertaken the following year, whose aim was to put down the revolt, culminated in a bloody battle in the place called "Drzu"[1109]. The Poles stood their ground, but due to the losses he suffered, returned home.

In the same year Władysław I Herman attacked Pomerania again, this time supported by Bohemian forces[1110]. He besieged Nakło, but to

1104 In this case the Bohemian chronicle by Cosmas of Prague as well as German annals are very useful. See S. Rosik, *Bolesław…*, *passim*.

1105 Gall I, 22.

1106 By reference to a mention of the battle fought in the following year and dated to 1091 – see footnote 1109.

1107 Gall II, 1. The turning point was the victory during the celebrations of the Assumption of Mary over the Pomeranians hastening to the besieged stronghold's relief (unnamed in the chronicle).

1108 Gallus stresses that they were warned by the relatives, which testifies to the ties between Polish and Pomeranian elites (Gall II, 1).

1109 This date – 1091 – is featured in Polish annals; yet the place of the battle was described as "ad Rechen", cf. *Roczniki polskie*, [in:] MPH 2, ed. A. Bielowski, p. 796 and 874.

1110 At that time Vratislav II was the king of Bohemia and Poland (see V. Vaníček, *Vratislav II. (I.). První český král*, Praha 2004, p. 222 f.), which may justify the support given to Władysław I Herman formally subordinated to him. Gallus passes over this fact, placing the Pomeranian expansion of the Polish ruler after the mention of his prestigious marriage with Judith of Swabia from the imperial family (Gall II, 1).

no avail. The mention about this event became the pretext to emphasize that it was only his son, Bolesław III the Wrymouth[1111], who subjugated the Pomeranians again. And it is especially this perspective that should be taken into account when interpreting the chronicle's accounts of the expansion of the Piasts towards the north[1112]. Thus, subsequent accounts of Polish-Pomeranian wars – taking place still in the times of Władysław I Herman – distinctly highlight the accomplishments of young Bolesław. The narrative presents him as the vanquisher of the Pomeranians and in this context he is contrasted with his older brother, Zbigniew, who not only was less successful on the battlefield but also concluded deplorable alliances with the Pomeranians[1113].

The Pomeranian issue in Gallus' view thus becomes one of the essential touchstones of both brothers' capacity to exercise power over Poland and Zbigniew unequivocally fails the test – according to Gallus, the Pomeranians themselves were reported to say that he should rule the Church, while Bolesław should fight[1114]. In this vein the chronicler introduces into his story a number of motifs heralding the greatness of the younger of the brothers as the future ruler, which constitutes a subject of separate research[1115]. It is significant that from the moment when together with Zbigniew he assumed joint rule of the country divided into "half" following their father's death in 1102, the chronicle presents Bolesław as a person effectively implementing the idea of subjugating Pomerania to Poland.

1111 This is substantiated by, e.g., the chronicler's information about the capture of Nakło by Bolesław III the Wrymouth after a decisive battle at this stronghold in 1109, see below, p. 342.

1112 Gallus stresses that the governors were appointed by the count palatine Sieciech, in his account described as a villain in Władysław I Herman's entourage, especially hostile to Bolesław Wrymouth. In this way Sieciech is at least partially responsible for the fiasco of this attempt to subordinate Pomerania.

1113 The alliance with pagans itself could have been controversial to the chronicler; additionally the so-called testament of Władysław Herman forbade employing foreigners to settle internal disputes between brothers (cf. Gall II, 8; see e.g., K. Benyskiewicz, *Książę Polski. Władysław I Herman 1079–1102*, Zielona Góra 2010, p. 387 ff.).

1114 Gall II, 17. Naturally, it would be difficult not to note here the chronicler's irony.

1115 More about heroizing the character of Bolesław by creating the image of his coming of age with the use of rhetoric devices (e.g., a "boy of Mars" or "wolfish cub"), see J. Banaszkiewicz, *Młodzieńcze gesta Bolesława Krzywoustego, czyli jak zostaje się prawdziwym rycerzem i władcą*, [in:] *Theatrum ceremoniale na dworze książąt i królów polskich*, ed. M. Markiewicz, R. Skowron, Kraków 1999, p. 11–29.

In his description of the several years of his rule, Anonymus distinguished Bolesław's three Pomeranian expeditions: the first reached Białogard, the second – Kołobrzeg, and the third – both. Significantly, the first of the strongholds was the "royal" town of *Alba*[1116], in which description the chronicler emulated the royal seat of *Alba Rega* (Székesfehérvar) in Hungary[1117]; the other was situated on the border of the ecumene determined by the sea. Capturing both centres symbolizes the occupation of the whole country, which well corresponds with the chronicler's information that during the third of his expeditions[1118] Bolesław – having captured both strongholds[1119] – wandered all over Pomerania for five weeks, failing to come across anyone who would oppose him[1120]. Earlier – after the capture of Kołobrzeg – his suzerainty was recognized by the "duke of the Pomeranians", who declared the willingness to offer his knightly services[1121].

The chronicler did not give the dates of these events, but on the basis of the line of narration it has been accepted that they hypothetically took place in 1102, 1103, and in ca. 1107, respectively[1122]. One way or

[1116] Gall II, 22. Naturally in reference to the Slavic etymology of the name of Białogard as the "white city".

[1117] It is worth noting that Gallus arrived in Poland after a stay in Hungary; see e.g., T. Jasiński, *O pochodzeniu Galla Anonima*, Kraków 2008, p. 87; M. Plezia in: Anonim tzw. Gall, *Kronika polska*, transl. R. Grodecki, introduction and commentary M. Plezia, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1989, p. 90, footnote 2.

[1118] Before this expedition there was a Pomeranian invasion of Poland; repelling it cost the life of the elite of young knights. Bolesław did not take part in the retaliatory expedition following this incident because he was defending the country against the Bohemians. See Gall II, 33–34. More about the subject, see S. Rosik, *Bolesław…*, p. 103 f.

[1119] Bolesław left two units of his soldiers in Białogard (cf. Gall II, 39) probably to safeguard his return from Kołobrzeg, but it would be difficult to interpret this as an attempt to man it with a permanent Polish garrison.

[1120] Gall II, 39. The discussion of this information featured the idea that Bolesław subordinated individual duchies (K. Maleczyński, *Bolesław…*, p. 140). However, this wandering about the country looks more like a demonstration of power (cf. P. Żmudzki, *Władca i wojownicy. Narracje o wodzach, drużynie i wojnach w najdawniejszej historiografii Polski i Rusi*, Wrocław 2009, p. 199 ff.), which he did earlier in Poland, after subjugating Zbigniew, travelling all over the country (cf. Gall II, 38).

[1121] Gall II, 39.

[1122] Between the second and third expedition Gallus describes Bolesław's intervention on behalf of his imprisoned Pomeranian relative, Świętobor (Gall II, 29; about Świętobor see E. Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich…*, vol. 1, p. 91 f.). In this case the very fact of preparing the Polish expedition was sufficient for the Pomeranians to release the prisoner. Count palatine Skarbimir also fought with the Pomeranians in the name of Bolesław; he was very effective, which the chronicler did not fail to emphasize, see e.g., Gall II, 30; see S. Rosik, *Bolesław…*, p. 164 ff.

the other, what seems crucial in this literary account is the confirmation of Gallus' prior words that it was Bolesław who restrained the arrogance the Pomeranians felt when they regained independence after their short-lived subjugation by Władysław I Herman[1123]. What is more, the description of these events paves the way for justifying Bolesław's decision to deprive Zbigniew of the power in Poland (in ca. 1108), as not only did he accept the Pomeranians' help in the battles with his brother, but he also broke the conditions of the agreement which allowed him to remain in Mazovia by failing to offer any support for the third expedition against the Pomeranians[1124].

The subservient act of the Pomeranian duke made during the third expedition soon became invalid and the Pomeranians attacked Greater Poland[1125]. Even if Gallus included the story of the attack in his chronicle without any respect for the chronology of the events, the essential element is that of exacerbated relations with the Pomeranians. The capture of the strongholds on the Noteć was of key significance for the security of Poland and opened the way to the north. Still relying on Gallus, Bolesław first captured Czarnków, where he appointed his Pomeranian relative, Gniewomir, as governor[1126]. Impressed by these events, a Pomeranian duke surrendered to Poland[1127]. However, when Wrymouth attacked Bohemia in 1108[1128], Gniewomir turned out to be disloyal, assisting in the capture of the stronghold Ujście by the Pomeranians[1129]. In response Bolesław attacked Wieleń on the Noteć and slaughtered its garrison, occupying the stronghold[1130]. In return, in the summer – possibly as early as in 1109 – the Pomeranians invaded Mazovia, where, however, they suffered great losses in the battles with its defender, Comes Magnus[1131].

[1123] See above, footnote 1107.

[1124] Gall II, 38–39.

[1125] *Ibidem*, II, 43.

[1126] *Ibidem*. About Gniewomir see E. Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich…*, vol. 1, p. 94.

[1127] Possibly the same one who had earlier recognized Bolesław's suzerainty in Kołobrzeg (ca. 1107).

[1128] Gall II, 46. In this way he prevented Bohemian support of the German expedition in allied Hungary and eventually provoked Henry V's invasion of Poland in 1109 (see Cosmas III, 27; cf. S. Rosik, *Bolesław…*, p. 111 f.).

[1129] Gall II, 47.

[1130] *Ibidem*, II, 48.

[1131] *Ibidem*, 49. See also J. Banaszkiewicz, *Potrójne zwycięstwo Mazowszan nad Pomorzanami – Gall II, 49 – czyli historyk między "rzeczywistością prawdziwą" a schematem porządkującym*, [in:] *Kultura średniowieczna i staropolska. Studia ofiarowane Aleksandrowi Gieysztorowi w pięćdziesięciolecie pracy naukowej*, Warszawa 1991, p. 305–313.

Bolesław the Wrymouth's next Pomeranian campaign went down in history as one of his most famous military achievements. The combat began with the siege of Nakło on the Noteć in 1109. This time the stronghold surrendered to Bolesław after he defeated the forces hastening to its relief[1132]. After the news of the Polish ruler's spectacular victory, a further six Pomeranian strongholds surrendered to him and the assurances of surrender began to flow in from many parts of their country. Świętopełk, Bolesław's Pomeranian relative, became the governor of Nakło, while Bolesław himself was faced with the need to repel a German invasion of Poland (1109)[1133]. After he emerged from these struggles unscathed, probably in the same year he resumed his conquest of Pomerania[1134]. Yet further military action stalled after the crisis of Bolesław's reign, when he had Zbigniew – whom he had earlier allowed to return home – blinded, which may have ended in his death.

Ultimately, after making spectacular atonement, Bolesław consolidated his rule; yet he was soon faced with the mutiny of Świętopełk, most probably in 1112, who had been appointed the governor of Nakło[1135]. Thus, he was yet again forced to fight for the stronghold, but this time he had to settle for a tribute determined in the agreement following the end of the siege and Świętopełk's son, taken as a hostage[1136]. In 1113 the battle on the Pomeranian front flared up again; Bolesław captured Wyszogród on the Vistula and another stronghold, whose name the chronicler failed to mention[1137]. Subsequent tradition identified it as Nakło[1138], which is doubtful. Considering the significance which the chronicler attributed to this particular stronghold, it is difficult to explain why he would have ignored its name. Gallus' narration stops with the account of this campaign.

Whatever the case may be, the tradition of the annals sets the capture of Nakło by Wrymouth for 1113[1139]. Even though here, too, it is hard to verify it[1140], we may assume that Wrymouth yet again garrisoned the strongholds on the border, possibly in Nakło itself, with his own men. The gate to Pomerania was open, but for how long? Considering the quality of the sources, this question must remain unanswered. In the meantime, historians in the 20th century forged a cannon model of interpreting these events as the beginning of the permanent conquest of Pomerania. We will deal with this issue soon, but let us stop here to focus on the extent of Bolesław's efforts in Pomerania in the times described by Gallus Anonymus.

Undoubtedly, capturing the strongholds in the bordering strip of land on the Noteć and Vistula created more favourable conditions for maintaining the course of Wrymouth's Pomeranian policy outlined above. What he considered the key issue was persuading the local communities led by their dukes to recognize his suzerainty, which enabled him to exploit the lands on the Baltic and their population potential. The famous song, imputed by Gallus to Bolesław's knights in the passage about the capture of Kołobrzeg at the beginning of his rule[1141], aptly points to the country's riches: fish[1142], the "treasures" of the sea (which primarily meant amber), and of course the salt trade or the profits from controlling the centres orientated towards long-distance trade. This in itself was sufficiently attractive to stimulate the Piasts' drive to the Baltic, while there was also the interior of the country, whose affluence was founded on agriculture.

The plundering raids[1143] hitherto undertaken had enabled the Piasts to exploit the affluence of Pomerania and their population potential

1132 Gall III, 1. For more see P. Żmudzki, *Władca…*, p. 448 ff.; S. Rosik, *Bolesław…*, p. 173 ff.

1133 More about this subject – among others – see K. Maleczyński, *Bolesław…*, p. 100 ff.; S. Rosik, *Bolesław…*, p. 111 ff.

1134 Gall III, 18, he mentions the capture of three strongholds.

1135 *Ibidem*, II, 25, extensively about it. See above, footnote 951.

1136 Gall III, 1. About Świętopełk see E. Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich…*, vol. 1, p. 94 ff.

1137 Gall III, 26.

1138 Which is confirmed by the title added later to the chapter in question in the chronicle's manuscript: "The Pomeranians returned the stronghold of Nakło to the Poles" (cf. *ibidem*).

1139 *Rocznik świętokrzyski dawny…*, under the year 1113 (p. 774).

1140 It is quite possible that the information about these ancient times featured in the annals comes from one tradition, which restricts the possibility of verification of the data by confirming them by independent sources.

1141 Gall II, 28. It has become a canonical text of Poland's oldest history, also due to its reception in the culture of the 20th century, i.e., Czesław Niemen's spectacular performance of the Polish translation of the song (1978) (see e.g., https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rQuo3Popn9Y).

1142 In Gallus' song fresh fish was contrasted with the salty and foul-smelling fish, which also shows that the fish intended for trade away from the sea was preserved with salt and then dried. Following this procedure the smell was unpleasant. More about the subject D. Makowiecki, *Rybołówstwo i konsumpcja ryb w średniowiecznym Kołobrzegu*, [in:] *Salsa Cholbergiensis. Kołobrzeg w średniowieczu…*, p. 223–232.

1143 The cruelty of Wrymouth's invasions of Pomerania is highlighted in the hagiography of St. Otto of Bamberg (e.g., Vita Prieflingensis II, 19; Herbord II, 5).

by kidnapping[1144]. For similar reasons Wrymouth also scourged Prussian tribes[1145]. Lastly, the military potential of local communities should not be underestimated. Not only did the Pomeranians make the lives of inhabitants of Poland a misery by launching their plundering raids, but they also offered the Piasts military support[1146]. These moments of co-operation were part of a broader scope of Polish-Pomeranian relations, ones resulting in family ties between the elites[1147], which is never mentioned by the sources devoted to the neighbouring Prussians at that time[1148]. The lands of the latter, due to their marshes, lakes, and thick forests impeding communication, hindered any military action to a much greater degree than Pomerania and hence the Piasts' greater involvement on the Pomeranian front, where, additionally, there were the early-urban centres tempting with their riches, especially in the Odra estuary.

The driving force behind Bolesław III the Wrymouth's conquests in Pomerania (and in the territories of the Prussians) also had its ideological aspect. What is striking in the song of the knights at Kołobrzeg that Gallus mentions in his chronicle, is the conquering spirit, the awareness of the *novum* and reaching further than their fathers' generation. To be fair, any academically meticulous analysis would prove that the "fathers" had also taken part in that expedition[1149], yet it would not be a particularly effective premise for interpreting poetry. In this case the literary effort seems to shape and also reflect the ideas professed by the elites gathered around Bolesław – the moving force behind the events from the second decade of the 12th c.

[1144] Gall II, 28, emphasizes the abduction of Pomeranian youth after the attack of Kołobrzeg.

[1145] *Ibidem*, II, 42 and III, 24, confirms the plundering of the Prussians and kidnapping of boys and girls.

[1146] And especially Zbigniew – cf. *ibidem*, II, 24. See e.g., N. Delestowicz, *Zbigniew. Książę Polski*, Poznań 2017.

[1147] Gallus writes not only about the ducal, dynastic ties but also those between the nobles on both sides, see footnote 1149.

[1148] Also in this case do the sources mention that the Piasts accepted Prussian military assistance. Mieszko II is supposed to have attacked Saxony with their help. See lately: A. Dobrosielska, *Prusowie między Polską…*, p. 195 f.

[1149] An important person during the expedition was "old Michael" (cf. Gall II, 28) hypothetically identified as the head of the Awdaniec family (see e.g., M. Plezia in: Anonim tzw. Gall, *Kronika polska…*, p. 96, footnote 7; for more information see: J. Bieniak, *Polska elita polityczna XII w. (Część I. Tło działalności)*, [in:] Społeczeństwo Polski Średniowiecznej 2, ed. S.K. Kuczyński, Warszawa 1982, p. 11–61).

Similarly interesting in another song mentioned by Gallus is the emphasis on the fact that the war with the pagans was *guerra licita*[1150] – a legal, just war. The "barbarians" were thus in the chronicler's circles a natural space for expansion, which is substantiated by the ease with which he dismissed the obvious fact that they were defending their freedom – they were morally inferior to the Poles fighting for fame[1151]. His account features elements sacralizing the war, echoing with the ideology of the crusades[1152], such as the calls for eliminating the pagans[1153], but on the other hand – fighting them in order to convert them[1154]. Interestingly, despite such a distinctly unequivocal evaluation of Bolesław III the Wrymouth's wars with the Barbarians, following in the footsteps of Bolesław the "Great" (i.e., Chrobry/the Brave[1155]) and even Charlemagne[1156] in his efforts to force the pagans to change their religion, this motif never acquired any special prominence in his descriptions of particular military campaigns.

An exception is the episode devoted to the capture of Czarnków, where he writes about the baptism of many defeated Pomeranians led by Gniewomir, subsequently appointed as the governor[1157]. Interestingly, Gallus emphasized that Bolesław incorporated the stronghold into his domain[1158], which corresponds with the fact of highlighting

[1150] He contrasts this permissible war with the vile aggression between the Christians, i.e., Henry V's expedition to Poland in 1109 – also in the opinion of the German knights. They expressed it in the song composed in veneration of – sic! – Bolesław harassing them in skirmishes; Gall III, 11.

[1151] Gall II, 48; see: M. Stabrowski, *Aksjosfera wojny w Kronice polskiej Galla Anonima*, [in:] *Polska – Pomorze – sąsiedzi…*, p. 210 f., 216. Such an attitude to the "Barbarians" is hardly surprising in that era; to compare we may quote a similar phrasing in the chronicle by Widukind of Corvey, describing in the 970s. the battles between Polabian Slavs and Saxons (cf. Widukind II, 20).

[1152] More on this matter, see below, p. 394 ff.

[1153] Gall II, 3.

[1154] *Ibidem*, Prohemium I.

[1155] In Gallus Anonymus' view the times of Bolesław I the Brave were the golden age in Polish history (cf. *ibidem*, I, 16); his actions and success were set as an example for the contemporaries, primarily – of course – for Bolesław III the Wrymouth; see P. Wiszewski, *Domus Bolezlai. W poszukiwaniu…*, p. 230 ff.

[1156] We should note here the legend that the Prussians were of Saxon descent, i.e., they came from those Saxons who escaped from subordination and forcible conversion by Charlemagne. Thus Bolesław Wrymouth, fighting to subjugate and convert the Prussians, is presented as a continuator of Charlemagne, see above, p. 251 f.

[1157] Gall II, 44.

[1158] *Ibidem*: "mancipavit in suo dominio".

the conversion of the new subjects. However, considering the whole of Pomerania, the mention from the prologue about Bolesław's battles with the barbarians in the aim of their conversion[1159] seems to be ahead of the described times[1160], which indicates that following 1113 Bolesław may have changed the priorities of his Pomeranian policy, placing greater emphasis on the conversion of the pagans. Referring to the example of Bolesław the Brave as he was presented in Gallus' account, it becomes obvious that the change of priorities also involved establishing bishoprics for the converted[1161].

Yet at that time it was still a thing of the future, however near[1162]. Another similarity with the times of the first Piasts is striking in Gallus' account – namely, that the main axis of Polish expansion in Pomerania was still invariably the Parsęta. In Gallus' view the capture of the strongholds situated on the river, Białogard and Kołobrzeg, justified Wrymouth's claim for the subordination of Pomerania. Even though this view, forged *in medias res*, represented the beliefs of the contemporary Polish elites, who were Gallus' informers and the first recipients of his work, it has never acquired such significance in scholarship. For over two centuries Wrymouth's Pomeranian policy has been evaluated from the perspective of his exploits after 1113.

4. Crucial conquests

Stanisław Rosik

20th-century historiography adopted a standard view of Bolesław III the Wrymouth's military expansion as consisting of two basic stages: 1) raids aimed at imposing control over and plundering Pomeranian communities; 2) the systematic conquest of Pomerania accomplished after 1113, which resulted in the incorporation of the land's eastern part into Poland, achieved by 1119 at the latest, and the subordination

[1159] Gall, Prohemium I.

[1160] This is yet another argument that Gallus' work was intended to reach further in time than its present-day version. See e.g., M. Plezia, *Wstęp*, [in:] Anonim tzw. Gall, *Kronika polska…*, p. LIX.

[1161] Gall I, 11.

[1162] See below, p. 357, 416 (about establishing bishoprics in Lebus Land, Kuyavia and Pomerania in the duchy of the Griffins).



Map 4. Pomerania in the first half of the 12th cent.

of the western part by ca. 1121. In this view a point of departure for the conquest of Pomerania was the conviction of Bolesław's capture of the strongholds situated in the bordering strip of land, mainly on the Noteć, dated to 1113[1163], which is highly probable. Indeed, this must have constituted solid foundations for further expansion, but at the same time it raises the inevitable question about its further development.

The sources confirm solely the subordination of western Pomerania in the decade following 1113. What is striking is the similarity between Gallus Anonymus' account emphasizing the battles with the Pomeranians aimed at their conversion and Ekkehard of Aura's contemporary chronicle (died 1126). Under the entry for the year 1124

[1163] It is worth noting the speculation that the capture of Białogard and Kołobrzeg in ca. 1107, described by Gallus, was to be the first stage in the conquest of Pomerania aiming at severing the land with a strip on the Parsęta reaching the Baltic (A.F. Grabski, *Polska sztuka wojenna w okresie wczesnofeudalnym*, Warszawa 1959, p. 167 f., 180 f.). Let us remember, however, that Gallus mentions the subordination of Pomerania in general and thus it is difficult to conclude that there was any consistent plan of subordinating it in consecutive steps.

the south-German chronicler writes about the circumstances of commencing Otto of Bamberg's mission among the Pomeranians and states that Bolesław crushed them with such might that they decided that the optimum solution would be to seek refuge (*confugium*) in Christianity[1164] – possibly to avoid further aggression on his part. Due to the fact that Otto embarked on a mission precisely in the western-Pomeranian duchy, we can be certain that at that stage Bolesław was successful in his conquests only on the Baltic in that area.

This conclusion is confirmed by the relatively late (from ca. 1159) information from Herbord of Michelsberg about the decisive battles determining the conquest of Pomerania[1165]. He highlights the capture of Szczecin by Polish forces (dated to ca. 1120)[1166], which is confirmed by *Miracula sancti Egidii*[1167]. According to Herbord, the other key moment marking the crucial change in the campaign was the defeat of the Pomeranians in what is commonly assumed to have been another decisive battle – following that at Nakło in 1109 – one fought at the place called *Nacla*[1168], identified as Niekładz[1169]. However, Herbord writes here precisely about imposing harsh terms of peace on

[1164] Ekkehard of Aura, under the year 1124 (p. 262 f.).

[1165] Herbord II, 5. Quite significantly, the *Pomerania* described by Herbord (II, 1) is the western-Pomeranian duchy and as such it comprises its parts on the Odra's left bank in the Lutician territory.

[1166] It is an approximate date, determined i.e., on the basis of the information that, after subordinating the Pomeranians, Bolesław looked for a missionary for them for "three years" before the first mission of Otto of Bamberg (cf. Herbord II, 6). The period between 1119–1122 is generally taken into account (review of 20th century historiography on this matter see G. Labuda, *Historia Kaszubów…*, p. 94 f.; S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 146; see also above). Szczecin was captured in winter after the marshes surrounding the town's fortifications had frozen. It is worthy of mention here that Bolesław attacked the Prussians in winter too, when their lands were more easily accessible after the lakes and marshes had frozen (cf. Gall III, 24).

[1167] *Miracula beati Egidii auctore Petro Guillelmo*, ed. Ph. Jaffé, MGH SS 12, Hannover 1856, p. 316–323.

[1168] This interpretation corresponds with the legend of the battle on the lake Dąbie, created in 16th-century Pomeranian historiography on the basis of Herbord's information (see Kantzow). See L. Quandt, *Bischof Ottos erste Reise in Pommern. Localitäten. Chronologie*, "Baltische Studien" AF 10, 1844, 2, p. 129; J.M. Piskorski, *U źródeł legendy o domniemanej bitwie koło Dąbia w 1121 roku*, "Ziemia", 1983 [1986], p. 373–377; S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 148.

[1169] K. Maleczyński, *Bolesław…*, p. 150. Today the Niekładz of old is a part of Gryfice. The places of the same name, other than Nakło on the Noteć, were also taken into consideration. G. Labuda (*Historia Kaszubów…*, p. 94) opted for a suburbium in Kołobrzeg and O. Eggert (*Geschichte Pommerns…*, vol. 1, p. 50) indicated Anklam in Northern Polabia. For more literature see: S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 148 ff.

the Pomeranians after militarily subjugating them "apud Naclam", which – taking into consideration the account's wider context[1170] – should be understood rather as "in Nacla"[1171].

It is also difficult to rule out the possibility that *Nacla* may be identified with Nakło on the Noteć. The battles of this stronghold had earned such a special place in the memory of Wrymouth's Pomeranian conquests that it is quite possible that in his laconic information – describing Bolesław's campaigns in very general terms – Herbord restricted himself to mere mentions of his most famous Pomeranian battles. Thus the question must remain open[1172], while the view of the decisive battle crowning the conquest of western Pomerania will be a hypothesis based on shaky foundations, whose alternative is the capture of an important stronghold (*Nacla*). However, there is no doubt that Bolesław III the Wrymouth's military expeditions reach the estuary of the Odra, or even further – both in the mainland and on Baltic islands.

The information about Świętopełk "of Odra" (*dux Odrensis*), who – according to the annals died in 1122 – may hypothetically be associated not only with the battles for the Odra estuary but also with the battles for the centres situated further south up the river[1173]. This again is an open issue, albeit the very fact that it emerges well corresponds with the wider context provided by the sources informing of Bolesław's encroachment on Polabian territories[1174]. However, what is more intriguing is the information from the annals about the Polish ruler's "overseas" expedition entered for the year 1122 or 1123: "Bolesław crossed the sea and captured strongholds". This offers a great potential for speculation so – in order not to get carried away – we should restrict our imagination to the most plausible hypothesis that the target of the campaign was one of the islands on the Baltic

[1170] Cf. Herbord II, 14: "apud Pirissam"; II, 23: "apud Caminam"; II, 40: "apud Belgradam"; III, 1: "apud Hallam"; III, 5: "apud Uznoimiam"; III, 32: "apud extera loca". Obviously, on the basis of these few examples it cannot be completely ruled out that just this one time the hagiographer could have used "apud" in the sense of "at" in reference to the place of the battle.

[1171] S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 148 ff.

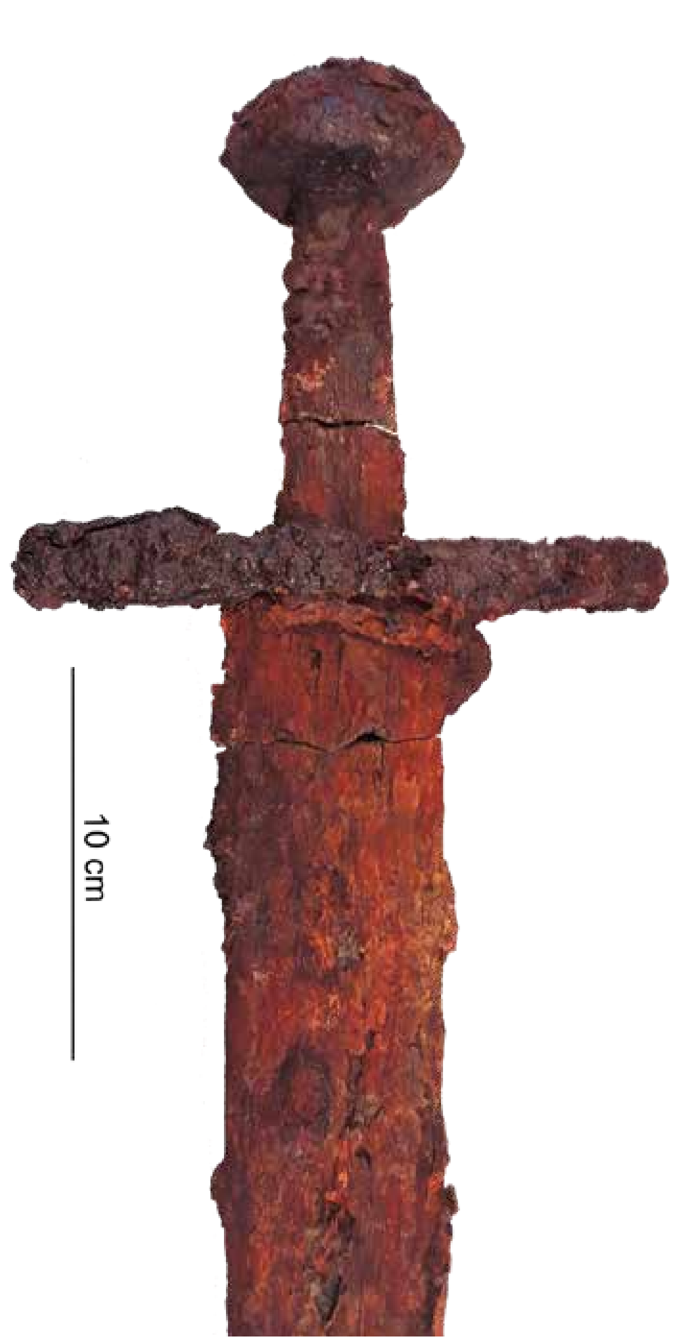
[1172] The fame of Bolesław's struggle to capture Nakło in 1109 may have come to the fore here (see above, footnote 1132).

[1173] Like Stolpe or Cedynia, see above, p. 334 f.

[1174] Ebo (III, 4) mentions Wrymouth's raid of the land of the Morzyczanie. For more, see K. Myśliński, *Polska wobec Słowian połabskich…*, p. 138 f., 148.

Il. 16. Stolpe on the Odra/Oder: a sword from the grave of a representative of the elite, found in the cemetery adjacent to the stronghold







Il. 17. A brass vessel from the grave of a representative of the elite, unearthed at the cemetery just outside the stronghold of Stolpe on the Odra/Oder

situated within the range of Bolesław's plans of expansion, confirmed, e.g., in 1135 in the treaty concluded with Lothair III in Merseburg. Thus, it could even be Rugia[1175], but at this stage Wolin or Usedom seem more probable, based on the assumption that the gulf of Szczecin was the sea (*mare*)[1176] mentioned in the annals.

It is quite possible that the western-Pomeranian duke, Wartislaw I, supported Bolesław III the Wrymouth in these military efforts. In 1128 the duchy of this progenitor of the Griffins comprised also Usedom and Lutician centres on the Peene river[1177]. It is generally assumed that he incorporated them after the death of Henry, son of Gottschalk (died in 1127), who controlled the Lutici[1178]. In this situation the safest option is to narrow down the search for the hypothetical target of Bolesław's overseas expedition to the island of Wolin, where he would have had to capture not only the fortified town of Wolin, but also, e.g. the stronghold in Lubin[1179]. These conquests were transferred

[1175] Bolesław was then to have paid homage to the emperor for Pomerania and Rugia. See below, p. 495.

[1176] In St. Otto's hagiography the Szczecin Lagoon is called *mare*. It is also possible that the author used the term *mare* in the description of a lake and a sea. More about this way of naming water reservoir, see e.g., J. Rosik, S. Rosik, *Morze czy… "Morzyc"? Na tropie dawnych pojęć warunkujących ogląd wód (w kręgu przekazów o nadbałtyckiej Słowiańszczyźnie z XI i XII wieku)*, [in:] *Populi terrae marisque*, ed. M. Rębkowski, S. Rosik, Wrocław 2011, p. 139–144.

[1177] This is confirmed in St. Otto's hagiography – Vita Prieflingensis III, 4; Ebo III, 5–12; Herbord III, 2–9.

[1178] According to Helmold (I, 36), the Pomeranians were to be subordinated to Henry, son of Gottschalk (e.g., A. Turasiewicz, *Dzieje polityczne Obodrzyców. Od IX wieku do utraty niepodległości w latach 1160–1164*, Kraków 2004, p. 167–187; K. Myśliński, *Polska wobec Słowian połabskich do końca wieku XII*, Lublin 1993, p. 132 ff.; J. Strzelczyk, *Bohaterowie Słowian Połabskich*, Poznań 2017). The chronicler may have referred to the Transodranian part of the Griffins' duchy, including Usedom, which he apparently interpreted as belonging to Pomerania (he placed there the seat of the Pomeranians' bishopric). He wrote in the 1160s, when for several decades the Griffins had already possessed the territories on the left bank of the Odra and, perhaps, he transferred this reality into the times of Henry, son of Gottschalk. This interpretation enabled reconciling this information with the fact of subordinating Pomerania at that time by Wrymouth. Ultimately, it is hard to rule out that at some stage of Henry's reign the Pomeranians, and even Wartislaw I himself, were forced to recognize his suzerainty. It would have been an element in the competition between the neighbours of the Pomeranians for subordinating them, especially in the Odra estuary. The ruler of the Obodrites in this case co-operated with the Saxons, and especially with Lothair of Supplinburg, competing with Bolesław the Wrymouth.

[1179] For a complex monograph about the excavations in these remains of the stronghold, see *Lubin. Early Medieval Stronghold at the Mouth of the Oder River*, ed. M. Rębkowski, Szczecin 2018.

under Wartislaw's direct rule, who in this way benefited from cooperation with his Polish lord. It is quite possible that Wrymouth himself promoted this progenitor of the Griffins as the ruler of the conquered lands[1180].

Wartislaw I was predestined to this role due to the fact that he had already been baptized and probably maintained political ties with his Christian neighbours[1181]. Despite that, the terms of peace Wrymouth imposed on the Pomeranians – we rely here on Herbord's account – were harsh: apart from the commitment to convert to Christianity, they had to pay a tribute of more than 300 marks in silver[1182], provide military support[1183] and agree to resettle several thousand armed men with their families to defend Polish borders[1184]. Even if the hagiographer had embellished the facts, the imposed commitments were burdensome for the Pomeranians and it is hardly surprising that they strove to change them and their duke wanted to liberate himself from Polish domination and surrender directly to the emperor, Lothair III[1185].

Western Pomerania was thus conquered in a way analogous to others described by Gallus Anonymus. Wrymouth captured the main centres of the conquered country and imposed specific obligations on the vanquished. He did not garrison – at least not permanently – strongholds with his own men and did not incorporate these lands into his monarchy. The fate of the eastern part of Pomerania, which

[1180] It is quite possible that Wartislaw I benefited from the death of Świętopełk "of Oder".

[1181] He is even supposed to have had a Christian wife (Herbord II, 19 and 22). See e.g, M. Rusakiewicz, *"Matrona nobilissima et christianissima"? Żona Warcisława I a problem chrystianizacji Pomorza*, [in:] *Jednostka w czasach przełomu, człowiek wobec zmiany… Społeczeństwo – Kultura – Religia – Gospodarka – Polityka – Życie codzienne*, ed. A. Marzec, Kraków 2012, p. 75–84.

[1182] It was reduced to three hundred during the mission of Otto of Bamberg, see Herbord II, 5 and 26, III, 10.

[1183] In the case of war one armed man out of nine families was to be sent to serve Bolesław (cf. Herbord II, 5). See lately: P. Babij, *Wojskowość…*, p. 207 ff.

[1184] Herbord (II, 5) wrote about eight thousand armed men, but the use of round numbers in his account harmonizes the »the world of the text«, or possibly introduces symbolic elements rather than reflects the reality (see S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 147 f.). This information became important in the debate of the functioning of the march in Poland in the 12th c. See T. Lalik, *Społeczeństwo i państwo w drugiej połowie XI i pierwszej połowie XII wieku*, [in:] *Polska pierwszych Piastów. Państwo – społeczeństwo – kultura*, ed. T. Manteuffel, Warszawa 1970, p. 240 f.

[1185] See below, p. 487 f.

was directly subordinated to the Polish administration, was different; yet its situation was confirmed in the sources not until the second part of the 12th c.

The view commonly adopted by 20th-century historiography maintained that the lands on the lower Vistula were incorporated into Poland by 1119 at the latest. This is one but by no means the only option to be taken into account when reconstructing the course of events. The other is the subordination of local centres and ducal authority – similarly as in western Pomerania – which would have introduced the ultimate incorporation into the structures of the Piast monarchy[1186]. It is also possible that Wrymouth's expansion to eastern Pomerania occurred at the same time or even after he had accomplished the conquest of western Pomerania, which entails the assumption that its conclusion was never noted in the medieval sources.

Admittedly, the 20th century's canonical interpretation of the two mentions from the annals dated to 1116 and 1119 about Wrymouth's battles with the Pomeranians at least partially involves eastern Pomerania, but this is precisely where the hypothesis is rooted. Let us recall that the first mention says that "Bolesław III subordinated Pomerania and captured two strongholds", while the other says that "the same Bolesław defeated two dukes of the Pomeranians; he enslaved one and exiled the other"[1187]. None states which part of Pomerania it refers to and – considering that we are certain that Wrymouth did fight in western Pomerania – the information should be directly referred to this part of the land. Naturally, it cannot be ruled out that they at least partially, if not in whole, concern the battle of eastern Pomerania. The issue must simply remain open.

However, the establishment of a diocese in Kuyavia around 1124, which from the onset was to comprise the lands on the lower Vistula as far as Gdańsk[1188], speaks in favour of the hypothesis that Bolesław the Wrymouth had already to a certain degree subordinated eastern Pomerania and was striving to incorporate it into his

[1186] The incorporation of Pomerelia into Piast Poland did not mean suppressing the tendencies to gain independence similarly as in western Pomerania since a local dynasty took over the power as early as in the first half of the 13th c. See. e.g., G. Labuda, *Historia Kaszubów…*, p. 211 ff.

[1187] *Rocznik świętokrzyski dawny…*, under the year 1116 and 1119 (p. 774).

[1188] As long as we trust the data from the papal protection bull for the Włocławek bishopric from 1148, see below, p. 413 f.

own monarchy. The fact that the diocese's seat was situated in Poland, in Włocławek[1189] – thus contrary to what happened in western Pomerania[1190] – constitutes an important premise for the assumption that the process leading to the incorporation of eastern Pomerania into Poland had already been under way. The Pomeranian elites[1191] were most probably involved in its accomplishment, while the military pressure must have been of key significance. The process was closely connected with Christianization, but even the elites already professing the Christian faith were unable to impose the new religion on the whole of the "barbarian" society without this external factor[1192].

Thus it is hardly surprising that there is a close *iunctim* between Bolesław III the Wrymouth's political and military expansion and his efforts to subject Pomeranian communities to Christianization. This is confirmed by Ekkehard of Aura, who linked the conquest with Otto of Bamberg's activity in western Pomerania. This view was consolidated by Herbord, who proclaimed that Bolesław the Wrymouth was as instrumental in the conversion of the Pomeranians as St. Otto himself[1193]. He thus in a sense disavowed the idea promoted a few years earlier by Ebo of Michelsberg that Otto of Bamberg should be counted as one of the great Apostles of pagan peoples – the Apostle of the Pomeranians. This divergence in the evaluation

[1189] Possibly the bishopric originally had its seat in Kruszwica, see e.g., M. Michalski, *Ustanowienie i wczesne dzieje biskupstwa kujawskiego*, [in:] *Scripta minora*, vol. 1, ed. B. Lapis, Poznań 1996, p. 83–108; J. Dobosz, *Monarcha i możni wobec Kościoła w Polsce do początku XIII wieku*, Poznań 2002, p. 216 ff.; and below.

[1190] Here the original seat was Wolin and then Kamień, see e.g., P.P. Piętkowski, *Biskupstwo pomorskie…*, *passim*.

[1191] It would not have been anything new. Gallus clearly confirms Zbigniew's co-operation with the Pomeranians; Wrymouth also did so, appointing governors in Czarnków or Nakło (see above) and co-operating with Wartislaw I. Even if some of the eastern-Pomeranian elites were exterminated during the possible battles with Wrymouth, their significant social and political roles survived; in the historical periods reflected in narrative sources the nobles from Pomerelia, most certainly of local origin, were the members of the Piast administration. The issue, allowing for more extensive literature, is discussed by M. Smoliński, *Pommerellen, seine Herrscher und Polen…*, p. 292 ff.

[1192] This is clearly seen on the example of Wartislaw I and the analogies from northern Polabia, see below, p. 363.

[1193] Herbord II, 5, interpreted Wrymouth's conquests in the spirit of crusades (i.e., conversion or extermination); cf. e.g., M. Bunding-Naujoks, *Das Imperium Christianum und die deutschen Ostkriege vom zehnten bis zum zwölften Jahrhundert*, [in:] *Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke in der deutschen Ostpolitik des Mittelalters*, ed. H. Beumann, Darmstadt 1963, p. 11; S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 136 ff., 531, 561.

of the accomplishments of the great missionary primarily stemmed from the debate on monastic reforms in the 12th century, which in itself constitutes a separate research issue[1194], while for the purpose of this discussion Ebo's reinterpretation of events, differing from Ekkehard's account, seems very inspiring.

Indeed, Ebo praised Wrymouth's religious zeal as manifested in his persecuting Pomeranian "idolaters"[1195], but ultimately he considered the whole military effort to be detrimental from the point of view of St. Otto's mission. He treated the war – not without reason – as an obstacle to accomplishing it[1196]. In so doing he obviously overlooked the fundamental fact that the terms of peace imposed on the Pomeranians opened the doors to St. Otto[1197], but on the other hand he raised an important issue that even after the first mission was completed in 1125, the Polish-Pomeranian hostilities did not cease[1198]. Ekkehard of Aura was unable to convey this idea, as he died in 1126. Thus, Ebo's interpretation – let's face it: conceived *cum studio* – conveys an important message that the subjugation of the Pomeranians ca. 1120 was not tantamount to their lasting subordination to Poland.

In this context promoting ecclesiastical links seems to constitute an alternative effort to integrate Pomerania with the Polish monarchy, alongside the military endeavour, which, taking 12th c. as a whole, became an accomplished fact in its eastern part. On the other hand, the western-Pomeranian duchy became a political entity gradually evading its subordination to Poland, even though Bolesław the Wrymouth, despite various problems[1199], was able to maintain his control over it until the end of his reign. This was seen in his protection

1194 More about the issue: E. Demm, *Reformmönchtum und Slawenmission im 12. Jahrhundert. Wertsoziologisch-geistesgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Viten Bischof Ottos von Bamberg*, Lübeck–Hammburg 1970; see also S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 511 ff.

1195 Ebo II, 18.

1196 In this context Ebo (III, 13) presented the deeds of the Apostle of the Pomeranians not only as the conversion of pagans, but also as the reconciliation of the so-far implacable enemies. Cf. Vita Prieflingensis II, 1. See E. Demm, *Reformmönchtum…*, p. 53; S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 618 ff.

1197 Which was clearly highlighted by Herbord III, 5.

1198 Ebo III, 13, mentioned Wrymouth's retaliatory expedition against the Pomeranians during Otto's second mission (1128). It was said to have been caused by the Pomeranian attack of Poland and desecration of the graves of Bolesław's ancestors; however, the authenticity of the event and its chronology raise doubts; see S. Rosik, *Bolesław…*, p. 220 ff.; see also below, p. 487 f.

1199 See e.g., *ibidem*, p. 219 ff.; and below, p. 487 f.

of the emerging ecclesiastical community, substantiated by his nomination of the first bishop, Adalbert, which he did in co-operation with Duke Wartislaw I[1200].

Ultimately, we cannot deny that Bolesław the Wrymouth's Pomeranian conquests were of crucial significance for the further fate of Pomerania, which during his reign permanently joined the Christian monarchies. Significantly, this fact was inevitably decided by Pomeranians themselves at the level of ducal power and individual local communities, especially those from the early-urban centres. Even though it is still an open question whether Bolesław changed his conquering strategy in the case of eastern Pomerania in order to incorporate it at once into Poland, it is certain that after 1113 – in line with the opinion of Gallus Anonymus writing at that time – the Christianizing pressure acquired decisively greater significance in Bolesław's expansion to the Baltic[1201].

5. Mission fields within the scope of Wrymouth's expansion

Stanisław Rosik

The establishment of two more bishoprics within the archdiocese in Gniezno in ca. 1124, in Lubusz/Lebus and in Kuyavia (Włocławek)[1202], was accompanied by designating mission fields in the lands of the pagan people that would be subordinated to them. The fiasco of Polish expansion in Polabia resulted in poor territorial development of the Lebus diocese and its existence was saved by the undertaking of missionary activity in Rus' in the 13th c. The bishopric in Włocławek comprised Pomerania on the lower Vistula. Over a century had passed since St. Adalbert/Voytěch carried out

1200 In the document of 1153 Adalbert stresses that he was appointed to his post together by Bolesław and Wartislaw (cf. PUB, vol. 1, no 43). A few years later Herbord (II, 42) pointed only to Bolesław.

1201 The proposal to consider this research issue in the search of hypothetical solutions in the studies of Bolesław the Wrymouth's conquests was put forward by S. Rosik (*O pożytku…*, *passim*), even though in 2014 expressed doubts as to this interpretation model assuming the transition to the conquest of western Pomerania only after the capturing eastern Pomerania (see *idem*, *Bolesław Krzywousty…*, p. 179).

1202 See J. Dobosz, *Monarcha i możni…*, p. 202–220.

his mission in *Gyddanyzc*, most probably Gdańsk, where – according to an account written a few years after the events – he baptized a multitude of people[1203]. The story had its alternative version in the legend *Tempore illo* from the second half of the 12th c., which said that the Pomeranians, who were so moved by his teachings that they wanted to proclaim him a god, ultimately – after he declined deification – did not decide to convert.

The legend well explains the situation in Pomerania in the 12th c., still pagan during Wrymouth's expansion, and introduces a new element – the baptism of the ruler of the Pomeranians administered by Adalbert at Bolesław the Brave's court[1204]. According to *Tempore illo*, in this way Adalbert, the patron saint of the archdiocese in Gniezno, laid the foundations for Christianity in the whole of Pomerania. The legend's message corresponds with the claims of Gniezno to the control over the Pomeranian diocese, which was finally established in 1140, initially with the seat in Wolin and ultimately – from 1176 – in Kamień[1205]. Its beginnings, similarly as those of the archdioceses in Lebus and Włocławek, reach back to ca. 1124, when the western-Pomeranian duchy became another mission field in the territory which had become the target of Wrymouth's expansion. Through the Polish ruler's efforts the mission was entrusted to Otto, the bishop of Bamberg.

As a young man he had been in Poland[1206], where he learnt the Slavic tongue. He was a very energetic bishop, frequently involved in a range activities outside the diocese as a diplomat and founder[1207]. He could be trusted with his organizational skills and effectiveness when converting the pagans and creating the basis for the ecclesiastical network. He was also a close collaborator of Emperor Henry V, highly praised in the Holy See. The emperor's

1203 See above.

1204 *Tempore illo*, chap. 12. According to the legend, this ruler invited Voytěch to Pomerania.

1205 The archdiocese of Gniezno put forward these claims with varying determination until the mid-14th century. See e.g., G. Labuda, *Historia Kaszubów…*, p. 385 ff.

1206 Otto stayed at Władysław I Herman's court as the chaplain of his wife, Judith of Swabia, and ran a school for boys. See lately: A. Krawiec, *Wokół pierwszego pobytu Ottona z Bambergu w Polsce – dwór Władysława Hermana, dyplomacja i środowisko intelektualne*, [in:] *Biskup Otton z Bambergu i jego świat…*, p. 91 ff.

1207 Otto's lives provide extensive information about his involvement. About the significance of his activity outside his diocese (*cura exteriorum),* see also, among others, E.L. Grasmück, *"Cura animarum". Zur Praxis der Seelsorge in der Zeit Bischof Ottos von Bamberg*, "Bericht des Historischen Vereins Bamberg" 125, 1989, p. 115–146.

support and papal license to convert the pagans[1208] were instrumental in legitimizing his missions, which he carried out in the territories claimed by at least three archdioceses: those of Gniezno, Magdeburg, and Hamburg-Bremen. The latter two put forward their claims especially to the lands of the Lutici, where Otto was active during both missionary expeditions in 1124–1125 and in 1128. When in Magdeburg during the latter trip, Otto met Archbishop Norbert of Xanten, who was to restrict his missionary plans among the Polabians/Elbslavs[1209]. Five years later Norbert received papal confirmation of his claims to western Pomerania[1210], which – however – ultimately did not come into effect[1211].

The western-Pomeranian duchy remained under Otto's ecclesiastical supervision until his death in 1139. He became involved in creating the local diocese[1212] in co-operation with Bolesław the Wrymouth, who appointed Adalbert as its ordinary; he was Otto's companion and interpreter during the missions. Herbord even wrote that as early as in 1125, on his return the bishop of Bamberg assigned the task of appointing the bishop of the Pomeranians to Wrymouth[1213]. In this

1208 Receiving the *licentia praedicandi* from pope Calixt II (see W. Könighaus, *Pommern zwischen Papsttum, Polen und Reich bis zum Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts*, [in:] *Poland, Pomerania and Their Neighbours' Shaping…*, p. 235 f.) constituted an important element in the preparations for Otto's first missionary expedition (Ekkehard of Aura, under the year 1124, p. 262). Otto's hagiographers point out that he himself asked for this permission (Vita Prieflingensis II, 1; Ebo II, 3; Herbord II, 7); however, *Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium*, ed. L. Weiland, [in:] MGH SS 23, Hannover 1874, p. 105, from the 12th c. in this case points to Bolesław the Wrymouth, more about this issue with reference to the literature on the subject, see S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 179 f., 549 ff.

1209 Vita Prieflingensis III, 4, even mentions Norbert's "dark scheming" aimed at restricting the scope of Otto's missionary activity.

1210 And also the whole diocesan network in Poland, see W. Könighaus, *Pommern zwischen Papsttum, Polen und Reich…*, p. 238 ff.; and especially below, p. 420 f., 433.

1211 After St. Norbert's death his successor abandoned his policy, which also resulted from Wrymouth's efforts and the activity of the archdiocese in Gniezno crowned with the acquisition of the so-called Bull of Gniezno in 1136, more about the issue e.g., J. Dobosz, *Monarcha i możni…*, p. 222 ff.

1212 Vita Prieflingensis III, 15 highlights the fact that he received a papal blessing for the ring dedicated to the first bishop of the Pomeranians.

1213 Herbord II, 42, explains this assignment of the task of appointing the bishop with Otto's haste, which is understandable as in his times canonical election of bishops became more common. This way or another, till the beginning of the 13th c. the Piasts appointed bishops "as usual" (see e.g., K. Skwierczyński, *Recepcja idei gregoriańskich w Polsce do początku XIII wieku*, Wrocław 2005, p. 109 ff.), which also was the case of the first ordinary of the Pomeranian diocese.

context it is hardly surprising that the archbishops of Gniezno strove to subordinate the Pomeranian diocese[1214]. Finally, it comprised the whole of the duchy of the Griffins, even though the sources mention that the idea was considered of establishing at least two bishoprics in the area. The papal bull of 1133 mentioned above lists the dioceses of Pomerania and Szczecin as subordinated to the Archbishop of Magdeburg.

The very idea of dividing the western-Pomeranian mission field comes to the fore in Ebo's work. Situated in the lands of the Lutician, the province of W(a)nzlow, laconically mentioned in *Vita Prieflingensis,* in Ebo's account is promoted to the rank of yet another people – *gens Uznoim* – who were converted by their Apostle[1215] after the Pomeranians. In this view this "Usedom tribe" seems more important than the Pomeranians within the whole of Wartislaw I's domain[1216], which corresponds with the information conveyed by Helmold of Bosau, who pronounced that Otto of Bamberg had converted the Pomeranians and established for them the bishopric of Uznam (Usedom)[1217]. However, the chronicler writes about one bishopric for the Pomeranians as this concept of arranging the western-Pomeranian mission sphere was finally put into effect. Arguing with Ebo's version, Herbord writes that Pomerania was the stage of both of St. Otto's missions[1218] and, similarly as the monk of Prüfening before him, mentions one bishopric there.

Neither the lives of Otto of Bamberg nor any other sources mention Reinbern's bishopric in Kołobrzeg, even though his lands were situated in the western-Pomeranian mission sphere[1219]. This telling discontinuation of the tradition of the year 1000 is not surprising. Reinbern's bishopric was an element of the original metropolitan organization of the Church in Poland[1220], while Otto of Bamberg's missionary endeavour was devoted to the conversion of a new, Pomeranian *gens*, never evangelized before. The original name of the diocese in the Griffins' duchy, "Pomeranian", closely corresponded with the establishment of a new thrust of ecclesiastical tradition. Even *Vita Prieflingensis* elevated the beginnings of the seat of the bishopric established only a few years earlier by attributing them with legendary Roman *origines*, which testifies to the prestige of the place and predestines it to acquire an independent position, ultimately confirmed by the exemption (1188)[1221].

This direction in the development of the Pomeranian diocese was probably determined by Otto himself[1222] as it was supposed to enjoy this kind of independence from the very beginning[1223]. Its status was never accepted by the neighbouring archdioceses, including that of Gniezno. The discord was also seen in the sphere of tradition. While the tradition of Otto of Bamberg as the Apostle of the Pomeranians crystallized in Germany and in western Pomerania[1224], the archdiocese in Gniezno developed the idea of St. Adalbert's apostolate, which is confirmed by the legend mentioned above, recorded in *Tempore illo*[1225]. Characteristically, it differs from the social reality of St. Adalbert's activity in Pomerania, recorded

[1214] See above footnote 1205.

[1215] Two *gentes* in the area of Otto's missions may have been introduced into Ebo's work to promote the idea of establishing two bishoprics; one was to be entrusted to Adalbert (Pomeranian) and the other to Udalric (Usedom), presented as Otto's closest collaborator. More bout the subject, see S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 448 f., 501 ff.

[1216] In Ebo's view the council of the nobles in Usedom (1128) was to decide about conversion of Wartislaw I's whole duchy (III, 6), while Otto's second expedition – contrary to the two other lives – was presented as more important than the first. Extensively about the issue S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 513 ff.; see also below.

[1217] Helmold II, 100. His information indicates that Usedom as well was in his times considered as the seat of the Pomeranian diocese (possibly together with Wolin). See: J. Petersohn, *Der südliche Ostseeraum…*, p. 311, 387.

[1218] Herbord II, 1; see S. Rosik *Conversio…*, p. 113 ff.

[1219] Perhaps a reflection of its existence was the decision to establish a diocese situated in western Pomerania.

[1220] There is no evidence that the archdiocese in Gniezno cultivated the memory of the bishopric in Kołobrzeg (*aecclesia Salsae Chobergiensis*) as *in partes infidelium*, which was the case of nearby Havelberg within the archdiocese of Magdeburg. See J. Petersohn, *Der südliche Ostseeraum…*, p. 342 ff.; S. Sigler, *Anselm von Havelberg. Beiträge zum Lebensbild eines Politikers, Theologen und königlichen Gesandten im 12. Jahrhundert*, Aachen 2005, p. 103–130, 160–171.

[1221] PUB, vol. 1, no. 111; cf. W. Könighaus, *Pommern zwischen Papsttum, Polen und Reich…*, p. 249 ff.

[1222] Therefore the historiography frequently accused Otto of betraying Bolesław the Wrymouth's interests; see e.g., W. Dziewulski, *Stosunek Ottona Bamberskiego do organizacji kościelnej terenów zachodnio-pomorskich*, "Zapiski Historyczne" 23, 1957, 1–3, p. 119–140.

[1223] So in the document confirming the exemption, see footnote 1221.

[1224] The memory of Otto's activity was cultivated in western Pomerania in the 12th c.; it intensified before his canonization in 1189. In this context it is noteworthy to mention the annual tribute of wax sent to Bamberg for the candles at the grave of the Apostle of the Pomeranians. See M. Rusakiewicz, *Donations of Wax as Examples of Commemorations of Otto of Bamberg in Pomerania (12th to 13th C.)*, [in:] *Poland, Pomerania and Their Neighbours' Shaping…*, p. 255–263; and below, p. 577.

[1225] An interesting attempt to combine the two traditions is presented in the *Annals of Kamieniec* from the 13th c., which feature a legend of St. Otto's and St. Voytěch's joint work on the conversion of the Pomeranians; the latter later went to Prussia; see below, footnote 1980.

almost contemporaneously in his *Vita prior*[1226] to render the situation analogous to that of Wartislaw I on the eve of Otto's mission. A Christian himself, he ruled pagan subjects, unable to persuade them to convert.

6. Social premises for undertaking the mission in Pomerania (on the example of Wartislaw I's duchy)

Stanisław Rosik

St. Otto's lives unanimously emphasize Wartislaw's favourable attitude to the Christianizing mission in Pomerania; yet they highlight that the duke had not undertaken it himself out of fear of his subjects. Elimination of the local religion would have meant an attack against the basis of the social order which the ducal power was grounded in. The forcible conversion imposed by Bolesław III the Wrymouth after capturing Pomerania changed the situation. Co-operating with him, Wartislaw was able to strengthen his authority, so far restricted by the power of pagan priests. This is clearly seen in the example of Rugia conquered by the Danes in 1168. Its duke, Jaromar, immediately seized the opportunity and like "the other Saul [St. Paul]" – in the words of Helmold of Bosau – became involved in the propagation of Christianity on the island so far dominated by theocracy (in fact hierocracy) centred around the temple in Arkona[1227].

Wartislaw I had to take into account the nobles from his duchy, who came to general congresses[1228]. However, this class was relatively well disposed towards accession to Christianity, which is illustrated by the congress in Usedom (1128). It is possible that it was attended mainly by the Lutician elders, but neither were similar attitudes rare in Pomerania. It is quite possible that their circle had included primarily those who were baptized in the times of the first Piasts; their number increased due to further contacts with the Christians. It is

1226 I.e., the boundary of Bolesław I the Brave's domain and a multitude of the converted, see above, p. 245.

1227 Helmold II, 108. See S. Rosik, *The Slavic Religion…*, p. 358 f.

1228 Otto's hagiography confirms such congresses for the Lutician part of his duchy in Usedom in 1128 (Ebo III, 6; Herbord III, 3), but they seem a normal thing also for the Pomeranian part.



Il. 18. The spit of Arkona

thus hardly surprising that not only Wartislaw[1229] but also many people from his entourage, e.g. soldiers[1230], had converted before St. Otto's mission.

Secondly, a number of communities ruled by assemblies (with Szczecin in the lead, Wolin, and certainly Pyrzyce) were subordinated to the Pomeranian duke. Thus, a phenomenon known in northern Polabia[1231] had emerged, consisting in the power of a Christian ruler over his pagan subjects. Bolesław the Wrymouth was instrumental in its liquidation in Pomerania; when he captured Szczecin, he imposed the obligation of conversion on its inhabitants[1232], which significant-

1229 Ebo (III, 6) wrote that as a child he accepted baptism while in captivity in Merseburg.

1230 Vita Prieflingensis II, 3.

1231 E.g., Henry, son of Gottschalk (cf. Helmold I, 34). More about this: H.-D. Kahl, *Heidnisches Wendentum und christliche Stammesfürsten. Ein Blick in die Auseinandersetzung zwischen Gentil- und Universalreligion im abendländischen Hochmittelalter*, "Archiv für Kulturgeschichte" 44, 1962, p. 72–119.

1232 Herbord II, 5. Later, during Otto's first mission, the inhabitants of Szczecin negotiated the conditions of the agreement for conversion with the Polish ruler (*ibidem*, II, 30).

ly enhanced the effectiveness of Otto's subsequent mission, not only in this most important urban centre in the whole duchy[1233]. Similarly as in Wolin, some of its residents were already Christians, which is confirmed by Otto's hagiography[1234] and Adam of Bremen, who wrote about it in the 1070s in his account of *Iumne* (most probably Wolin)[1235]. The accounts stress that local Christians were not allowed to profess their faith publicly[1236].

Thus, the openness of the Pomeranian centres to contacts with Christianity[1237] did not result in the will to convert in public life. On the contrary: local systems of beliefs evolved under the influence of ideas coming from the sphere of Christianity but also in competition with them, which is well exemplified by the cult of Triglav in Szczecin, who ruled in heaven, earth, and the underworld like Christ[1238] – or, similarly, Gerovit (Iarovit) in Wołogoszcz[1239] and Svantevit in Rugia[1240]. This theology of local deities was accompanied by the considerable importance of pagan temples and priests in the lives of the main Pomeranian centres, probably having developed in the 11th and 12th c.

1233 Wolin followed suit (Vita Prieflingensis II, 7 and 15; Ebo II, 11; Herbord II, 25 and 37).
1234 See above footnote 1051.
1235 Adam II, 22; see above, p. p. 63, 102. Apart from the Saxons mentioned by the chronicler, the "Greeks" mentioned by him are also taken into account. Following Kantzow (16th c.) a guess is still circulating that they were the followers of the Greek Orthodox rite from Rus'. This cannot be ruled out; yet considering the nature of Adam's works, propagating the idea of converting pagans, we should take into account the fact that those "Greeks" appear in the phrase "Greci et Barbari", which in St. Paul's epistolography denotes the whole of humanity, who the Gospel is addressed to. See: J. Nowak, *Untersuchungen zum Gebrauch der Begriffe populus, gens und natio bei Adam von Bremen und Helmold von Bosau*, Münster 1971; S. Rosik, *Interpretacja…*, p. 206 ff.; D. Fraesdorff, *Der barbarische Norden. Vorstellungen und Fremdheitskategorien bei Rimbert, Thietmar von Merseburg, Adam von Bremen und Helmold von Bosau*, Berlin 2005, p. 284.
1236 Adam II, 22; Herbord II, 26. Often baptized, they still lived pagan lives in pagan communities (e.g., Vita Prieflingensis II, 9; Ebo II, 9).
1237 See L. Leciejewicz, *Społeczne i polityczne warunki chrystianizacji Pomorza*, [in:] *idem*, *Opera selecta. Z dziejów kultury średniowiecznej Polski i Europy*, ed. M. Rębkowski, S. Moździoch, Wrocław 2006.
1238 Ebo III, 1, see below, footnote 1316.
1239 Ebo III, 8; Herbord II, 6. See S. Urbańczyk, *Dawni Słowianie…*, p. 181; J. Strzelczyk, *Mity, podania i wierzenia dawnych Słowian*, Poznań ²2007, p. 84 f.; S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 419 ff.; *idem*, *Jarowit Mars i Czarny Bóg Diabeł. O rozmaitej genezie nowych tożsamości słowiańskich bóstw na północnym Połabiu (w kręgu przekazów z XII wieku)*, [in:] *Historia narrat. Studia mediewistyczne ofiarowane Profesorowi Jackowi Banaszkiewiczowi*, ed. A. Pleszczyński, J. Sobiesiak, M. Tomaszek, P. Tyszka, Lublin 2012, p. 263–275.
1240 See above, footnote 1086. Even though a ducal cult centre also functioned here, see above.




Il. 19–20.
A miniature idol from Wolin, known as "sviatovid"

The success of the mission on the scale of the whole country was determined not so much by persuading the Pomeranians to recognize the Christian God as worth worshipping – for they were already rather prepared for this[1241] – but by severing their ties with local cult institutions and dissuading them from showing respect to the pagan priests and oracles. Interestingly, during his conquest Wrymouth did not destroy idolatry; it was essential to persuade the Pomeranians to abandon it through missionary teachings and in this way to build solid social foundations for the Christianizing turning point. The growing religious crisis of the Pomeranian communities was a significant factor here.

Firstly, internal unity was disintegrating, while the supporters of conversion to Christianity were growing in numbers, which did not solely entail the will to join the compass of Christianity for its political and civilizational superiority[1242]. The "package" also included recognition of the Christian God's might and the need of His support,

1241 Following the principle of syncretism – see below, p. 379 ff.
1242 So e.g., R. Bartlett, *Tworzenie…*, p. 436.

and thus admitting the inefficacy of vernacular cults[1243]. Ultimately, in view of Otto's hagiography even pagan priests made an attempt at pagan (syncretic) veneration of the "God of the Germans"[1244], which is a distinct example of the *interpretatio Slavica* of the Christian religion.

On the one hand St. Otto's mission indeed heralded the end of the world of the "barbarians"[1245], but on the other their communities were opening to the new *sacrum* – powerful, frightening, but possibly appealing with its idea of conquering power, tangibly manifesting itself on the stage of history in the examples of cruelty described by contemporary sources, but also in the successes of Bolesław Wrymouth's wars, horrifying to this day. This was the world in which Pomeranians and their neighbours lived, inflicting violence on each other[1246]. In this context it is hardly surprising that they eventually tended to go over to the winning, Christian side, not only in western Pomerania but also in its eastern part.

Opening the path to the conversion of the Pomeranians with blood and iron maintained, or even intensified, the mindset quite distant from the evangelical message brought by Otto of Bamberg. He probably realized that he could not hope that the future neophytes would show any deeper understanding of it. This is seen in his methods, which combined respect for theological issues with a healthy measure of pragmatism. In this way he followed an old tradition, reaching back to Carolingian times, of the south-German Church[1247], including Bamberg, carrying out missions among the Slavic peoples[1248].

[1243] On the extensive role of "empirical religion" in the conversion of medieval rulers see Ph.E. Steele, *Homo religiosus: the phenomenon of Poland's Mieszko I,* [in:] *The Dawning of Christianity in Poland and across Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. I. Kąkolewski, Ch. Lübke, P. Urbańczyk, Berlin 2020, p. 185–217.

[1244] See below, p. 379 f.

[1245] See K. Modzelewski, *Barbarzyńska Europa…*, p. 427 ff.

[1246] Suffice it to mention here a scene of separating families among the Lutici captured by Wartislaw on the verge of Otto's second mission – Herbord III, 2.

[1247] Especially the activity of the diocese in Salzburg. See B. Wavra, *Salzburg und Hamburg. Erzbistumsgründung und Missionspolitik…*, *passim*; and also e.g., M. Derwich, *Nie tylko tres linguae. Początki katechezy w językach narodowych w Kościele łacińskim*, "Sobótka" 64, 2009, p. 547–554; T. Wünsch, *Deutsche und Slawen im Mittelalter. Beziehungen zu Tschechen, Polen, Südslawen und Russen*, München 2008, p. 76 f.

[1248] Even the foundation document of the bishopric in Bamberg from 1007 mentions its task of converting the Slavs; cf. *Die Urkunden Heinrichs II.*, ed. H. Bresslau, H. Block, [in:] MGH Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae 3: *Heinrici et Ardvini diplomata*, Hannover 1900–1903, no 143, p. 170. Cf. E.F. von Guttenberg, *Das Bistum Bamberg*, vol. 1, Berlin–Leipzig 1937 (= Germania Sacra 2/1/1), p. 104.

7. Otto of Bamberg's missionary activity in western Pomerania

Stanisław Rosik

Otto's two journeys to the Baltic in 1124–1125 and in 1128 were an element of a broader plan to create a western-Pomeranian ecclesiastical organization. The aim of both journeys was to create a network of Christian communities in the country's main centres, gathered around churches, which were to provide pastoral services, continuing the religious instruction of the population, and broadening the circle of neophytes by evangelization of the unbaptized. An important aspect of the second journey was the reconciliation of the apostates in Szczecin and Wolin. In this way the expedition acquired the character of a bishop's visitation, who supervised – in this case following the principle of *cura exteriorum* – a newly-created ecclesiastical network[1249].

The accomplishment of such a missionary strategy required the presence of a bishop, who was to consecrate new churches, altars, and chrism[1250] as well as supervise the clergy. During the evangelization and initial religious instruction he was especially predestined to propagate the Christian doctrine. In this particular situation – here lay great importance – Otto had to be free of any pressure from any of the archdioceses striving for influence in Pomerania[1251]. These premises behind the fact of entrusting him with the mission on the Baltic are confirmed by an episode with Bernard the Spaniard, a bishop who was supposed to precede him on the missionary trail. He is a mysterious character presented

[1249] After Otto's death (1139) it was supervised by his successor Egilbert, but for a short time – until the first Pomeranian bishop Adalbert took office in 1140; see e.g., P. Piętkowski, *Biskupstwo pomorskie…*, p. 49–52.

[1250] Vita Prieflingensis III, 2, confirms Otto's contacts with Pomerania after his return from the first mission, which could have been an opportunity to send the chrism. It is also possible that it was sent from Gniezno, which would be understandable in view of Polish control of Wartislaw's duchy.

[1251] Otto of Bamberg, empowered by the emperor and the Holy See, was able to begin the mission as soon as possible and develop the newly-established ecclesiastical organization in the western-Pomeranian duchy despite the problems caused by the claims of the neighbouring archdioceses, especially Gniezno and Magdeburg. A delay might have wasted an opportunity to begin it at all – the political situation was changeable and the Pomeranians' commitment to convert might have become invalid. See: S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 153 ff.

in a slightly legendary convention by Ebo, but whose authenticity is difficult to question[1252].

Having left Rome, where he stayed in a monastery after arriving from Spain, he reached Wolin in the company of an interpreter and a chaplain[1253] assigned to him on his way in Poland by Bolesław the Wrymouth. Here, flaunting his poverty, barefoot and wearing ragged clothes, he delivered the address similar to that delivered to the Prussians by St. Adalbert. This he did to no avail; moreover, he was badly beaten after he attacked a holy column with an axe in the centre of the town[1254]. When he suggested that he should be locked in an old cottage which was subsequently to be put on fire to prove the genuineness of his mission, he was declared a desperate man trying to burn the town. Eventually he was put in a boat and sent out to the open sea, where he was to preach to fish and birds[1255]. He survived and finally he came to Bamberg, where he is said to have fueled Otto's missionary zeal and given invaluable advice – that without "a purse and sandals" he would not command the respect of the "barbarians" idolizing worldly goods.

This motif in Ebo's work[1256] seems to be an apologetic element that justifies Otto's abandonment of manifesting poverty during the mission in favour of ostentatious display of wealth and power, seen also in the presence of a military escort. During the first mission it was assigned by Bolesław the Wrymouth[1257] and supplemented in Pomerania by Wartislaw[1258]. Its task was not only to guarantee Otto's and

[1252] Ebo II, 1, emphasizes Bernard's stay in Michelsberg and his contacts with an important intellectual active in this abbey, Heimo. This does not alter the fact that he described Bernard in literary convention to make of him Otto's main guide and advisor in the matter of undertaking the mission among the pagans. More about the subject, see P. Boroń, *Nieudane próby chrystianizacji plemion słowiańskich*, [in:] *Kościół w monarchiach Przemyślidów i Piastów. Materiały z konferencji naukowej. Gniezno 21–24 września 2006 roku*, ed. J. Dobosz, Poznań 2009, p. 31–35; S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 157 ff.

[1253] Ebo II, 1. It may have been one and the same person or two people.

[1254] According to the legend, it was erected to commemorate Julius Cesar (Ebo II, 1).

[1255] *Ibidem*.

[1256] Otto's resignation from literal observation of evangelical imperative to preach the Gospel without "a purse and sandals" required certain justification, especially in the context of the ideals of monastic life promoted by Ebo. Herbord represented a different view, approving of the use of wealth by Otto not only for the purposes of the mission, but primarily to found monasteries. This discrepancy between the biographers in this matter well illustrates the debate on the monastic reform, see above, footnote 1194.

[1257] It was commanded by comes of Santok, Paweł (Paul), cf. Vita Prieflingensis II, 2.

[1258] He assigned two soldiers as guides, *ibidem*, II, 13.

his companions' safety but also to protect the mission's belongings: liturgical furnishings and books, relics in precious settings, bells – all of which for new churches – and also construction tools, pack and draught animals, carts, tents, clothes, food and gifts to win over neophytes. Otto indeed did not conceal wealth, appeared publicly in pontifical robes, gave gifts to the nobles and food to the poor.

Both expeditions were considerable undertakings in terms of their logistics. They were transported by boats on the rivers – the Odra, Havel, and Peene – and on Szczecin Lagoon. They required interpreters and guides, who looked after the safety of the mission participants[1259]. These were provided by Bolesław the Wrymouth and Wartislaw I; the latter was the only provider of assistance during the second expedition. However, his indispensable service was in completing the staff of a dozen clergymen assisting the missionary effort; some of them were to remain in Pomerania as priests in newly-established churches. According to Herbord, three of them were appointed by Bolesław in 1124[1260]. Otto's invaluable assistant was Adalbert – his interpreter and advisor and the Pomeranian bishop in the future[1261] as well as Benedictines from Michelsberg near Bamberg[1262].

Otto's first missionary expedition received a great deal of publicity in a few countries. The consent for the mission was announced by Emperor Henry V himself at the congress in Bamberg. In the spring of 1124, on the way to his destination, Otto visited Prague[1263] and a few monasteries in Bohemia and then he reached Gniezno *via* Wrocław and Poznań. After a prolonged stay with Wrymouth he set off – most probably *via* Santok – to Pomerania. Met on the border by Wartislaw I, he continued his journey without the duke's company to Pyrzyce, then Kamień, Wolin – which he left having failed to accomplish his task – and further to Szczecin. He managed to convert the town and from there he made two journeys, to Lubin on the island of Wolin and *Gridiz*

[1259] In Wolin and Szczecin Otto and his companions were safely accommodated in ducal curias, which offered asylum (Vita Prieflingensis II, 5; Ebo II, 7–8; Herbord II, 24 and 26).

[1260] Herbord II, 9.

[1261] See above, p. 357 ff.

[1262] Sefrid, at that time still a seminarian, took part in both journeys. Herbord (II–III, *passim*) pointed at him as his main informer. During the second expedition Udalric, a monk from Michelsberg, played an especially prominent role (Ebo III, *passim*).

[1263] Vita Prieflingensis II, 1; Ebo II, 3. He was received here by duke Vladislav I and bishop Meginhard.

("Grodziec")[1264]. Then he returned to Wolin; this time the town was ready to convert to Christianity. From there he reached Kołobrzeg[1265] *via* Kamień, *Clodona* (an unidentified settlement in the woods) and then proceeded to Białogard. Before leaving Pomerania he is said to have visited all the newly-established communities and went to Gniezno *via* Ujście. He returned to Bamberg on the eve of Easter 1125[1266].

In 1128 Otto set off to the Baltic again on Easter[1267], this time *via* Magdeburg and Havelberg[1268], and reached Demmin on the Peene travelling through the country of the Morizani[1269]. In the stronghold he met Wartislaw I, who at the time was occupied with his invasion of the neighbouring Lutici[1270]. He had already brought under his control part of their lands[1271] and it was there that Otto commenced his missionary work, beginning in Usedom, attending a congress on Pentecost. The participating nobles, led by Wartislaw, gave Otto their consent to convert individual centres[1272], in this case Wolgast and Güzkow[1273]. After his return from Usedom Otto had to mediate in the Polish-Pomeranian conflict and for this purpose he went to Gniezno together with Wartislaw[1274]. After his return he planned

[1264] Vita Prieflingensis II, 14; Herbord II, 37; cf. Ekkehard of Aura, under the year 1125 (p. 264). The place has not been identified; an unknown centre on the Odra or on the island of Usedom is taken into consideration; see, among others, M. Rębkowski, *Chrystianizacja…*, p. 32.

[1265] One of Otto's companions, deacon Herman, drowned in the Parsęta near Kołobrzeg (Vita Prieflingensis II, 20).

[1266] Vita Prieflingensis II, 2; Ebo I, 18. He returned *via* Bohemia, which is confirmed by Cosmas III, 58; cf. footnote 955 above.

[1267] Ebo III, 3.

[1268] Here, in the former seat of a bishopric, he witnessed the pagan festival held in honour of Gerovit (worshipped also in Wolgast), even though the stronghold itself was controlled by a Christian superior (Ebo III, 3). See H.-D. Kahl, *Slawen und Deutsche in der brandenburgischen Geschichte des zwölften Jahrhunderts. Die letzte Jahrzehnte des Landes Stodor*, Köln–Graz 1964, p. 90; K. Myśliński, *Wirykind 2*, [in:] SSS, vol. 6, p. 481.

[1269] Ebo mentions an encounter with a fisherman, who "for seven years" had been hiding on the island in Müriz Lake after Wrymouth's invasion. See above, footnote 1174.

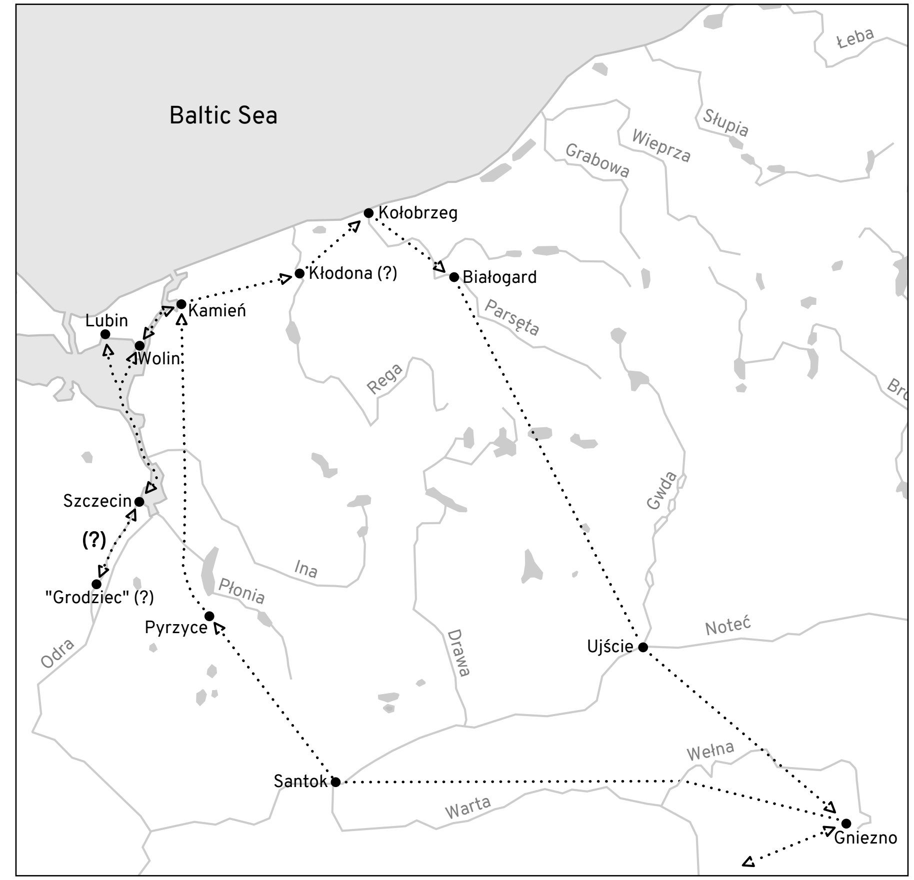
[1270] Ebo III, 5; Herbord III, 2.

[1271] Vita Prieflingensis III, 4, identifies the area as the land of Wanzlow.

[1272] Ebo III, 6; Herbord III, 3.

[1273] Ebo III, 7–12; Herbord III, 5–9. It is not certain whether Otto undertook missionary activity in Demmin. Vita Prieflingensis (III, 4) mentions it briefly, but detailed accounts of his activity in the centres on the Peene by Ebo and Herbord remain silent about this fact.

[1274] Ebo III, 13; Herbord III, 10. Wartislaw not only fulfilled Bolesław's political demands but also presented the patron of the bishopric, St. Voytěch (Adalbert), with gifts.



Map 5. The itinerary of St. Otto of Bamberg in western Pomerania, 1124-1125

to undertake a mission in the neighbouring lands of the Ukrani[1275] but eventually he went to Szczecin, where he dealt with the return of paganism in the form of a dual faith[1276]. Then he visited Wolin (nor-

This proves – even though the fact causes controversy among historians – that Gniezno's claims of ecclesiastical supervision of Pomerania were recognized. See S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 437 ff.; and below, p. 405 f., 479 f.

[1275] Ebo III, 14; Herbord III, 11–12. The Ukrani are said to have threatened Otto with death on hearing of his plans. Finally, the mission was to be undertaken by Otto's companion, Udalric, but he failed to reach them due to bad weather preventing sailing. See S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 446 ff.

[1276] Vita Prieflingensis III, 7–11; Ebo III, 15 and 24; Herbord III, 13–23. For more see: S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 453 ff.; and see below, p. 379 f.

malizing the situation after temporary apostasy) and Kamień; from there he returned home *via* Poland[1277].

The selected strategy resulted in establishing a network of Christian communities in at least twelve centres with at least fourteen churches (two in Szczecin and Wolin each)[1278]. Despite aiming at converting and baptizing whole local communities, especially in towns, Otto was not averse to converting and baptizing individuals or small groups of people (e.g., the exiles running away from Wrymouth, whom he met in the vicinity of *Clodona*)[1279]. This was often an element of a broader tactics of reaching the whole of the population, which – after Ebo – may be called the "rhinoceros" or "unicorn" (*rinocerota* in Latin) way[1280].

This is what he called a noble in Szczecin, Domasław, who converted to Christianity in 1124; all his *familia* (apparently 500 souls) followed suit[1281]. Four years later another noble in the town, Witsack[1282], played a similar role; he arranged for Otto to have a public debate with the main "priest of idols" (*pontifex idolorum*), and as a result of which the inhabitants decided to abandon apostasy[1283]. Additionally, Herbord's story features Wartislaw's Christian wife, who – on hearing the news from Pyrzyce – was said to have converted the whole population of Kamień before Otto's arrival in 1124. It is hard to assess the value of the episode in terms of historical truth as it seems to betray the topos of *mulier suadens*[1284].

1277 Vita Prieflingensis III, 12, 15; Ebo III, 15–19; Herbord III, 25, 31.

1278 See M. Rębkowski, *Chrystianizacja…*, p. 28 ff.

1279 Vita Prieflingensis II, 19; Ebo II, 4; Herbord II 13 and 38.

1280 Ebo II, 9. The metaphor refers to Biblical symbolism presenting the animal as ploughing the field of Our Lord, see: O. Münsch, *Tiersymbolik und Tiervergleiche als Mittel der Polemik in Streitschriften des späten 11. Jahrhunderts*, "Historisches Jahrbuch" 124, 2004, p. 35.

1281 Vita Prieflingensis II; Ebo II, 9. Domasław was said to have been baptized before, therefore it would have been reconversion. The motif was modified by Herbord (II, 29), more about the subject, see S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 276 ff. The description of the first mission also mentions a helpful inhabitant of Wolin, Nedamir (Ebo II, 8; Herbord II, 26), but his assistance was limited to providing logistic support (with his son he transported the missionaries to Szczecin in his boats).

1282 Vita Prieflingensis III, 10; Ebo III, 2 and 16; Herbord III, 15. Witsack was to be miraculously rescued by Otto from Danish slavery.

1283 This was not the end of the conflict with pagan priests. Before the mentioned priest died, he is said to have organized an ambush for Otto on his way to Wolin; Vita Prieflingensis III, 12; Ebo III, 20; Herbord III, 24.

1284 Herbord II, 19 and 22; about this matter see: J. Banaszkiewicz, *Dąbrówka "christianissima" i Mieszko poganin (Thietmar, IV, 55–56; Gall, I, 5-6)*, [in:] *Nihil superfluum esse. Prace z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane Profesor Jadwidze Krzyżaniakowej*, ed. J. Dobosz, J. Strzelczyk, Poznań 2000, p. 86 f.; S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 232 ff.; and above, foot-



Map 6. The itinerary of St. Otto of Bamberg in western Pomerania, 1128

The ties between individual centres were also important for the decisions concerning their conversion. The conversion of Szczecin determined the adoption of Christianity by Wolin[1285]. Szczecin is also a good example illustrating the fact that negotiations with the elders (assembly) during the first mission made it easier for Otto to remind them

note 1181. More about the topos of *mulier suadens* in the context of Christianization see M. Homza, *Mulieres suadentes – Persuasive Women. Female Royal Saints in Medieval East Central and Eastern*, Boston–Leiden 2017 (= East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450, 42).

1285 Vita Prieflingensis II, 7; Herbord II, 25. In the hagiographers' view the Wolinians originally made their conversion conditional on the result of the mission in Szczecin in an attempt to get rid of Otto.

of the obligations imposed on the Pomeranians by Wrymouth[1286]. This was tantamount to resorting to the argument *ad terrorem*, though it ultimately enabled continuing negotiations with the Polish ruler and alleviating the burden which he had imposed on the Pomeranians. During the second mission such a power base was found in Wartislaw's support[1287], even though the Polish ruler reminded the Pomeranians of his suzerainty by staging a military demonstration[1288].

Thus the key to the missions' success was breaking the resistance of the whole community. In the case of Szczecin it was the consent to undertake public evangelization, whose mass success was detrimental to the worship of Triglav[1289]. In any event, eradication of the official pagan cult – in practice consisting in the destruction of temples and statues in main centres such as Szczecin, Wolin, Wołogoszcz, and Gützkow[1290] – constituted the first significant dimension of conversion in public life, traditionally defined as *abrenuntiatio diaboli*. From the missionaries' perspective the desired situation was when neophytes themselves destroyed sanctuaries and idols, which – however – did not happen every time[1291]. The return of idolatry in Wolin and Szczecin after Otto's first mission proves that the inhabitants still respected the old gods.

In this situation pagan temples had to be destroyed by the missionaries themselves, who had to be cautious that no accident happened while they were doing so, lest the community interpret it as an act

[1286] Herbord II, 26 and 30. The Pomeranians were reminded of Bolesław the Wrymouth's suzerainty by the presence of a Polish military escort led by the Santok comes Paweł, who often joined the negotiations with the assembly; see Herbord II, 9, 14, 26.

[1287] Ebo (III, 6) stressed that if participants of the assembly in Usedom (1128) had not agreed for Otto's mission in Wartislaw's duchy, they would have been punished by emperor Lothair III. It is hard to verify whether this is not the product of the hagiographer's imagination.

[1288] Ebo describes Bolesław the Wrymouth's expedition to Pomerania as retaliation for their attack (see above, p. 356), for Herbord (III, 10) it is an intervention against the apostasy of Szczecin. It is possible that it was the Polish ruler's reaction to too independent policy of Wartislaw I, who on his own initiative invited Otto to continue the mission in his country under the auspices of a new German ruler, Lothair III, with whom, as a Saxon duke, Bolesław had competed for influence in Pomerania not long before (see e.g., S. Rosik, *Bolesław…*, p. 181 ff.). See also above, footnote 1274.

[1289] Herbord II, 30. It is possible that a similar situation occurred in Pyrzyce, where – according to Ebo II, 5) – a part of population refused to convert.

[1290] Vita Prieflingensis II, 11–12, 16; Ebo II, 13, III, 1, 8–9; Herbord II, 31–33, III, 6–7. Also in the open air, like in Wolin. See L.P. Słupecki, *Slavonic Pagan Sanctuaries…*, p. 70 ff.

[1291] E.g., Herbord II, 31.



Il. 21. A reconstruction of the Lutician temple in Gross Raden (11th cent.)

of revenge of the eradicated gods[1292]. Thus these acts of destruction acquired the dimension of missionary persuasion, proving the impotence of the supernatural beings hitherto worshipped. In such cases no intellectually profound debate was undertaken; the cult objects were treated as proof of human stupidity and the devil's presence in the world. This is aptly illustrated by an episode in Gützkow, which Ebo called a "joyous spectacle"[1293]. The statues were set on fire and dragged to a bridge to be thrown into the water, previously having been deprived of eyes, ears, and any resemblance to human shape. The ritual was to prove that the objects of worship were merely pieces of wood[1294]. Not everyone found this didactic element convincing, which is substantiated by the outcry raised by some of the recent worshippers of the idols, especially pagan priests, who were thus deprived of the justification for their existence[1295].

[1292] Like in Szczecin – *ibidem*.

[1293] Ebo III, 10.

[1294] Deprivation of anthropomorphic features of the statues prompts the idea of depersonalization, which hypothetically proves that the ritual's theological premise was the annihilation of personal evil. See S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 584 ff.

[1295] Ebo III, 10. According to Otto's biographers none of the pagan priests converted to Christianity.

Otto's radicalism in eliminating local cults also manifested itself in his disapproval of converting pagan temples into churches[1296]. On the other hand, he was able to compromise; a church in Wolin was erected on the site of a former sanctuary, but only after draining the surrounding marshes[1297]. In Szczecin a church was built on a hill where previously Triglav's temple had stood[1298]. The elements of nature also were spared the fate of the idols, which is exemplified by the events from Szczecin. Here an oak with a spring at its roots was spared at the pleadings of the inhabitants, though only after they had sworn an oath that the worship of the tree would cease[1299]. Similarly, a divining horse that looked after its priest-carer in one of the four pagan temples in Szczecin was sold abroad so that it would not corrupt its former worshippers. This relatively gentle[1300] treatment of sacralized nature may have been a manifestation of the attitude to nature characteristic of the mindset of the so-called renaissance of the 12th c.[1301] and may have also been less traumatic for the neophytes losing the objects of their former worship.

1296 The inhabitants of Gützkow failed in their negotiations concerning this matter. It is often suggested that Otto was more radical than papal instructions recommended in the early Middle Ages (e.g., *Gregorius Melito Abbati in Franciis* in: *Gregorii I papae Registrum epistolarum*, vol. 2: *Libri VIII–XIV*, [in:] MGH Epistolae 2, ed. L.M. Hartmann, Berolini 1899, XI, 56, p. 331). However, it is worth considering that he acted in different conditions than missionaries among the Anglo-Saxons; additionally, we should not assume that the pope's occasional instructions had become a missionary standard binding for centuries (see also: D.A. Sikorski, *Kościół w Polsce…*, p. 78 ff.). It is also worth emphasizing Otto's gentle attitude to the pagan *sacrum* seen in nature. See Vita Prieflingensis II, 11; Ebo III, 18; Herbord II, 32–33.

1297 Which was supposed to have been a miracle, see Vita Prieflingensis II, 16.

1298 This might be interpreted as respect for the idea of continuing the place of worship after a religious change, but on the other hand absence of confirmation of it *expressis verbis* may suggest that Otto was motivated by practical considerations (a convenient place) or – by resorting to contrast – he even wanted to emphasize the replacement of one religion by a new one.

1299 Vita Prieflingensis III, 11; Ebo III, 22; Herbord III, 22. This episode appears in all Otto's lives in the account of the second mission. However, Herbord (II, 32) introduces a story of another such cult tree in his account of the first mission, which probably – by emphasizing the significance of Otto's first mission – constitutes a polemic with Ebo's work, who valued the second mission more. More about the issue, see S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 271 f., 466 ff. It is also worth considering that the very appearance of the motif of a cult tree in these accounts may constitute a rhetoric element – see L. P. Słupecki in an unpublished paper at the conference in Wolin in 2017 ("Wolińskie Spotkania Mediewistyczne IV").

1300 It is worth remembering that over a hundred years before bishop Wigbert of Merseburg cut down the *Zutibure* (i.e., Slavic "Sacred Grove", cf. Polish "Święty Bór") of the Slavic tribe of Chutici to replace it with a church, cf. Thietmar VI, 37.

1301 For more, see: A. Guriewicz, *Kategorie kultury średniowiecznej*, transl. J. Dancygier, Warszawa 1982, p. 60 ff.; S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 541 f. Similarly – which is mentioned by Helmold, I, 84 (as an eye witness) – the bishop of Starigard, Gerold, did not cut down in 1156 holy oaks of god Prove in the land of the Wagrians, but only destroyed the gate and fence marking the extent of the holy grove.

Removing the temples of the idols prepared the ground for the consecutive aspect of missionary activity, expressed in the ecclesiastical tradition as the *confessio fidei* in public life. It led to encompassing a given community within ecclesiastical organization, which in the context of St. Otto's mission was tantamount to forming original communities consisting of neophytes and former crypto-Christians that had gathered around a church built during Otto's stay and the appointed local priest. If the missionary's stay in a given place was too short to complete the construction of a church, the so-called *sanctuarium*, i.e., the part with the altar was erected, which was consecrated by Otto, thus enabling the practice of the Christian cult. When leaving in 1125 he consecrated completed churches during his farewell visits in all converted centres[1302].

St Otto's missionary procedure began with evangelization conducted in public places, with the help of former crypto-Christians and neophytes. This was followed by religious instruction preparing for baptism. After it was administered (with confirmation) – usually in specially erected tent-baptisteries, and indoors in winter – teaching about the truths of the faith and ethical norms followed. The whole cycle on average lasted two weeks. What was essential was that the teaching and pastoral care were performed directly by priests taking over the erected churches[1303].

Such a picture of missionary practices is seen in hagiographies, while Otto's own report from 1125 states that the religious teaching emphasized imperatives and prohibitions determining the conduct

1302 Some of these buildings were in Otto's lives distinguished as basilicas, which may indicate a specific three-aisle form even if a building was small or may only serve the purpose of highlighting the higher rank of some churches. Individual lives differ in naming these objects, while some of them were treated as chapels (*oratoria*). See: M. Rębkowski, *Chrystianizacja…*, p. 82, and below, p. 383 ff.

1303 More about this procedure considering its theological aspects on the basis of St. Otto's hagiography, see S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 545–644; *idem*, *Die Strategie und Praxis der Mission Bischof Ottos von Bamberg in Pommern*, [in:] *Bischof Otto von Bamberg in Pommern. Historische und archäologische Forschungen zu Mission und Kulturverhältnissen des 12. Jahrhunderts im Südwesten der Ostsee. Beiträge einer Tagung aus Anlass des 875. Todestages des Pommernmissionars vom 27. bis 29. Juni 2014 in Greifswald*, ed. F. Biermann, F. Ruchhöft, Bonn 2017 (= Studien zur Archäologie Europas 3), p. 33–38.

of the neophytes[1304]. The conveyed doctrinal guidelines were quite rudimentary[1305], but in this case the baptism of the converted was an end in itself; the fundamental theological premise was that receiving baptism meant receiving the faith understood as the bond with Christ[1306].

From the theological perspective, most important for maintaining the faith was, on the one hand, dissociating from the sphere considered as sin – idolatry[1307] and infanticide being the most prominent here – and on the other, introduction into the regular practising of Christian rites[1308], including veneration of the saints[1309]. It was important that the converted observed the ecclesiastical calendar and the rhythm of religious services (announced by the tolling of the bells[1310]), confessed, and observed Christian funerary practices[1311]. Deepening Christian religiousness was set as a long-term objective, especially that the Pomeranians were quite naturally open to syncretic beliefs and rites. This kind of "double-faith" peaked in the period between the missions; bringing the followers back to the ecclesiastical community required special penitential rites (including ritual placing of hands)[1312].

1304 See Ekkehard of Aura, under the year 1125, p. 263 f.; Vita Prieflingensis II, 21; Ebo II, 12; and especially below, p. 439 f.

1305 This may be seen as a reference to the long tradition of Slavic missions in Bavarian Church (see above footnote 1247), but for the justification of the whole mission procedure prior recognition of the situation in Pomerania by Otto was as important. He was also able to find the premises for administering baptism after a short period of teaching in the New Testament, see e.g., Acts of the Apostles (8, 35–38, 10, 47–48).

1306 See S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 607 ff., 632 ff.

1307 It is worth recalling an episode when deacon Herman accompanying Otto found a gold figure of Triglav (hidden by pagan priests) in order to eradicate the idolatry in Szczecin (cf. Ebo II, 13); see S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 573 ff., 640 ff.

1308 *Ibidem*, p. 615 ff., 637 ff. About these recommendations included in Otto's report of the first expedition, see above, footnote 1304.

1309 The idea of intercession of saints, essential in that era, well corresponded with the mentality of neophytes open to the worship of multitude of supernatural beings. St. Adalbert and St. Wenceslas were to be especially venerated by the Pomeranians due to the common language (Vita Prieflingensis II, 13; Ebo II, 15). Otto's hagiographers highlight the propagation of the cult of the holy relics brought by the missionary to Pomerania (Ebo III, 21–22; Herbord II, 22, III, 27).

1310 It is no coincidence that they were thrown down during the pagan reaction as a sign of abolishing Christianity (Vita Prieflingensis III, 5; Herbord III, 16).

1311 See footnote 1308.

1312 Ebo III, 17; Herbord III, 3. See S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 630 ff.

8. Pagan reaction in towns in the Odra estuary and Christianization's turning point in Pomerania

Stanisław Rosik

The two biggest centres that converted during Otto's first expedition, Wolin and Szczecin, experienced a wave of return to the vernacular religion after the end of the mission. During an annual feast the Wolinians recovered idols from their hiding places and organized festivities described as theatrical (*ludi scenici*). However, during the celebrations a fire began and the town was engulfed in flames. This was interpreted as the punishment of the heavens for the sin; idolatry was abandoned and Christianity returned. This course of events is quite consistently presented by Otto's hagiographers[1313], only that Ebo treated the consequences of the events more seriously than the others[1314].

Apostasy in Szczecin developed differently. Here a plague of cattle[1315] became a pretext for the exiled pagan priests to declare that the misfortune was the revenge of the abandoned gods. Proclaiming this, they returned to the town and instigated anti-Christian unrest. During the riots one of the pagan priests tried to smash the altar in St. Adalbert's Church, but he was paralyzed. Overwhelmed, he went to the crowd and called for introducing a dual faith: Triglav was to be worshipped again but Christ – "the German God" – was to remain strong and invincible[1316].

According to his priests, Triglav was to rule heaven, earth, and the underworld[1317], as is the case with Christ's pancosmic power. Thus they

1313 Vita Prieflingensis II, 17; Ebo II, 18; III, 1.

1314 Vita Prieflingensis (III, 5) and Herbord (III, 16) presented apostasy as the sin of the Samaritans known from the Bible requiring conversion, while Ebo (III, 1) referred to the gospel parable of the weeds sowed among the wheat which was to destroy the whole "sowing" of the first mission (in accordance with his concept of presenting Otto's second expedition as more important than the first). See S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 513–532.

1315 Vita Prieflingensis III, 5; Ebo III, 1; Herbord III, 16. During Otto's second expedition a pagan priest threatened the inhabitants of Wolgast with such a cataclysm in case they converted. The motif may have a rhetoric character. See also above, footnote 859.

1316 Vita Prieflingensis (III, 5) and Herbord (Herbord III, 16) described the worship of Triglav and Christ in separate temples and Ebo (III, 1) in one (a bit paradoxically as his version corresponds closer with the Biblical "sin of the Samaritans"); cf. 2 Reg 17, 24–41; see e.g., M. Rosik, *Judaizm u początków ery chrześcijańskiej*, Wrocław 2008, p. 171–175.

1317 This symbolism was represented by the idol's three heads; the name reminds of the three-peaked mountain Triglav, emerging from the mythical pre-ocean giving birth to the universe: heaven, earth and underworld (see e.g., A. Gieysztor, *Mitologia Słowian…*,

combined two cults of divine beings having overlapping competences[1318], who, however, were not equated following the model of *interpretatio Slavica*[1319]. This was prevented by the fact that the divine patrons were perceived tribally, i.e., Christ was "the God of the Germans". In this way after Otto's mission the community of believers became a separate entity. The worship of both Christ and Triglav meant that the divided Szczecinians became one people reconciled by one system of worship. This situation illustrates the adaptive potential of the pagan environment to a new situation.

In the long run the experiment failed. During his second mission Otto became engaged in a debate with the chief pagan priest and managed to persuade the people of Szczecin to relinquish the worship of Triglav. Even the Rugians, who attacked the town in retaliation for its conversion, were not successful in reinstating the pre-Christian cult. Christianization in the western-Pomeranian duchy had become a fact.

The bishopric with its seat in Wolin – founded in 1140 on the basis of the ecclesiastical network established during the times

p. 163). Szczecin was the town situated on the hills; the highest was dedicated to Triglav (Ebo III, 1). The idol's heads in the version destroyed by Otto in 1124 were silver-plated, which may be mythologically connected with lunar, nocturnal symbolism, similarly as the black colour of Triglav's divining horse. This blackness and three-headedness leads to the associations with the chtonic sphere (see A. Gieysztor, *Mitologia Słowian…*, p. 151), which corresponds with the idea of Triglav as the foundation, the beginning of the whole cosmos. Thus, hypothetically, the cult of Triglav had risen to the top position in the cult as the personification of the sacred in the form of a cosmic mountain constituting the basis for order. Yet this did not give rise to pagan monotheism as the divinity of deities other than Triglav was not questioned (including Christian God). We may speak here of the tendency toward monolatry, i.e., narrowing down the worship to one god as the protector of the whole community. See S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 264; *idem*, *Kult Trzygława w Szczecinie lat 20. XII stulecia. Między monolatrią a "dwuwiarą"*, "Slavia Antiqua" 60, 2019, p. 95–105.

[1318] Ebo III, 1, mentions a gold band on the heads of Triglav, which was to prevent the deity from the perception of people's sins, which is the quintessence of pagan *interpretatio Christiana*. The word *cidaris* indicates a kind of diadem or gold turban as a symbol of power (cf. Vulgata: Ex 28, 4; Lev 8, 9 and 16, 4; Ez 21, 26; Za 3, 5). Gold indicates a solar element (see e.g., M. Eliade, *Traktat o historii religii*, transl. J. Wierusz-Kowalski, Łódź ²1993, p. 127), convergent with the symbolism of Christ, but in the Slavic context the figure of a solarly interpreted Svantevit with four heads seems more probable. It is thus another clue that Triglav was worshipped as the ultimate deity and the mystic ruler of the community of inhabitants of Szczecin. For more see S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 258 ff. See also J. Strzelczyk, *Mity…*, p. 215–217.

[1319] Such a possibility is exemplified by the fact confirmed by Helmold (I, 52) that Elbslavs equated "the Black God" bringing misfortune with the Devil. See S. Rosik, *The Slavic Religion…*, p. 312 ff., 319 ff.



Il. 22. The small bronze figure of a horse from Wolin (11th cent.)

of Otto's missions – became the pillar of the process of Christianization in the western-Pomeranian duchy. The emergence of the network of parishes in the 13th c. completed the process on the scale of the whole population[1320]. Analogous processes took place in the eastern part of Pomerania, subordinated to the diocese in Włocławek; unfortunately, the lack of sources (especially written ones) prevents determination of its dynamics. The example of western Pomerania proves that adoption of the new religion and its firm establishment in the main urban centres and strongholds was decisive for the success of the Christianization turning point. Immediately after the missions a dozen or so priests were sufficient to carry out pastoral work in such an extensive area. It can thus be expected that the diocese in Włocławek had sufficient personnel resources to graft Christianity in eastern Pomerania.

[1320] Sometimes the network of Otto's churches was treated as its original form – rather prematurely (for discussion see E. Wiśniowski, *Rozwój organizacji parafialnej w Polsce do czasów reformacji*, [in:] *Kościół w Polsce*, vol. 1: *Średniowiecze*, ed. J. Kłoczowski, Kraków 1968, p. 267 f.).

St Otto's hagiography emphasizes the fact that the officially converted communities still included people who remained pagan. Thus baptism was not then imposed on individuals by force[1321]. It is hard to state whether this was not the case later. At any rate, in the 12th c. the social division into Christians and pagans was present in Pomerania not only on the scale of the whole country but also in particular communities. In this way began the erosion of "tribalism" seen as the religious community based on vernacular cults. The phenomena of dual faith, natural at that stage of Christianization, as well as the rudiments of folk interpretation of ecclesiastical practices developed in parallel[1322]. The scarcity of written sources prevents any broader discussion of the processes.

In this situation the archaeological sources become all the more important as they provide more information on the religiousness of the Pomeranians in this transitory period of the emergence of Christianity in their lands; they also bring distinct evidence of the institutional presence of the Church both in terms of ecclesiastical architecture and rites (especially funerary practices). The foundation of monasteries was an important factor as they offered personnel support in implementing domestic missionary policy, but primarily they were centres of spiritual and cultural life in the country being converted. In this respect Pomerania began to catch up with the Christian neighbours as early as the second half of the 12th c.[1323]

[1321] See Ebo II, 5–6; Herbord II, 23. In their accounts of Otto's missions his hagiographers emphasize that he avoided violence in converting people, who accepted it on voluntary basis (e.g., Ebo III, 6; Herbord III, 3), which did not really concern the Pomeranians or the inhabitants of Szczecin as the whole communities, subject to Bolesław III the Wrymouth's pressure, see above p. 352 f.

[1322] Ebo III, 21, noted the custom of Pomeranian neophytes, who summoned help of the saints, tolling church bells. However, he may have attributed them with a custom from another area, where longer development of Christianity favoured the emergence of such customs within folk culture.

[1323] The Benedictines arrived in western Pomerania as early as 1153 in Stolpe on the Peene and the Cistercians at Kołbacz in 1174 (see e.g., P. Piętkowski, *Biskupstwo pomorskie…*, p. 103–121). In 1188 a Cistercian monastery was established in Oliwa near Gdańsk (see e.g., H. Lingenberg, *Die Anfänge des Klosters Oliva und die Entstehung der deutschen Stadt Danzig*, Stuttgart 1982, p. 113 ff.; M. Smoliński, *Pommerellen, seine Herrscher und Polen…*, p. 299 ff.).

9. The mission of Bishop Otto of Bamberg and its consequences

Marian Rębkowski

The process of Pomerania's Christianization, which began with the efforts of Bishop Otto of Bamberg (1124–1128) and would last for at least a century, is clearly reflected in archaeological sources. From the second quarter of the 12th century all previously known forms of necropolises, especially those with cremation burials, began to disappear. It is then that the barrow type of grave finally vanishes from Pomerania. From that time the number of cemeteries with skeleton graves rapidly increases. This type of cemetery, except for individual graves of the ruling dynasty's members and high-ranking clergy buried inside Christian temples, may be divided into two categories. It is highly unlikely that in the 12th century the Church did not approve of all these forms of the necropolises[1324].

The first category constitutes churchyards, still very few, situated on the edges of strongholds' ancillary settlements. The partially excavated necropolises (Gützkow, Wolgast, Usedom, Lubin)[1325] show that the dead were buried in rows parallel to the churches' axes, i.e., the W-E axis, with their heads oriented towards the west. Before the end of the 12th century the cemeteries were transformed into multi-level necropolises, which must have been caused by limited burial space within settlements.

The other type was that of cemeteries situated outside the settlements, without any spatial relationship to churches. Most of them may be called village cemeteries, as they were usually situated quite far away from the strongholds' centres. Their very distinct feature

[1324] M. Rębkowski, *Christian Mission…*, p. 258 f.

[1325] The lands in the west of the lower Odra, where the first three of the localities mentioned here are situated, came under the control of Pomeranian rulers in the 1120s. See: J. Spors, *Studia nad wczesnośredniowiecznymi dziejami Pomorza Zachodniego. XII – pierwsza połowa XIII w.*, Słupsk 1988, p. 73 ff., 201 ff. About the cemeteries, see H. Schäfer, T. Hoche, *Die Ausgrabungen auf dem Marktplatz und in der Pommerschen Straße 53 in Gützkow, LKr. Ostvorpommern*, "Bodendenkmalpflege in Mecklenburg. Jahrbuch" 48, 2000 [2001], p. 351–358, fig. 4; A. Poggensee, *Die slawische Vorbesiedlung der Altstadt von Wolgast, LKr. Ostvorpommern*, "Bodendenkmalpflege in Mecklenburg. Jahrbuch" 50, 2002 [2003], p. 48 f.; F. Biermann, *Bootsgrab…*, p. 40–53; M. Rębkowski, *The Cultural Character and Chronology of the Cemetery on the Castle Hill in Lubin*, [in:] *Lubin. Early Medieval Stronghold at the Mouth of the Oder River*, ed. M. Rębkowski, Szczecin 2018, p. 201–212.

is the fact that the burials were arranged in rows along a W-E axis with the heads oriented towards the west; only a very small proportion of the burials were arranged differently. A good example here is the cemetery in Penkun. The coins found in the graves date their regularly arranged rows of the necropolis back to the last two decades of the 12th century[1326].

Incidentally, in some cases it is possible to prove a chronological relationship between the missions of Bishop Otto of Bamberg and the change in funeral rites, which is well exemplified by Usedom, where a whole sequence of cemeteries was reconstructed: the Am Hain necropolis mentioned above, functioning throughout the 11th century, was in the early 12th century replaced by a multi-level cemetery with its burials arranged in rows: their remains were excavated in Priesterstrasse[1327]. Analysis of the time when the coins discovered in both were minted proves that the place where the dead were buried was transferred at the end of the third decade or during the fourth decade of the 12th century[1328]. Identical processes were observed in Wolin and Lubin.

Symbols of Christian faith that appear in the graves excavated in churchyards are metal (Gützkow) or amber (Lubin) crosses. It is worth noting that cross pendants produced in Pomerania in the 12th century were almost solely made from local amber, as exemplified by the finds from settlement layers in Szczecin, Wolin, and Usedom[1329].

Churchyards of course emerged as a consequence of building the first permanent places of Christian worship. The lives of Bishop Otto convey the information that at least fourteen churches in twelve localities were built at his initiative (Pyrzyce, Kamień, Szczecin, Wolin, Gartz on the Odra, Lubin, *Clodona*, Kołobrzeg, Białogard, Wolgast, Usedom, Gützkow). In 1140 one of them would become the seat of the Pomeranian bishopric in Wolin. For the next three decades they would be the only places of Christian worship in Pomerania. Their small number and localization must have result-

[1326] A. Pollex, *Das spätslawische Gräberfeld von Penkun, Fundplatz 28, Lkr. Uecker-Randow*, "Bodendenkmalpflege in Mecklenburg. Jahrbuch" 53, 2005 [2006], p. 183–239.

[1327] F. Biermann, *Bootsgrab…*, p. 40–53.

[1328] M. Rębkowski, *Św. Otton a archeologia. O potrzebie i perspektywach badań*, [in:] *Populi terrae marisque. Prace poświęcone pamięci Profesora Lecha Leciejewicza*, ed. M. Rębkowski, S. Rosik, Wrocław 2011, p. 110 f.

[1329] M. Rębkowski, *Die Christianisierung Pommerns…*, p. 131 f.



Il. 23. Lubin. The cemetery adjacent to the church founded by bishop Otto of Bamberg

ed in limited access to the centres of the new religion. Apart from the exception of the mysterious locality of *Clodona*, the churches were situated in the political centres of the emerging realm of Duke Wartislaw I. They were settlement complexes consisting of a stronghold and the surrounding settlements. Soon most of them would become the centres of administrative authority of the duchy of Pomerania. The regularity seen in the location of the first churches was not solely a consequence of the practicalities of missions, which were aimed at the biggest centres of population, but also stemmed from ideological considerations: churches were becoming power centres of the emerging state.

In some places only chancels with altars were erected during a missionary's stay. This circumstance – combined with the information available from other sources – might indicate that the temples' construction was very simple, relying on wood, sometimes "tree branches", covered with straw (Wolin, Szczecin), or – in other places (*Clodona*) – built very



Il. 24. An amber cross from the cemetery in Lubin, on the island of Wolin

"intricately"[1330]. Obviously, none of these objects have survived till today; only in a few cases is it possible to determine their precise location. Recent excavations brought about the discovery of the remains of two such temples, built within the strongholds of Szczecin and Lubin on the island of Wolin.

In 1124 Bishop Otto consecrated two churches in Szczecin. According to researchers, one of them, dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, was situated in the place of today's gothic church dedicated to the same saints. On the other hand, according to the seemingly contradictory information provided by the authors of the lives of St. Otto, the church dedicated to St. Adalbert was situated either in the stronghold or at its foot, in the suburb[1331]. The issue is complicated because the church was never again mentioned in the sources. Post-war reconnoitering of the topography of early-medieval Szczecin provided premises sup-

[1330] Eg., Ebo II, 5; III, 1; VP II, 17; Herbord II, 38. Cf. R. Kiersnowski, *Budownictwo zachodnio-pomorskie wieku XII w świetle źródeł pisanych*, "Wiadomości Archeologiczne" 19, 1953, p. 129 ff.; M. Rębkowski, *Chrystianizacja…*, p. 25–40. Stanisław Rosik has recently pointed out that the information of the authors of the Lives may possibly be interpreted in a symbolic or allegorical way, see S. Rosik, *Ecclesias de ramis arborum, ut novella tunc plantatio exigebat, construxit. Pierwsze pomorskie kościoły w świadectwie o misyjnych dokonaniach św. Ottona z Bambergu (XII wiek)*, [in:] *Kościoły w dobie chrystianizacji…*, p. 212 f.

[1331] Herbord II, 36; Ebo III, 1. See H. Chłopocka, *Początki Szczecina*, "Roczniki Historyczne" 17, 1948, 2, p. 325 f.; J. Petersohn, *Der südliche Ostseeraum…*, p. 507; J.M. Piskorski, *Miasta księstwa szczecińskiego do połowy XIV w.*, Warszawa–Poznań 1987, p. 188 f.; M. Rębkowski, *Pierwsze lokacje miast...*, Kołobrzeg 2001, p. 86.

porting the former hypothesis. As recently as in 2012-2013 a structure was recorded in the yard of the castle, which might possibly be the remains of a Christian temple[1332]. The layers dated to the first half of the 12^{th} century provided the remains of the foundation footing for a building oriented along the east-west axis, complete with a semicircular apse on the eastern end. The footing, 0.5-1.5 m wide, was made from clay and stones. The building's width in the footing's "axis" was about 7 m, while its length may be estimated as more or less 10 m. The foundation footing and the layer above it, containing burnt clay and charcoal, prove that the walls were built from wood and clay. It is possible that – as suggested by the discoverer – it was a frame construction, although a post construction is equally possible. Thus, considering the building's orientation and shape as well as the construction features unique at the time in Pomerania (clay-stone foundation footing), the object should be interpreted as a wooden, single-aisle church.

According to the authors of the lives of Bishop Otto, the churches which he consecrated in 1124 included a temple in Lubin, which is almost unequivocally identified with the locality of the same name situated on the south-western edge of the island of Wolin. Another source from the 12^{th} century confirms that a church dedicated to St. Nicholas existed in the stronghold[1333]. In 2010 a discovery in the stronghold of Lubin was made of the remains of a stone-clay foundation footing of a building that may be identified as a church, as well as the churchyard functioning between the mid-12^{th} and the end of the 13^{th} centuries[1334]. The object was oriented long a W-E axis with only a minimal diversion and was complete with a chancel on the eastern end. The walls were supported by posts stuck in the foundation footing and filled with wickerwork covered with clay. The interior was whitewashed. It was almost certainly a single-aisle church,

[1332] M. Dworaczyk, *Kościół św. Wojciecha w Szczecinie*, [in:] *Kościoły w dobie chrystianizacji…*, p. 215–224.

[1333] PUB, vol. 1, no. 102.

[1334] See M. Rębkowski, *Ecclesia sancti Nicolai w Lubinie. Kościół grodowy z doby pomorskich misji Ottona z Bambergu*, [in:] *Kościoły w dobie chrystianizacji…*, p. 225–238; M. Rębkowski, M. Krąpiec, *Dating the Remains of a Church in Lubin (Wolin Island, NW Poland) in Light of archaeological and radiocarbon studies*, "Radiocarbon" 59, 2017, 5, p. 1369–1379; M. Rębkowski, P. Romanowicz, *The Church of St Nicholas*, [in:] *Lubin. Early Medieval Stronghold…*, p. 183–190.



Il. 25. A reconstruction of the church in Lubin, on the island of Wolin, from ca. 1150 AD

whose width exceeded 7 m and original length was about 10 m. In all probability the church was erected before the mid-12th century and was destroyed sometime around the year 1300.

It is worth mentioning here that the information from the authors of the lives of St. Otto implying the simplicity of the churches' construction must have been affected by their adopted perspective. For where they came from, monumental masonry churches were the norm[1335]. From the perspective of the local Pomeranian tradition, predominated by log or wattle constructions, the post or frame objects erected on stone and clay foundation footing must have been perceived as exceptional in the local cultural landscape. They were single-aisle temples of a few metres in width and a length of about 10 m with a chancel on the eastern end complete with a rectangular or semi-circular apse, typical of sacred architecture of the 11th and 12th centuries in central Europe and Scandinavia, where wooden churches were common not only in the mission areas, but also in places that

[1335] Cf. A. Fink, *Romanische Klosterkirchen des heiligen Bischofs Otto von Bamberg (1102–1139)*, Petersberg 2001.

had been converted to Christianity long before. They were usually small, simple buildings of uniform interior, identical to the churches in Pomerania discussed here, even though there are examples of three-aisle buildings, e.g., in the Rhineland. Various construction solutions were implemented, e.g., primarily post-built construction, but also different variants of post and frame constructions or even log construction objects. At that time such churches were commonly supported on a stone foundation footing[1336], which was recorded in Szczecin and Lubin as well.

10. End of the 12th century – first half of the 13th century: On the way to parishes

Marian Rębkowski

Another stage in the development of sacred architecture in Pomerania began in the early second half of the 12th century. It is only then, after nearly a thirty years' interval, that new churches were built. This was the consequence of establishment of the Pomeranian bishopric, involving the erection of temples in polycentric stronghold settlement complexes and the first monastic churches[1337]. The latter, depending on the monastic rule, were built either within the strongholds' ancillary settlements (Premonstratensians) or in the unpopulated areas, sometimes in place of abandoned strongholds (Cistercians). It is quite probable that a great proportion of them was built from wood, which, however, must be still confirmed by archaeological excavations. On the other hand, it is certain that at that time the first sacred masonry

[1336] See W. Zimmermann, *Ecclesia lignea und ligneis tabulis fabricata*, "Bonner Jahrbücher" 158, 1958, p. 418 ff.; C. Ahrens, *Frühe Holzkirchen im Nördlichen Europa*, Hamburg 1982 (= Veröffentlichung des Helms-Museums 39), p. 119 ff.; *idem*, *Die frühe Holzkirchen Europas*, Stuttgart 2001 (= Schriften des Archäologischen Landesmuseums 7).

[1337] Cf. M. Rębkowski, *Chrystianizacja…*, p. 74 f., for the chronology of construction of churches in Pomerania; the information about the first village church do not appear until the 1170s. On the architecture of the first monastic churches in the 12th c. see J. Fait, *Die Benediktinerkirche in Stolpe an der Peene. Ein Ausgrabungsbericht und Rekonstruktionsversuch*, "Greifswalder-Stralsunder Jahrbuch" 3, 1963, p. 119–134; F. Biermann, O. Blum, C. Hergheligiu, *Neue Forschungen zum Prämonstratenserstift Grobe auf der Insel Usedom – Ausgrabungen am Wilhelmshofer Priesterkamp im Jahre 2010*, "Bodendenkmalpflege in Mecklenburg. Jahrbuch" 63, 2015 [2017], p. 53–144.

objects appeared. As the precision of dating the oldest surviving fragments of the cathedral in Kamień is uncertain, at the current stage of research it is assumed that monasteries constitute the beginnings of monumental sacred architecture in Pomerania. However, in this case, too, the precision of dating leaves a lot to be desired – nonetheless, it can be assumed that the construction of the Benedictine basilica in Stolpe upon the Peene commenced before the end of the third quarter of the 12th century. Interestingly, at the same time another sacred masonry building existed there – namely, a *capella rotunda* consecrated in 1176[1338]. In all probability, the Premonstratensian Church in Grobe (Usedom) also comes from that period.

The rotunda from Stolpe is the only sacred object of such shape in Pomerania known to researchers. Considering its chronology, we may infer that it was a stone building. Other temples existing in the last third of the 12th century may be divided into two groups. The first is that of relatively large monastic churches and probably the cathedral in Kamień, whose length exceeded 30 m. This group includes the three-aisle basilicas from Stolpe and Kamień. The former was erected from unprocessed stones, while the latter used processed granite. The temple from Grobe is assumed to have been a single-aisle church.

The other group includes single-aisle churches erected at the end of the 12th century, e.g., in Stargard upon Ina. In the 12th century Stargard was the centre of one of the Pomeranian castellanies. Archaeological research shows that the settlement complex of the time consisted of a stronghold and at least two ancillary settlements. Some researchers argue that one of them served as a market place. A church, whose remains were excavated in 2005–2007[1339], functioned within its boundaries from the end of the 12th century. During those excavations fragments of an older church were recorded under the remains of a Gothic church of the Augustinian monastery. The finds included a stone foundation of the building's northern wall oriented along a W-E axis enclosed on the eastern side by an apse or a rectangular chancel. The stones, placed in narrow ditches of various widths (aisle – 1.2 m; chancel – 0.9 m), were not joined with mortar. No evidence of the material used in erecting the walls was found, but it would be fair to assume that it was broken erratic stone.

[1338] PUB, vol. 1, no 71.

[1339] M. Majewski, *Ecclesia sub ecclesia…*, *passim*.

These fragmentary finds prompt the conclusion that the temple in Stargard was a single-aisle, 10-m-long masonry church. The aisle was separated from the chancel by a chancel arch, whose base is seen in the thicker part of the foundation footing. The construction was dated to the 4th quarter of the 12th century. The church was most probably demolished to give way for the Augustinian church at the end of the 13th century.

A good reference object for the church in Stargard may be the St. Nicholas Church in Gdańsk, whose remains were excavated about a decade ago. Not only were they both situated within a settlement functioning next to an important stronghold, they also have similar chronologies. The discoverer of the remains argues that it was built in the last decades of the 12th century, possibly about 1190[1340]. It was a quite large single-aisle structure, whose length reached 34.5 m. There was a massive tower on one side and a chancel on the other, complete with an apse, separated from the aisle with a chancel arch. The foundations of an approximate width of 2 m were made from stones joined with clay or lime mortar; bricks were used to face the walls and the stones filling the interior[1341].

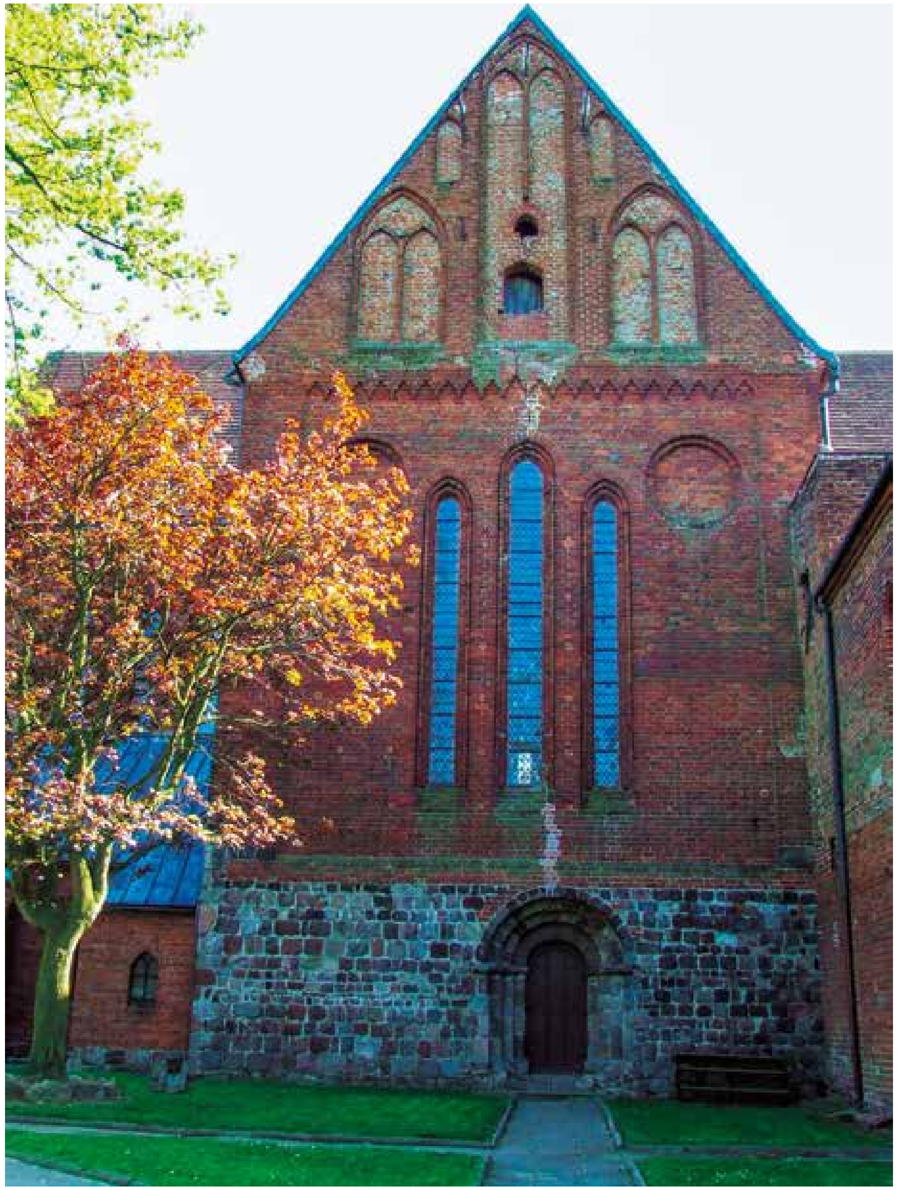
There is no convincing evidence of what material was used to build the walls, which also ties in with the question of when bricks were first used in erecting sacred buildings in Pomerania[1342].

The first village churches, which initially must have been made from wood, were erected in the 8th decade of the 12th century at the initiative of the Cistercians from Dargun and Kołbacz and the Premonstratensians from Grobe. The Benedictine abbey founded in Stolpe upon Peene in 1153 played a less significant role. The emergence of places of Christian worship outside the stronghold centres, resulting from the development of parish networks, intensified in the 2nd decade of the 13th century,

[1340] M. Szyszka, *Romański kościół pw. św. Mikołaja i trzynastowieczny zespół podominikański w świetle badań archeologicznych na stan. 5 w Gdańsku*, [in:] *Architektura romańska w Polsce. Nowe odkrycia i interpretacje*, ed. T. Janiak, Gniezno 2009, p. 613, 620.

[1341] M. Szyszka, *Romański kościół pod wezwaniem świętego Mikołaja w świetle badań archeologicznych z 2001 i 2003 roku*, [in:] *Archeologia Gdańska*, vol. 1, ed. H. Paner, Gdańsk 2006, p. 120 ff.; *idem*, *Romański kościół pw. św. Mikołaja…*, p. 620 ff.

[1342] F. Biermann, Ch. Hermann, *The Origin and Rise of Brick Technology and Use in Medieval Pomerania, Pomerelia and Lower Silesia*, [in:] *Fresh Approaches to Brick Production and Use in the Middle Ages. Prodeedings of the Session 'Utilization of Brick in the Medieval Period – Production, Construction, Destruction'*, ed. T. Ratilainen, R. Bernotas, Ch. Herrmann, Oxford 2014 (= BAR International Series 2611), p. 56–58.



Il. 26. The oldest surviving fragment of the cathedral in Kamień – the northern arm of the transept (late 12th cent.)

only to accelerate further as a consequence of the process of colonization and the establishment of new villages and towns, which began in earnest in the 1230s. It was then that the parish networks extended and finally crystalized[1343].

The increase in the number of churches and the development of parish networks, exercising their *curae animarum*, resulted in a uniformity of funerary rites, well substantiated by archaeological sources, which happened before the mid-13th century. Cemeteries with skeleton graves arranged in rows without any spatial relation to churches disappeared in the first half of the 13th century. The reason behind this is obvious: the growing network of churches enabled burying all the dead in churchyards and thus the disappearance of such village cemeteries constitutes evidence of the rate of development of parish structures. From the mid-13th century at the latest a multi-level churchyard, situated in the centre of a town or village, became the only form of a necropolis functioning in Pomerania, which may be considered the ultimate manifestation of the "Christianization of death" in Pomerania.

1343 M. Rębkowski, *Chrystianizacja…*, p. 68 ff., 223–226.

EXCURSUS: THE CONQUEST OF POMERANIA ACCORDING TO THE ANONYMOUS AUTHOR OF THE *GESTA PRINCIPUM POLONORUM*[1344]

Darius von Güttner-Sporzyński

The twelfth-century dynastic history, the *Gesta principum Polonorum*, provides detailed evidence of the Polish conquest of Pomerania. The *Gesta* presents an account of the early reign of Bolesław III the Wrymouth (Krzywousty) (1102–1138), a period during which Poland experienced the consolidation of cultural practices introduced from Latin Christendom. These included the adoption of Western European court practices, a marked increase in the veneration of saints, increased pilgrimage, and acceptance of the authority of the Church. The examination of the *Gesta*, as this article will argue, provides strong evidence that its anonymous author adapted the idea of holy war to present Piast expansion towards the Baltic Sea.

The *Gesta* is a narrative which was written between 1112 and 1118 by an anonymous monk in the service of the Piast court[1345]. It provides important contemporary evidence for understanding how the Piast court established the Polish tradition of active participation in the expansion of Christendom. The *Gesta* reflects ideas shared by the Polish elites and is critical to an understanding of the attitude of Bolesław III and his court to the conversion and conquest of its neighbouring pagans. By devoting the whole of the *Gesta* to Bolesław, Gallus Anonymus, as the author is traditionally known, provided the Piast ruler with an exceptional place in Polish history. Gallus emphasized the warrior qualities in Bolesław by applying to him the epithet "son of Mars"[1346]. This use of a classical appellation

[1344] This article is a shortened and edited version of Chapter 3 ("Conquest of Pomerania: Bolesław III and Holy War") published in D. von Güttner-Sporzyński, *Poland, Holy War, and the Piast Monarchy, 1100–1230*, Turnhout 2014 (= Europa Sacra 14), p. 77–106. All references to the *Gesta principum Polonorum* are from *Gesta principum Polonorum*, ed. and transl. P.W. Knoll and F. Schaer, Central European Medieval Texts 3, Budapest 2003.

[1345] Gall I, Epistola, p. 2. Further discussion in: M. Plezia, *Wstęp*, [in:] Anonim tzw. Gall, *Kronika polska…*, p. XIV.

[1346] This classical epithet is used to depict Bolesław in several instances, for example: Gall II, 3; II, 11; II, 13; II, 14; II, 17; II, 18; II, 33.

indicates that Gallus linked Bolesław allegorically with heroic warriors. This term is used repeatedly throughout the *Gesta* to describe Bolesław[1347]. The epithet "Duke of the North" was also used by Gallus to accentuate the extent of Bolesław's dominion, and the legitimacy of Bolesław's rule over the "north of Poland", that is Pomerania.

Bolesław's expansionist policy towards Pomerania resulted in military campaigns as early as 1102–1106[1348]. The expansionist programmes of the Piasts and the Church were mutually reinforcing and the *Gesta* provides moral backing for the wars by drawing on the Old Testament, and presenting the conversion of these nations as Bolesław's primary objective. In the *Gesta* and in the Old Testament parables, warriors and their leaders trusted in God's commands. They successfully fought for the good of their people. Through usage of Old Testament stories Gallus' writing draws directly on the Christian concepts of holy war and just war[1349].

The early Church was characterized by its opposition to the participation of Christians in warfare; by the eleventh century, however, a transition of Christian attitudes enabled the cautious acceptance of warfare sanctioned by the Church. This change of approach and the Church's policy was the result of a re-evaluation and re-interpretation of Biblical teachings. A new approach was signaled by Augustine of Hippo's re-examination of Biblical texts and his interpretation of justifying Christian participation in war[1350].

The cornerstone of Augustine's ideas was the notion of charity. He argued that aggressive action was justified provided it was motivated by charity. Using the Old Testament as an example, Augustine argued that the wars conducted by divine command punished men for their sin and evil deeds and were therefore a means of doing good[1351].

The military campaigns of Bolesław III are presented by Gallus as just wars according to the Augustinian formula. First, Bolesław's legitimacy is established. Second, the wars are represented as having been fought with the right intention (love for their neighbour mani-

[1347] *Dux septentrionalis – ibidem*, II, 39; III, 2; III, 14; III, 17; III, 25; III, 26.

[1348] Cf. M. Keen, *Medieval Warfare: A History*, Oxford 1999, p. 67.

[1349] Robert the Monk, *History of the First Crusade*, ed. C. Sweetenham, Aldershot 2005, p. 53. Cf. Deut 20, 1–4.

[1350] R.L. Holmes, *St Augustine and the Just War Theory*, [in:] *The Augustinian Tradition*, ed. G.B. Matthews, Berkeley 1999, p. 323–344.

[1351] J. Riley-Smith, *Crusading as an Act of Love*, "History" 65, 1980, p. 177.

fested by the eradication of their idolatrous errors, assuring their salvation through baptism, and uniting them with the Church). Third, the outcome of these wars brought peace along Poland's northern border. The sins of the pagan idolaters and the harm they had caused to the virtuous Poles are described at length and are used to provide further justification for the conduct of the wars – broadly, the removal of potential physical and spiritual harm to Christians. By drawing on Biblical exemplars in the style of St. Augustine, Gallus provided justification for the wars using the formula for Christian holy war.

Strong Biblical antecedents are present in Gallus' narrative. Bolesław III is depicted as the leader of God's people, the imitator of the Maccabees. The Maccabees are portrayed as the proto-crusaders in papal documents and in the narrative sources of the First Crusade as fighters ready to die for their religion. References to the Maccabees were used widely in the accounts of the First Crusade as a model of the heroic defence of holy places[1352]. In the *Gesta*, Bolesław III is portrayed as the defender of Poland, imitating the Maccabees. In the *Gesta*, the wars of the Poles with the pagans were inspired by God, were waged at God's command, and in deciding moments of battle God assisted the Poles[1353].

Gallus draws on conventions of how the wars of the Israelites in the Old Testament are portrayed in the Bible and makes a distinction between the wars that are victorious (God delivers victory to his people) and the wars where the Poles are defeated (a sign of God's wrath due to the sinful actions of the Poles themselves). For example, the Poles suffer defeat after they "had violated the observance of Lent"[1354], and when they invaded Pomerania on the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel, thus neglecting to properly celebrate one of the important holy days of the year[1355]. In another example, according to Gallus, the Poles were not victorious in the battle of Kołobrzeg because "the vast wealth and

[1352] P.J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270*, Cambridge 1991, p. 28–30.

[1353] "And it came to pass, as they fled from before Israel, and were in the going down to Bethhoron, that the Lord cast down great stones from heaven upon them unto Azekah, and they died: they were more which died with hailstones than they whom the children of Israel slew with the sword", cf. Jos 10, 11.

[1354] "Quod flagellum Deus, ut credimus, omnipotens in transgressoribus observancie quadragesimalis ad correccionem exercuit, sicut quibusdam postea de ipso liberatis periculo revelavit", cf. Gall II, 2.

[1355] *Ibidem*, II, 3. The feast falls on 29 September. St. Michael the Archangel symbolizes the eternal fight of good versus evil.

booty of the suburbs blinded the ardour of the soldiers, and so Fortune saved their city from the Poles"[1356]. Again, Bolesław fell into a Pomeranian trap after participating in an event which displeased God; here Gallus adopts a didactic tone instructing Bolesław (and therefore the *Gesta*'s readership) to obey the laws of the Church[1357].

In the *Gesta*, Bolesław is made an instrument in the hands of God because "if God were not with this man, he would never grant him so great a victory over the pagans"[1358]. Gallus' depictions of Bolesław's actions present them as forming part of God's plan and fulfilling God's wishes. Bolesław's instrumental role in God's design for Poland and Christendom thus creates a myth, an indispensable part of the Piast dynasty's heritage, which gives him a leading role in the expansion of Christendom. Bolesław successfully combined the Piast dynastic policy of securing the Polish northern frontier with the goal of bringing the cross to these pagan nations who had most obstinately refused evangelization[1359].

The difficulty of the task, however, meant that the conquest of Pomerania was spread over two decades. Bolesław's initial victory over the Pomeranians after the Battle of Nakło in 1109 did not last, in all probability because of the civil war between Bolesław and his half-brother. The Poles took control of eastern Pomerania in 1116, and western Pomerania between 1119 and 1123. Gallus, who was present at Bolesław's court during these campaigns, implicitly accorded them the status of holy wars, as noted above. Divine grace and favour are present in Gallus' description of the decisive battle between the Poles and the Pomeranians – namely, the siege of Czarnków in 1108, a regional centre in Pomerania.

"Bolesław also turned many from paganism to the faith, and raised the lord of the castle himself from the baptismal font. When the pagans and the lord of the pagans himself heard of this – namely,

[1356] Gall II, 28.

[1357] *Ibidem*, II, 33: "Deo displicuerit cum divinis nupcias carnales celebrari, facile potest per discrimina, que sepius inde contingunt, comprobari".

[1358] *Ibidem*, III, 12: "Nisi Deus hunc hominem adiuvaret, nunquam tantam de paganis victoriam ei daret".

[1359] *Ibidem*, II, 33. For more information about paganism in Gallus' chronicle see also: S. Rosik, *The World of Paganism in Gallus' Narrative (Reconnaissance)*, [in:] *Gallus Anonymous and his Chronicle in the Context of Twelfth-Century Historiography from the Perspective of the Latest Research*, ed. K. Stopka, Kraków 2010, p. 91–102.

that the pride of the people of Czarnków had been humbled so easily – the duke himself was the first of all to bow down to Bolesław"[1360].

Gallus depicts Bolesław as a truly Christian ruler who acts literally as a sponsor to the leading Pomeranian converts, destroys their sinful pride, and offers them peace. In the *Gesta*, the emphasis on the conversion and propagation of the faith adds to Bolesław's qualities as a warrior of Christ who delivers salvation to the pagans.

For the chroniclers of the First Crusade, the saints were pre-eminent in imparting physical signs of God's approval[1361]. Similarly, in the *Gesta* miracles attributed to the saints were perceived as the active intervention of God in human affairs. One of the most spectacular examples of heavenly assistance described in the *Gesta* was offered to the Poles by St. Adalbert on the eve of the consecration of the cathedral in Gniezno[1362]. According to Gallus, the Saint rescued the Poles from imminent death when he appeared as "an armed figure mounted on a white horse" in front of the Pomeranians. The attackers, who with drawn sword were awaiting a signal to attack the Poles, were struck with terror and driven out of the castle by the Saint[1363]. The apparition of the patron saint

[1360] *Ibidem*, II, 44: "Igitur inpiger Bolezlauus iterum Pomoraniam est ingressus et castellum obsessurus Carnkou magnis viribus est aggressus; machinis diversi generis preparatis, turribusque castellana munitione preminencioribus elevatis, armis tamdiu ac instrumentis oppidum inpugnavit, donec illud facta dedicione suo dominio mancipavit. Insuper etiam ad f*idem* multos ab infidelitate revocavit, ipsumque dominum castelli de fonte baptismatis elevavit. Audientes autem hoc pagani, ipseque dominus paganorum, sic facile videlicet corruisse contumaciam Charncorum, ipse dux Bolezlauuo primus omnium se inclinavit, sed eorum neuter longo tempore fidelitatem observavit".

[1361] Sweetenham observed that "Miracles were seen as the active intervention of God in human affairs, explaining the inexplicable and giving a tangible sign of God's approval. Pre-eminent amongst these are the celestial white forces led by saints (often St George, St Demetrius, and St Maurice) who feature particularly in *Gesta Francorum* derived sources for the Crusade", cf. Robert the Monk, *History of the First Crusade…*, p. 54; B. Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event 1000–1215*, London 1982.

[1362] Gall II, 6; cf. J. Dobosz, *Monarcha i możni…*, p. 220.

[1363] Gall II, 6: "Et quoniam ecclesie mencio Gneznensis in hoc fieri forte contigerit, non est dignum preterire miraculum, quod in vigilia dedicacionis preciosus martir Adalbertus et paganis et christianis ostenderit. Accidit autem eadem nocte in quoddam castrum Polonorum quosdam traditores eiusdem castri Pomoranos sursum funibus recepisse, eosque receptos in propugnaculis diem crastinum ad oppidanorum perniciem expectasse. Sed ille, qui semper vigilat, nunquam dormitabit, oppidanos dormientes sui militis Adalberti vigilantia custodivit et paganos in insidiis christianorum vigilantes armorum terror spiritualium agitavit. Apparuit namque quidam super album equum Pomoranis armatus, qui gladio eos extracto territabat, eosque per gradus et solium castri precipites agitabat. Sicque procul dubio castellani, clamoribus paganorum et tumultibus excitati, defensione gloriosi martiris Adalberti ab imminenti sunt mortis periculo liberati. Hec ad presens de sancto dixisse sufficiat et ad intervallum superius nostre stilus intentionis incipiat".

of Poland to aid his people in defence against the pagans is significant[1364]. St. Adalbert was the first missionary of the Baltic coastline and his cult was encouraged and developed by the nascent Church in Poland as a part of the Christianization of the northern Polish territories[1365]. Gallus' *Gesta* contains a direct instruction for any present and future Polish crusaders – their saint, the apostle of the Prussians, St. Adalbert, will intercede in heaven on their behalf because their cause is right.

The author of the *Gesta* draws on the shared identity of Latin Christians' to construct the Pomeranians as the enemy by providing antagonistic differences between them and the Poles[1366]. This is particularly striking when considering that the Pomeranians and Poles considered each other to be kindred. The Pomeranians are consistently referred to by Gallus in ways that label them the "evil outsider". This formulaic characterization of "us" and "them" is comparable with the descriptions of Saracens in Western sources[1367]. Gallus presents the Pomeranians as "pagans"[1368], "foreigners"[1369] and "barbarians"[1370], and employs the notion of the "oth-

[1364] Robert the Monk presents the intervention of saints as the turning point of the battle in the sermon of Adhemar of Le Puy; *Roberti Monachi historia Iherosolimitana*, [in:] *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux*, vol. 3, Paris 1866, p. 830.

[1365] The details of the life and of the activities of St. Adalbert of Prague are known from: Vita Adalberti I; Vita Adalberti II. Johannes Fried argued that the oldest of the *Vitae* of St. Adalbert was written in Liege, J. Fried, *Otto III. und Boleslaw Chrobry. Das Widmungsbild des Aachener Evangeliars, der "Akt von Gnesen" und das frühe polnische und ungarische Königtum. Eine Bildanalyse und ihre historischen Folgen*, Stuttgart 2001, p. 267–269. Cf. *Gesta principum Polonorum…*, ed. F. Schaer, p. XXVIII, footnote 33. See also P. Urbańczyk, *Misja św. Wojciecha do Prusów w świetle badań archeologicznych*, [in:] *Święty Wojciech i jego czasy*, ed. A. Żaki, Kraków 2000, p. 147–163. For discussion of the *Vita* as a historical source see P. Wiszewski, *Domus Bolezlai. Values…*, p. 12–19.

[1366] Cf. Mastnak who observed that the launching of the First Crusade was the moment in which the *respublica christiana* became conscious of its unity. See T. Mastnak, *Crusading Peace: Christendom, the Muslim World, and Western Political Order*, Berkeley 2002, p. 117.

[1367] Cf. G. Labuda, *Źródła, sagi i legendy do najdawniejszych dziejów Polski*, Warszawa 1960, p. 209–241. Also see, the letter of Emperor Alexius Comnenus I to Count Robert of Flanders where non-Christians are referred to "as the wicked race of pagans" – Robert the Monk, *History of the First Crusade…*, p. 219.

[1368] *Pagani* – Gall II, 1; II, 2; II, 5; II, 6; II, 17; II, 22; II, 33; II, 35; II, 43; II, 44; II, 49; III, 1; III, 11; III, 12; III, 25; III, 26. Cf. the most common descriptions used in other sources in the region are *barbari, pagani, gentiles, neophyti, infideli*.

[1369] *Gentiles* – *ibidem*, I, 25. Cf. *ibidem*, Prohemium I (p. 12); I, 6. See also: "Gentiles sunt qui sine lege sunt, et nondum crediderunt. Dicti autem gentiles, quia ita sunt ut fuerunt geniti, id est, sicut in carne descenderunt sub peccato, scilicet, idolis servientes, et necdum regenerati", cf. PL 82, X, col. 314.

[1370] *Barbari* – Gall III, 1; *natio barbarorum* – Gall III, 1; *regio barbarorum* – Gall II, 15. Also "barbarorum gentilium naciones" – Gall, Prohemium I (p. 12).

er". The "other" is vile and evil. The "other" must transform and through conversion to Christianity give up its despicable vices. The Prussians are a "barbaric nation"[1371] and their country is "barbarian"[1372]. He observes that the pagans are "in want of cultivation or refinement"[1373] their "aggressiveness"[1374], "contumacy"[1375] and "natural faithlessness"[1376] are characteristics which motivate their "courage to revolt"[1377]. When Gallus recounts the "primeval faithlessness" of the Pomeranians, he refers to the spiritual character of the pagans which encompasses an "inborn hostility to Christianity", a reason in itself for the Polish conquest and conversion of the Pomeranian population[1378]. This faithlessness is the source of Pomeranian treachery, deceit, and failure to honour obligations and oaths[1379]. Thus, he compounds a pejorative image of the pagans and directly links their unfaithfulness with betrayal[1380]. In consequence, it is only just and wise for the Poles to crush such a "rebellious tribe"[1381]. Gallus creates a distance between Christians and pagans and sets his audience apart from the Pomeranian subject matter.

Moreover, in addition to being treacherous and deceitful, the Pomeranians are proud, vainglorious, and arrogant. According to Gallus, pride is the reason why the Pomeranians oppose the advances of Bolesław's army[1382], and their military vainglory must be routed by the power

[1371] *Natio barbara* – *ibidem*, III, 24.
[1372] "Terra satis barbara" – *ibidem*, II, 42.
[1373] *Inculti* – *ibidem*, III, Epistola (p. 212).
[1374] *Ferocitas* – *ibidem*, Prohemium I (p. 12); II, 42.
[1375] *Contumaces* – *ibidem*, II, 1; II, 48.
[1376] "Perfidia, prima perfidia, naturalis perfidia" – *ibidem*, Prohemium I (p. 12); II, 42; II, 48. Cf. Adam I, 9 and 13. There, *perfidia* is the main reason for wars not to end earlier.
[1377] Adam of Bremen refers to the pagans as "fierce by nature and given to the worship of idols and hostile to the true religion. Natura feroces et cultui demonum dediti, veraeque religioni contrarii, neque divina neque humana iura vel pollulere vel transgredi inhonestum arbitrabantur", cf. Adam I, 8.
[1378] Cf. A.F. Grabski, *Polska wobec idei wypraw krzyżowych na przełomie XI i XII wieku: duch krzyżowy Anonima Galla*, "Zapiski Historyczne" 26, 1961, p. 51.
[1379] In Helmold's chronicle rebelliousness and infidelity are featured as the characteristics of the pagans. Helmold (I, 14) refers to the pagans as stiff-necked and unbelieving folk who are rebellious and by nature untrustworthy and prone to evil: "animi naturaliter sint infidi et ad malum proni ideoque cavendi", "gentes rebelles et incredulae".
[1380] For example, Gniewomir commits "tradiciones multimodas dignas sentencie capitalis", cf. Gall II, 44.
[1381] "Insurgendi fiduciam" – Gall II, 1. The Pomeranians are also *rebelles*, *gens rebellis* – Gall II, 1; II, 48.
[1382] "Superbiam sunt erecti" – Gall II, 1. But, when they are defeated then they are "primo fastu superbie descendentes"– Gall II, 48.

of the Polish sword[1383]. In his discourse, pride is the cause of one's fall or death, and is in accord with the Augustinian principle that pride is a mortal sin; thus the eradication of this pride is another just reason why the Poles fight holy wars with the Pomeranians[1384]. War is a natural and just response to sin and the war will bring just peace – the natural order sought by humankind[1385]. Only such wars are to be imitated and glorified. A just war against Pomerania, according to Gallus, is waged to restrain the wicked and lawless pagans and thus "lawless men are prevented from doing harm"[1386].

Gallus differentiates the Poles from the heathen Pomeranians and Prussians by placing them at opposite ends of the moral spectrum (Poles – Christian and honourable; Pomeranians – pagan and deceitful). He manifests his contempt for the pagans by depicting their character and by attributing bestial features to them to affirm that they are malicious, treacherous, and ungrateful. The pagan tribes neighbouring the Poles are the "viper race"[1387], the Prussians in particular being "beastly animals"[1388]. When the Pomeranians demonstrate cunning battle tactics by unexpectedly emerging in larger numbers than expected, they are "shrew mice"[1389]. Therefore, heathen nations are fundamentally different to the Christian Poles and are as low as animals. He expresses himself similarly to Robert the Monk who portrays the Saracens as cunning and cowardly[1390]. Both chroniclers articulate their position as members of Christendom as being inherently at odds with the "evil outsider".

Conclusion

The *Gesta* is a valuable early source intended by its sponsors and author to be a record of the Piasts in general. In particular, it focused

[1383] *Militaris superbia* – Gall III, 1.
[1384] Cf. David J. Macqueen, *Augustine on Superbia: The Historical Background and Sources of his Doctrine*, "Mélanges de Science Religieuse" 34, 1977, p. 193–211.
[1385] As opposed to a war which is motivated by "the love of violence, revengeful cruelty, fierce and implacable enmity, wild resistance, and the lust of power" – "nocendi cupiditas, ulciscendi crudelitas, impacatus atque implacabilis animus, feritas rebellandi, libido dominandi", Augustine, *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*, PL 42, XXII, 74, col. 447.
[1386] Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, PL 41, XIX, 21, col. 649.
[1387] *Viperalis progenies* – Gall, Prohemium I (p. 12).
[1388] *Bruta animalia* – *ibidem*, II, 43.
[1389] "Quasi sorices de latibulis" – *ibidem*, III, 1.
[1390] *Roberti Monachi historia Iherosolimitana…*, p. 765 f. Saracens are barely human; they jabber and grind their teeth, *ibidem*, p. 788. Cf. Robert the Monk, *History of the First Crusade…*, p. 55.

on Bolesław III's special place in the divine plan for humanity and the Piasts' holy mission. An examination of the *Gesta*'s portrayal of the conversion of Pomerania provides an example of the "successful" fusion of coercion and mission which characterized proto-crusading activity in the region[1391]. It was under the auspices of St. Adalbert, slain by pagan Prussians, that holy war crusading brought triumph to the Poles along the Baltic shore.

Gallus presents his audience with the conquest of Pomerania as a just war in accordance with the Augustinian principles of just cause, right intention, and legitimate authority. The conquest was in response to Pomeranian pillaging raids and incursions into Poland, and therefore wars against the pagan Pomeranians were fought to redress the wrongs suffered. The Poles fought these wars with the intention of restoring peace, and military actions were conducted under the command of Bolesław III of Poland.

Gallus' portrayal of the Pomeranians confirms that they possess what Augustine described as "love of violence, revengeful cruelty, fierce and implacable enmity, wild resistance, and the lust of power"[1392]. Thus, they embody the greatest evils which, according to Augustine, manifest themselves during war. The *Gesta* successfully incorporated the wars against the Pomeranians into the universal Christian struggle against the pagans and established the Piast crusader tradition which became a powerful dynastic heritage. Ultimately, Gallus framed the conquest of Pomerania as a holy war and means of the victorious eradication of paganism. It justified the expansion of the Polish monarchy by conquest with divine sanction.

[1391] W. Dziewulski, *Likwidacja pogaństwa na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, "Zapiski Historyczne" 25, 1960, 1, p. 7–32; *idem*, *Przebieg i metody misji Św. Ottona z Bambergu w latach 1124–1128*, "Kultura, Oświata, Nauka. Zeszyty naukowe Stowarzyszenia PAX" 4, 1974, p. 38–47.

[1392] Augustine, *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*, PL 42, XXII, 74, col. 447.

III

The Pomeranian Church between Saxony, Poland, and Denmark: signs of Christian acculturation in the 12th century

Marcin R. Pauk

1. Polish ecclesiastical organization in the age of the conquest and Christianization of Pomerania

Early medieval ecclesiastical organization is the element of the power structure of medieval polities that is most easily distinguishable for researchers. This is so because of the institutional continuity of episcopal authority and the relatively high level of literacy applied to its functioning – starting from the early forms of property documentation through canonical and synodal activities up to the earliest manifestations of historiographic output, such as chronicles, catalogues, *gesta episcoporum*, and the lives of bishops[1393]. This principle – easy to confirm in Western European realities – is inapplicable in the realities of Central Europe. Until circa 1200, the history of ecclesial organization east of the Elbe river comes down to us almost exclusively *via* foreign records, along with late sources

[1393] The institution of bishopric and various aspects of its functioning in the early and high Middle Ages has lately been repeatedly (re)visited by historians; of the numerous recent studies, the following are worth pointing out: *The Bishop Reformed. Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. A. Ott, A.T. Jones, Aldershot 2007; *Patterns of Episcopal Power. Bishops in Tenth and 11th Century Western Europe*, ed. L. Körntgen, D. Wasenhofen, Berlin–Boston 2011; J. Eldevik, *Episcopal Power and Ecclesiastical Reform in the German Empire. Tithes, Lordship and Community*, 950–1150, Cambridge 2012; *Jenseits des Königshofs. Bischöfe und ihre Diözesen im nachkarolingischen ostfränkisch-deutschen Reich (850–1100)*, ed. A. Bihrer, S. Bruhn, Berlin–Boston 2019 (= Studien zur Germania Sacra, Neue Folge 10).

of local provenance, ones that are hard to verify and, at times, completely misleading or deceptive (for instance, Jan Długosz's episcopal catalogues).

Among the perennial subject-matters of Polish medieval studies are problems fabricated in the works of modern scholars, such as the alleged papal exemption for the earliest Polish bishopric in the years 968–1000, along with those invented by prolific mediaeval authors, such as the alleged existence of a second Polish archbishopric under the reign of Bolesław Chrobry (the Brave). The latter case is a good example of how deceptive the quest for 'hard facts' from a century before Gallus Anonymus' chronicle may be for the modern researcher. There are, however, no other indications of the possible existence of such an archbishopric in 11th-century Poland. Anonymus' concept is quite easy to explain by the conviction of the chronicler, who must certainly have been inspired by the realities of his contemporary Hungary: a really mighty kingdom, as he might believe, should have more than one archbishopric within its borders – as was the case of the *Arpad* Kingdom on the threshold of the 12th century[1394].

It is paradoxical – and indeed worth taking note as an introduction – that the earliest narrative compiled in Poland (by the author called Gallus Anonymus around the year 1115) shares extremely important information on the structures of the Polish Church, and makes the state's relationship with the Pomeranians a fundamental ideological motif for an exposition of current affairs. This ideology was more than a propagandist attempt at distracting the reader's attention from the recent internal dynastic problems: although Gallus' central character, Duke Bolesław III Krzywousty (the Wrymouth), emerged victorious, he did bear the delegitimizing stigma of a perjurer and fratricide[1395]. It was not coincidental that Aleksander Gieysztor, in his appraisal of the cult of St. Adalbert in the first Piast monarchy, made straightforward remarks on the missionary ideology of the state and Church around the year 1000[1396]: such an ideology seems all the more applicable to the religious and political realities also after 1100.

1394 While the opinions regarding the origins and chronology of the emergence of the Archbishopric at Kalocsa-*Bacs* vary, the scholars generally agree that it already functioned at the turn of the 12th century.

1395 For the response to this opinion on the Polish Duke in Cosmas II, 33.

1396 A. Gieysztor, *Sanctus et gloriosissimus martyr Christi Adalbertus: un État et une Église missionaires aux alentour de l'an Mille*, [in:] *La conversione al cristianesimo nell'Europa dell'alto medioevo*, Spoleto 1967 (= SCIAM 14), p. 611–648.

Given the recent sphragistic and numismatic findings, the cult of St. Adalbert and his political and ideological impact as the patron-saint of the Polish Church and entire political community in the first quarter of the 12th century is known to us today in much greater detail[1397]. The long-known written testimonies prove no less significant, though. St. Adalbert gains the major attribute of the 'political' saint, i.e., protection and military assistance for his confessors, in Gallus' story of the Saint's miraculous intervention against the Pomeranians who endeavoured to seize some Polish stronghold[1398]. The successful holding-off of the pagans, a deed that displayed the Saint's supernatural power, reportedly took place during the night preceding the consecration of the Cathedral Church in Gniezno, dedicated to him. A missionary killed by pagans, Gallus' story furnishes him with clearly discernible warrior features – and thus he was perfectly suited as a helper in the military campaigns targeted at these very pagans and thereafter, no less so as a supporter of the peaceful Christianization campaign. The latter aspect did not go unnoticed by the hagiographers of Otto of Bamberg. St. Adalbert's dedications of the earliest west Pomeranian churches serve here as a clear evidence[1399].

Given the context, no less meaningful is the offering of tribute to the Cathedral canons by Pomerania's Duke Wartislaw in 1128, as recorded by Ebo of Michelsberg in the context of a peaceful resolution of the impending conflict with Bolesław the Wrymouth[1400]. The significance of this devotional act has triggered diverse interpretations regarding its political meaning; the view whereby Wartislaw meant to recognize the metropolitan supremacy of Gniezno over Pomerania is probably too far-fetched[1401]. Because of the political role of St. Adalbert's cult, there is virtually no doubt that he was the ideological

1397 I refer here to the recent discoveries of lead ducal seals associated with Bolesław the Wrymouth, as well as the iconography of the ducal coins from the same period, see T. Jurek, *Funkcje i symbolika polskich bulli książęcych*, [in:] *Moc a její symbolika ve středověku*, ed. M. Nodl, A. Pleszczyński, Praha 2011, p. 11–32.

1398 Gall II, 6. Some historians persistently attempt to interpret this passage in a hyperpositivistic manner; see B. Śliwiński, *O cudzie św. Wojciecha w grodzie na pograniczu polsko-pomorskim w końcu XI wieku*, [in:] *Stilo et animo. Prace historyczne ofiarowane Tomaszowi Jasińskiemu w 65. rocznicę urodzin*, ed. M. Dorna *et al.*, Poznań 2016, p. 97–106.

1399 M. Rębkowski, *Chrystianizacja…*, p. 25–39; J. Petersohn, *Der südliche Ostseeraum…*, *passim*.

1400 Ebo III, 13.

1401 See S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 443 ff.

addressee of the Duke's gift, which was meant to express the Pomeranian ruler's bowing to the Sacred of a more powerful opponent. This tribute can also be interpreted as a kind ransom to the Saint who had been offended by the aggression upon the community's peace that was embraced with his protection.

Thus, we can read the essential elements of 12th-century Central European political and religious culture from the perspective of Pomeranian affairs. It bears noting that the aforesaid Polish-Pomeranian conflict in 1128 reportedly escalated into the Pomeranians' invasion and their profanation of the corpses of Duke Bolesław's parents, dragged out from their tomb[1402]. The object of the attack must have been the city and the Cathedral in Płock, where in 1102, according to Anonymous, the body of Duke Władysław I Herman was deposited. As we may presume, the destruction caused by the Pomeranians became an impulse for the monumental rebuilding of Płock Cathedral, carried out under the pontificate of Bishop Alexander of Malonne (this work continued until at least 1144).

According to my concept, which is discussed at length elsewhere, it was Płock Cathedral that became the location of a new ducal necropolis. An ideological pattern for this project was provided by the new imperial burial site at St. Mary's Cathedral in Speyer. The latter emerged during a hundred years of Salian rule and was completed in the last years of Henry IV's reign[1403]. The construction works were overseen, on the Emperor's commission, by his chaplain Otto, the later Bishop of Bamberg, whose influence at the Polish court during the reign of Bolesław the Wrymouth needs no evidence. Otto might have easily become an inspirer of actions aimed at reinforcing the prestige of the Polish dynasty, which was modelled after its imperial counterpart.

The aforementioned Bishop Alexander of Malonne and his direct predecessor Simon, who resisted Pomeranian invasions upon their diocese using weaponry or only resorting to the strength of his prayers, became for Gallus and Vincent Kadłubek, the other major chronicler of the time, the basis for their heroic and moralizing narra-

1402 Ebo III, 13.

1403 M.R. Pauk, *Płock i Spira. Piastowska imitatio imperii na przełomie XI i XII wieku?*, [in:] *Świat średniowiecza. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Henrykowi Samsonowiczowi*, ed. A. Bartoszewicz *et al*., Warszawa 2010, p. 492–523.

tives on the virtues related to the wielding of episcopal power[1404]. One of these invasions of the Pomeranians inspired Gallus' very detailed story on the dramatic experiences of Martin, the venerable Archbishop of Gniezno. The hierarch, embattled at his church in Spicymierz, was forced to climb up to the temple's roof structure to avoid being kidnapped and taken into captivity.

The fragment in question provides the earliest information on the material aspects of the archbishopric's functioning, as it is the earliest testimony to an important archiepiscopal estate in Spicymierz on the Warta river, mentioned not much long afterwards in Pope Innocent II's privilege[1405]. The estate was a complex of properties dispersed mainly in central Poland, as demonstrated by the later sources. The metropolitan held in the locality of Spicymierz a church that was his property; before the Pomeranian's assault, he was preparing there for the celebration of a liturgy, assisted by an archdeacon and a chaplain. The impossibility of offering resistance suggests that the archiepiscopal court was not a stronghold, and that the travelling dignitary was not accompanied by a larger armed retinue. The sententious overtone of the narrative is quite evident: God's punishment fell upon the pagans for kidnapping the archdeacon and, perhaps primarily, for robbing the relics and liturgical paraments; they were oppressed until, repentant and remorseful, they set the clergyman free and returned the sacred items to the metropolitan[1406].

In the context of the functioning of a Polish metropolis in the first half of the 12th century, worthy of attention is the fact (still largely neglected by scholars) that in the Archbishopric of Gniezno a new, fictitious tradition was created regarding the origins of the said institution[1407]. Gal-

1404 For more on the topic, see M. Tomaszek, *"Modlitwa i łzy bronią biskupa". Pasterze polskiego Kościoła a walka orężna w ujęciu Wincentego Kadłubka*, "Roczniki Historyczne" 71, 2005, p. 121–136; R. Kotecki, *Lions and Lambs, Wolves and Pastors of the Flock: Portraying Military Activity of Bishops in Twelfth-Century Poland*, [in:] *Between Sword and Prayer. Warfare and Medieval Clergy in Cultural Perspective*, ed. R. Kotecki, J. Maciejewski, J.S. Ott, Leiden 2018, p. 303–340.

1405 *Chrestomatia staropolska. Teksty do roku 1543*, ed. W. Wydra and W.R. Rzepka, Wrocław 1995, p. 19. The archiepiscopal estate was composed in the 12th c. of eleven settlements, and the archbishop collected the tithe from the Spicymierz castle.

1406 Gall II, 43. Master Vincent interestingly complemented the story in his version (the latter calls for special attention, for reasons hitherto neglected by the scholars; see below).

1407 G. Labuda, *Święty Wojciech…*, p. 283: the author quite unconvincingly attributes the "deduction" of Adalbert's archiepiscopal office at Gniezno from Gallus' chronicle to Vincent of Kielcza, a much later hagiographer of St. Stanislaus.

lus' concealment of the most important effect of the Gniezno Summit of the year 1000 – namely, the foundation of the ecclesiastical metropolis and its three submitted bishoprics – does not seem to have been coincidental or a result of narrative convention. The creation of Polish bishoprics is known to us only from Thietmar of Merseburg's account, close in time to the events in question; a hundred years later, the court chronicler of Bolesław the Wrymouth seems to reveal a completely different view on the origins of these bishoprics. His opinion, however, is camouflaged between the lines; for instance, the sentence describing Gaudentius as the *successor* of his saint brother, or the one telling about depositing the martyr's body in the metropolitan city of Gniezno, as if the archiepiscopal see had existed at the time Adalbert was martyred[1408].

The Polish 12th-century version of the Saint's life, known after its incipit as the *Tempore illo*, straightforwardly demonstrates that as he was setting off for his ill-fated mission, St. Adalbert established *pro se* his own brother as the next archbishop[1409]. Hence, in the fictitious Gniezno-originated tradition, which was possibly invented in the late 11th or early 12th century, with the new wave of St. Adalbert's cult, the latter "became" the first Archbishop of Gniezno. The title, as we might conclude on the basis of *Tempore illo*, had to do with his alleged missionary activity in Poland. This hagiographic fiction well fits the contemporary tendency to make use of historical arguments to build up the prestige of an institution[1410]. For the bishoprics situated in the areas of Roman heritage, and also in their peripheries, this trend manifested itself in the quest for "the Roman origins", or even for direct-line succession of the local bishops from active in the age of the Apostles.

Since ancient foundations for the metropolitan position of Gniezno could not possibly be demonstrated, the figure of a martyr – the "Apostle of the Prussians" – must have seemed very attractive; his association

[1408] Gall I, 6, 19.
[1409] *Tempore illo*, p. 217.
[1410] As an example: R. Michałowski, *The Gniezno Summit. The Religious Premises of the Founding of the Archbishopric of Gniezno*, Leiden 2016, p. 8–72; F. Staab, *Die Mainzer Kirche. Konzeption und Verwirklichung in der Bonifatius- und Theonesttradition*, [in:] *Die Salier und das Reich*, t. 2: *Die Reichskirche in der Salierzeit*, Sigmaringen 1991, ed. S. Weinfurter, p. 31–77; F.-R. Erkens, *Die Ursprünge der Lorcher Tradition im Spiegel archäologischer, historiographischer und urkundlicher Zeugnisse*, [in:] *Das Christentum im bairischen Raum. Von den Anfängen bis ins 11. Jahrhundert*, ed. E. Boshof and H. Wolff, Köln 1994, p. 423–483.

with the foundation of the archbishopric had its real foundation, which was thoroughly reinterpreted. Let us note that the subtle ideological construction of "St. Adalbert's archbishopric" from the time of Gaudentius, founded upon the martyr's relics ransomed from the Prussians, was thoroughly transformed into a concept of a real archiepiscopal dignity that was apparently held by the living and acting person. We do not known whether this resulted from the awareness that the real relics were unavailable, or perhaps such a simpler concept more powerfully appealed to the imagination of contemporaries, serving the prestigious interests of the 12th-century clerical milieu of the metropolitan see.

2. In the shadow of Pomeranian affairs? Episcopal investiture in 12th-century Poland

Did Pomeranian affairs influence Gallus' image of the past and the present, even at points where they are not directly mentioned in his chronicle? A suspicion of presentism, similar to what could be suspected with respect of the alleged second metropolis, may appear also in connection with the chronicler's account of the privileges concerning ecclesiastical affairs that Bolesław the Brave reportedly obtained at the Gniezno Summit from Emperor Otto III. According to Gallus, the privileges extended to supremacy over the local Church, understood as the prerogative of appointing higher ecclesiastical dignitaries and the right to create bishoprics in the conquered pagan countries[1411]. The matter seems to be essential due to the importance attributed to this account by Polish scholars striving to reconstruct the legal and political decisions of the summit held in the year 1000.

The reasons for distrust towards the chronicler at this particular point are more than obvious: the record concerning the right to found bishoprics *in regionibus barbarorum* by the Polish ruler on behalf of the Emperor, was written by an author who willingly eye-witnessed the preparation and the early phase of Bolesław the Wrymouth's military expansion toward the pagan Pomeranians. Soon afterwards, the problem of establishing an ecclesial structure in Pomerania became quite actual. The Emperor's universalistic prerogatives

[1411] Gall I, 6.

to create new bishoprics in the pagan areas, and to invest bishops for new dioceses[1412], could have posed a serious risk to the security of the Piasts' interests in the conquered land – even though the last Salians, still in conflict with the Saxons, had no potential to take an interest in the Reich's north-eastern borderland.

The Emperor's and other secular rulers' right of investiture regarding bishops, addressed by Gallus as "in ecclesiasticis honoribus quicquid ad imperium pertinebat in regno Polonorum", was in the chronicler's time extremely strongly contested by the papacy. A new phase of conflict with Henry IV in the early years of Pope Paschal II's pontificate was characterized by depositing those bishops who had their investiture granted by the excommunicated emperor[1413]. Gualo of Beauvais, the papal legate, did the same thing with two members of the local episcopate during his stay in Poland in the year 1104 or 1105, but in informing about this fact, Gallus quotes no reason for these depositions[1414]. Based on indirect premises, one may conclude that the legate intervened against the Bishops of Poznań and Płock, the two main ducal capital towns in the part of the country then under the rule of Bolesław's older brother Zbigniew. The former saw apparently no interest in opposing this.

In my opinion, the actual reason for the deposition was the non-canonical (from the standpoint of the Pope's envoy) procedure of appointment of the aforesaid hierarchs. Close analysis tells us that both diocesan sees were filled in the late phase of Władysław I Herman's reign, probably in the very last years of the 11th century, by Eberhard and Henry, two prelates from the Cathedral Chapter of Bamberg who stayed loyal to the Salian dynasty. Their promotion of bishoprics in Poland could have been supported by Emperor Henry IV[1415]. After Władysław's death, this fact might have offered an

[1412] Cf. Thietmar's description of Charlemagne's foundation of bishoprics in the conquered Saxony, Thietmar VII, 75.

[1413] U.-R. Blumenthal, *The Early Councils of Pope Paschal II, 1000–1100*, Toronto 1978, p. 71 f.; see also: C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy. The Western Church from 1050 to 1250*, Oxford 1989, p. 154–162; L. Körntgen, *Der Investiturstreit und das Verhältnis von Religion und Politik im Frühmittelalter*, [in:] *Religion und Politik im Mittelalter. Deutschland und England im Vergleich*, ed. L. Körntgen, D. Waßenhofen, Berlin–Boston 2013, p. 89–115.

[1414] Gall II, 25; for more on this subject, see K. Skwierczyński, *Recepcja idei gregoriańskich w Polsce…*, p. 305–307.

[1415] M.R. Pauk, *Episkopat, liturgia i polityka u schyłku XI wieku. Biskupi Eberhard i Henryk w dokumencie Władysława Hermana dla katedry bamberskiej*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny"123, 2016, p. 653–694.

easy premise for the bishops' deposition. The issue of two Bamberg canons as bishops in Poland before the year 1102 certainly deserves attention also in the context of the later role of this important centre of the imperial Church in the Pomeranian mission, but this is a fact of secondary importance at this point.

The removal of the two hierarchs, albeit accepted without resistance by Duke Bolesław, as it only affected the province of his half-brother and enemy, might have disturbed the ducal court (which became concerned about the future influence on filling the top Church offices). Prerogatives of secular rulers, not only in the German Reich or England, collided in the age of Gregorian reform more and more directly with the claims raised for papal authority. An analogous situation was the case in Hungary; in a letter to a unknown Hungarian archbishop, Paschal II condemned not only the instances of arbitrary removal of bishops to an another diocese, but also the king's right to nominate bishops. Soon after that in 1106, King Coloman the Learned felt forced, at the synod held in Guastalla, to tactically disclaim his prerogatives to the benefit of the Pope[1416].

The *Third Life of St. Stephen*, written by Hartwig, bishop of Györ, at that very period and within the scope of the Hungarian royal court, comprises a very significant addendum that does not appear in any of the previous two versions of the *Life*. Because of his role as an evangelizer, equal to the Apostles, the first monarch of Hungary was, according to his chronicler, granted by Sylvester II with special prerogatives of authority over the local Church, in the form of apostolic delegation of the Pope's power. The concept of the 'legation' is commonly regarded by scholars as a historiographical fiction coined at the Arpad court in order to meet current purposes – specifically, to establish an ideological foundation of the monarch's claims for keeping the supremacy over the Church in his own state[1417].

[1416] The importance of the Guastalla synod for the Hungarian king's prerogatives is a somewhat disputable matter, as Coloman's waiver of the investiture is only reported by a relatively late source – the 13th-century universal chronicle by Martin of Opava; see R. Blumenthal, *The Early Councils of Pope Paschal II…*, p. 71 f.

[1417] J. Deér, *Der Anspruch der Herrscher des 12. Jahrhunderts auf die apostolische Legation*, [in:] *idem*, *Byzanz und das abendländische Herrschertum. Ausgewählte Aufsätze von Josef Deér*, Sigmaringen 1977, p. 469–480; D. Bagi, *Papieskie przysłanie korony dla św. Stefana w Legendzie św. Stefana pióra biskupa Hartwika*, [in:] *Gnieźnienskie koronacje królewskie i ich środkowoeuropejskie konteksty*, ed. J. Dobosz, M. Matla, L. Wetesko, Gniezno 2011, p. 175–186.

Gallus' excellent acquaintance with contemporary and past realities of Hungary compels us to regard the *Life of St. Stephen* by Hartwig as an inspiration for coining a similar historiographic fiction for the use of the Polish duke. The right to fill the bishoprics at home and create them in the countries of pagans[1418], as a hereditary privilege bestowed by the Emperor to Bolesław' great predecessor, and additionally confirmed by the authority of privilege issued by Pope Sylvester II, might have been an important legitimizing argument at the moment the Church's organization was emerging in Pomerania; even though such a right might not have been deemed to be in force by both universalistic authorities.

3. Gniezno and Magdeburg: episcopal power on the margins of Latin Christendom

Evaluation of the potential of the Polish ecclesiastical organization in the time of the conquest and Christianization of Pomerania is not an easy exercise: church organization gradually emerges in sharper contours only from scarce records at the turn of 11th and 12th centuries. Gallus' dedications in the several books of his chronicle inform us about the cast of the contemporary episcopate. Moreover, they provide us with the first evidence of a structured ducal court *capella*, being an important centre for the formation and recruitment of higher clergy. Furthermore, the chronicle gives us also some idea about the political role of the ecclesiastical dignitaries. In this respect, Martin, Archbishop of Gniezno, stands out as a person who was apparently actively involved in political games and rivalry between the Piast rulers in the first years of the 12th century. The activity of other members of the higher clergy, such as Baldwin, Bishop of Cracow, who pursued a diplomatic mission to Rome in the Duke's interest, or Simon and Alexander, bishops of Płock who contributed to the defense of Mazovia against the Pomeranians' raids, fit into the pattern of hierarchs of an Imperial Church, still current in Germany, a Church that pursued a variety of political and organizational measures in the interest of secular power[1419].

[1418] Gall I, 6: "Insuper etiam in ecclesiasticis honoribus quicquid ad imperium pertinebat in regno Polonorum, vel in aliis superatis ab eo vel superandis regionibus barbarorum, sue suorumque successorum potestati concessit, cuius paccionis decretum papa Siluester sancte Romane ecclesie privilegio confirmavit".

It is plausible that, with the essential support of the ruler, most Polish bishops from the early 12th century were able to initiate the rebuilding or renovating of their cathedral churches. This points to ideological power, as well as the considerable financial potential of the Church. The sequence of dates begins with the consecration of the Gniezno Cathedral (ca. 1099). Recorded in Gallus' chronicle, the consecration was probably related to an intensified cult of St. Adalbert. Then came the consecration of Cracow Cathedral in 1142, known from the annalistic entry; the series ends with the aforementioned Płock dedication of 1144.

The papal protection charters received at that same time by the bishops of Gniezno (c. 1136), Włocławek (1148), and Wrocław (1155)[1420], furnished with extensive inventories of estates and incomes, reveals a high diversity of forms of endowing the church organization. It was mostly composed of castles with surrounding settlements, in later sources termed as 'church castellanies, landed estates with bonded peasants, proprietary monasteries or canon chapters (St. Mary in Łęczyca; St. Martin of Wrocław; St. Michael on Wawel Hill; Zawichost). Also variable incomes in money and crops from tithes, markets, and tolls were of great significance. However, the older view of a chronological stratification of the income rationed out of the ruler's estate (tithes), of which the earliest phase of endowment allegedly consisted, and of the land with the bonded peasants, which was believed to have been intercepted by the Church only from the latter half of the 11th century, definitely calls for critical revision. The aforementioned twelfth-century testimonies, as well as the comparative data, generally point out to a parallel functioning of diverse forms of the bishoprics' material foundations[1421].

[1419] For more on Otto I of Bamberg as a bishop of the imperial Church, see the recent study by E. Boshof, *Otto I. von Bamberg (1102–1139). Ein Reichsbischof im Spannungsfeld von Königtum und Papsttum*, "Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte" 80, 2017, p. 351–421.

[1420] Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, *Repertorium polskich dokumentów doby piastowskiej*, Kraków ²2006, no. 31, 47, 58.

[1421] The model of endowment of early Church organization in Poland has to date not been the subject of a comprehensive and synthetizing study; see M.R. Pauk, *Plenariae decimationes św. Wojciecha. O ideowych funkcjach dziesięciny monarszej w Polsce i na Węgrzech w XI–XII wieku*, [in:] *Gnieźnieńskie koronacje królewskie i ich środkowoeuropejskie konteksty*, ed. J. Dobosz *et al.*, Gniezno 2011, p. 187–212; also: J. Dobosz, *Monarcha i możni…*, p. 422 ff.

Herbord of Michelsberg's opinion about an unsuccessful three-year quest for a Polish hierarch who would have been willing to embark on the Christian mission to the land of Pomeranians has inclined some scholars to express critical opinions on the formation of the clergy and the potential of the local church organization. In any case, Stanisław Rosik is definitely right when he interprets this motif in terms of a reinforced heroism of the choice made by Bishop Otto of Bamberg, who was to become the "Apostle of Pomerania". However, individual evangelization zeal and the clergy's readiness to set off for a mission among heathens is different from the material, personal, and organizational potential useful in building and developing new ecclesiastical structures.

In spite of the extent of the Polish ecclesiastical province, which in the 1130s consisted of an archbishopric and its six suffragan dioceses, the balance is clearly in favour of the Magdeburg Metropolis, which competed against Gniezno in the 12th century for supremacy over west Pomerania. After several years of conflict caused by the anti-Salian and pro-Gregorian orientation of a considerable part of the East Saxon elite, led by archbishops, the first decades of the 12th century saw a normalization of the relations with the Emperor, which during the pontificate of Norbert of Xanten turned into close cooperation with Lothair III. The metropolitan bishop ranked amongst the most influential figures in the Reich's political arena. Resumption of ecclesial and political expansion in Elbeland was heralded by the famous crusade manifesto of Adelgoz, Archbishop of Magdeburg, from ca. 1107, summoning to conquer and colonize the Slavic lands. The archdiocese joined also the vanguard of ecclesiastical reform already under Norbert's predecessors, particularly in regard of promotion of the reformed canonical life.

The pontificate of the founder of the Premonstratensian Order meant that the diocese soon witnessed the arrival of this particular branch of reformed canons. An unsuccessful attempt was moreover taken to regularize the Cathedral Chapter in line with the Premonstratensian rule. This missionary potential and dynamism of religious life is well illustrated by the protection charter issued by Pope Innocent II for Archbishop Norbert, whose archbishopric registered eleven proprietary monasteries and provostries. Among them were new foundations from the first half of the 12th century: particularly, the collegiate churches (St. Nicholas in Magdeburg), monasteries of Canons Regular (the Neuwerk in Halle) and of the Premonstratensians (Unsere Liebe Frau in Magdeburg and Gottesgnaden)[1422].

At that same time, the Archbishop of Gniezno had, apart from his Chapter, merely one (canon) congregation of canons: St. Mary's Abbey at Łęczyca, although Poland's first monastery of Canons Regular in Trzemeszno in Greater Poland did also have some relationship with the metropolitan church. Given the rigorous assessment expressed by Herbord, it has to be borne in mind that it was probably the Archbishopric of Gniezno that put the most efficient effort, in material and in human resources, into organizing two new dioceses that got involved in the Christianization of Pomerania. Also, Otto's hagiographers left no doubt as to the significant role of the Gniezno-based ecclesiastical milieu in the Pomeranian mission: it was the metropolitan see that was straightforwardly visited by the Bishop of Bamberg and, according to Ebo, he was hosted there for three weeks by Jacob, then provost of the Cathedral Chapter and future archbishop. Lastly, it was Gniezno that the missionary visited on his return from his first trip; he was welcomed there with a liturgical procession and psalms by St. Adalbert's canons[1423].

4. The first Pomeranian bishopric: Bishops of Kuyavia between missionary activity and the ducal court

The first phase of the conquest of Pomerania, undertaken under Bolesław the Wrymouth's rule, become the primary impulse for the first significant reorganization of the Polish ecclesiastical province after the year 1000. This took place shortly before the mid-1120s. Although the details are mostly the subject of conjecture and hypothesizing, it is at least certain that the foundation of new bishoprics was made through the cooperation of Duke Bolesław III and the papal legate Gilo of Toucy, Cardinal-Bishop of Tusculum. His legation to Poland was recorded in Pope Eugene III's protection bull for the Bishopric of Kuyavia dated 1148. It is worth emphasizing that the creation of both Pomeranian bish-

[1422] *Urkundenbuch des Erzstift Magdeburg*, vol. 1, ed. F. Israël, Magdeburg 1937 [further: UB Magdeburg], no. 227; D. Claude, *Geschichte des Erzbistums Magdeburg bis in das 12. Jahrhundert*, Köln–Wien 1975, p. 291–442.

[1423] Vita Prieflingensis III, 1.

oprics marked the moments when the supremacy of the Polish duke over the Church was taking clearer shape.

The setting up of the new diocese's borders, as mentioned in the papal bull, resulted from the cooperation between the duke and the legate, and was probably decided during the synod convened by the duke – similarly as it was with Gualo's legacy, mentioned by Gallus[1424]. The precise date of Gilo's legatine mission remains disputed among scholars: the divergences span between the years 1123 and 1126; similarly controversial are also the number and locations of new bishoprics formed at that time. A charter issued in Rome a decade later by Pope Innocent II, subjecting the Polish province to the Metropolitan of Magdeburg, enumerates three new Polish dioceses (save for two alleged dioceses in west Pomerania) – namely, those of Lubusz (Lebus), Kruszwica, and Włocławek[1425].

The history of the first mentioned diocese has left traces so scarce in the 12th century that even conjectures are difficult to devise on their basis. The first recognized Bishop of Lubusz was named Bernard, as per an obituary of the Benedictine monastery at Ołbin (today, within Wrocław). He was identified by some scholars with Bernard, a missionary bishop known from the lives of St. Otto and nicknamed the 'Spaniard', whose failed missionary effort undertaken around 1122 on the lower Odra river was said to have preceded the one carried out by the Bishop of Bamberg[1426]. This identification, however, founded on the mere coincidence of names, can hardly be confirmed.

It is significant, however, that Bernard, who was consecrated as a bishop earlier on in Rome, and thus not bound by an oath of obedience to any of the metropolitan bishops in the region, would indeed have been a convenient candidate from the standpoint of securing the possible interests of the Bamberg Church in Pomerania. According to Ebo's testimony, he was also well-known in the Bamberg clerical milieu[1427]. Analogously, also the first Kuyavian Bishop Swidger is believed to have originally come from the Bamberg circle. It is not clear if the territory of the Lubusz/

[1424] Gall II, 27.

[1425] UB Magdeburg, vol. 1, no. 229: "Quorum videlicet episcopatuum nomina sunt: inter Albiam et Oderam Stetin et Lubus; ultra Oderam vero Pomerana, Poztnin, Gnezen, Craco, Vartizlau, Cruciwiz, Masouia, Lodilaensis".

[1426] For the recently most extensive remarks on Bernard the Spaniard, with a review of the literature, see S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 157–162.

[1427] Ebo II, 1.

Lebus Diocese actually encompassed the entire area covered by Otto's mission; this seems rather dubious. The case of the Kuyavia bishopric, which embraced the whole of east Pomerania, up to the Łeba river, might be evidence that there had been a plan to found new diocesan centres for the conquered Pomeranian territories within the borders of the Piast state – though, the plan was soon modified.

As far as the question of the foundation and early existence of a bishopric in Kuyavia is concerned, the internal affairs of the Polish state were clearly interconnected with those of Pomerania. The term 'episcopus Polonie' addressed to Swidger, the first Kuyavian bishop, became a point-of-departure for considerations on the new bishopric's tasks beyond missionary ones. This same term had somewhat earlier been used in reference to the bishops of Poznań: Franko (Gallus Anonymus, ca. 1085), Paul (Gallus, ca. 1115, i.e., contemporarily), and Michael (Michelsberg obituary, dated August 17).

Although foreign obituary sources might have used the phrase generally to indicate the bishop's native country, the way Gallus used it leaves no doubt but that the term is referenced to the particular diocese. The "Polish bishop" Paul was twice the addressee of the personal dedications Gallus included in his chronicle; yet the chronicler never provided any specific information regarding that person or the bishopric he ran. The fact that such a dedication was included is nonetheless quite meaningful. Recalling Paul in the prologue to Book II, along with chancellor Michael, together with Book III's dedication to the ducal chaplains, apparently supports the argument that the "Polish" bishops, i.e., the bishops of Poznań, were associated institutionally with the court and chancellery of the Piast rulers.

Based on these premises, Tadeusz Wasilewski developed a concept whereby a 'court bishopric' might have existed in 11th-century Poland, whose superiors would have been called the "bishops of Poland", with Poznań Cathedral as their official see. They would have headed the entire clergy of the ducal chapel and chancellery, and would have been promoted to the episcopal dignity from the office of the ducal chancellors[1428]. Wasilewski moreover argued that the structure

[1428] T. Wasilewski, *Kościół monarszy X–XII w. i jego zwierzchnik biskup polski*", "Kwartalnik Historyczny" 92, 1985, p. 747–768; it is worth remembering that the concept of a "court bishopric" reverberated to earlier on in J. Umiński, *Powstanie biskupstwa poznańskiego i zależnego odeń archidiakonatu czerskiego*, "Wiadomości Kościelne" 1–2, 1952, p. 35–64.

in question had been exempted of the archdiocesan organization, and provided with exterritorial status which was forced by the mobility of the duke and his entourage. Episcopal authority and canonical jurisdiction of the "Polish bishop" apparently extended to wherever the ducal court temporarily stayed at a given moment.

Of importance to the present topic is Wasilewski's notion that after 1124 the status of court bishop was reportedly transferred to the newly-founded Bishopric of Kuyavia, together with the material endowment. This occurred in connection with the duke's disfavour after the revolt of Palatine Skarbimir, which affected the House of Awdaniec, whose member allegedly was Michal, the "bishop of Poland" at the time. The rationale behind this proposition was the aforementioned labeling of Swidger as *episcopus Poloniensis* in the Michelsberg Abbey's obituary[1429]. Wasilewski explained in this way also the proprietary rights of the Kuyavia Bishops to the Wawel chapter of St. Michael, attested already in 1148, and in the late Middle Ages associated with the prebend of the royal chancellor. The assumption of such a political role of a new bishop would have strongly impacted the potential of pursuing missionary and pastoral obligations in his own diocese, whose territory mostly consisted of non-Christianized east Pomeranian areas.

Given the lack of conclusive evidence of a special status of the 'Polish bishopric' in domestic sources, Wasilewski places the burden of proof for his concept in a broad, though not quite deeply analyzed, comparative context. A thorough analysis of the alleged analogies cited by this scholar – apparently identifiable in Bohemia (the Chapter at Vyšehrad), Hungary (the Chapter at *Alba Regia* [Székesfehérvár]), and Croatia (the bishopric in Knin) – leads to the conclusion that any similarity to the institution of a "Polish" bishopric is merely a matter of overinterpretation. The first two are canon congregations which were indeed exempted and maintained very close ties with the rulers' courts as royal *capellae speciales*, but never forming court clergy milieux *sensu strictiori*. Their more durable and institutionalized association with the royal chancelleries of both countries was a result of the later transformations.

The case of the Bishop of Knin, described in his contemporary records as *episcopus Croatie*, was the closest to Wasilewski's idea of the Piasts'

[1429] *Das Necrolog des Klosters Michelsberg in Bamberg*, ed. J. Nospickel, MGH Lib. Mem. NS, Hannover 2004, p. 210 (10th March).

"court bishopric". He was always associated with the kings of Croatia, providing liturgical services during their continuous tours of the country. For this reason, the bishop's landed estates were appropriately dispersed across the country. Contrary to Wasilewski's opinion, he was not excluded from the supremacy of the metropolitan bishops of Split, nor did he keep a permanent relationship with the royal chancellery. The function of the bishop of the royal court disappeared after the personal union with the Kingdom of Hungary. It had no equivalent in the realm of the Arpads: in the 12th century, the Hungarian court clergy was initially headed by the dignitary called *comes capelle* and subsequently, by the Archbishop of Esztergom himself[1430].

Nor is Wasilewski's concept supported by the organizational principles of the imperial Church 'system' in the Reich. Although the systemic character of the whole structure is much disputed, the latter term is usually applied by historians to the entire church organization in the Empire between the 10th and the 12th century. Its most significant feature was the strong personal dependence of higher clergy upon the king through the act of investiture and often from the group of his chaplains. The institutions of the monarchical Church – bishoprics as well as monasteries and royal chapters – pursued certain political and organizational tasks in the service of the ruler.

These included for instance, station services as part of the royal *servitium*, the military duties and the hierarchs' participation in armed expeditions and court assemblies. The royal *capella* and chancellery, formally headed (on a permanent basis, since the 10th century) by the Archbishop of Mainz, as the archchaplain and archchancellor of the Kingdom of Germany, therefore did not form a separate ecclesiastical structure (in terms of its organization and system)[1431]. All in all, the comparative context discussed here does not make the concept of a court bishopric any more reliable. Consequently, no special sta-

[1430] M.R. Pauk, *Capella regia i struktury Kościoła monarszego w Europie Środkowej X–XII wieku. Ottońsko-salickie wzorce ustrojowe na wschodnich rubieżach łacińskiego chrześcijaństwa*, [in:] *Granica wschodnia cywilizacji zachodniej w średniowieczu…*, p. 244–249.

[1431] Although the literature dealing with this matter is enormous, there is no comprehensive monograph of the institution of royal Church in the Reich; of the recent studies, see T. Bode, *König und Bischof in der ottonischer Zeit. Herrschaftspraxis – Handlungsspielräume – Interaktionen*, Husum 2015 (discussion of the earlier concepts: p. 15–38); lately: A. Bihrer, *Vom ‚Reichsbischof' zum ‚Diözesanbischof'. Die Erforschung von Bischöfen in ottonisch-salischer Zeit*, [in:] *Jenseits des Königshofs…*, p. 21–55.

tus of the ducal court's bishops is possibly attributable to the bishop of Poznań or the bishop of Kuyavia.

It is worth noting, though, that – until quite recently – Wasilewski's concept has been the only coherent attempt to apply the notion of "monarchical Church" in the Polish context. His interpretative propositions are valuable in that they focus on a potential differentiation between the political and ideological functions of the bishoprics in relation to the ruler; in other words, their political "closeness" to the court as the centre of power and authority. The other essential focus is the supposedly stronger influence and favourability of the ruler for his own new foundations than for those already existent. These conditions are well visible with the younger bishoprics, set up in the late 11th and early 12th centuries, especially those of Płock and Kuyavia[1432].

The material endowment of the bishopric of Kuyavia, accounted for in Eugene III's privilege of 1148, extended to a considerable complex of estates, including "castellanies" of Wolbórz nad Łagów in Central Poland, and St. Michael's Chapter with its endowment, situated on Wawel Hill. Such an arrangement and specificity of the episcopal resources does provoke questions about the "internal" political functions of the Kuyavian bishops in the 12th-century power elite; in particular, about the role of the ecclesiastical institution, strictly dependent on its ducal founder, in the reorganization of the ducal resources in Małopolska (Lesser Poland). In this context, the promotions of mostly foreigners, as it seems, to the office of Bishop of Kuyavia, a trend that lasted until the early 13th century, is symptomatic[1433].

The critical studies on the origins of the bishoprics that extended in the 12th century to Pomeranian lands have been accompanied throughout by research controversies regarding their locations, and even their number[1434]. The biggest interpretative trouble has been triggered by the list of bishoprics subjected by Pope Innocent II to Norbert, Archbishop of Magdeburg, by means of a charter issued in 1133

[1432] Cf. the remarks in M.R. Pauk, *Capella regia…*, p. 267–277.

[1433] For a reconstructed list of the bishops, see M. Michalski, *Ustanowienie i wczesne dzieje…*, p. 86–93, 99–102.

[1434] For a collected and summarized bibliography, see *ibidem*, p. 84–93; J. Dobosz, *Monarcha i możni…*, p. 216–220; M. Danielewski, *Cuiavia Christiana. U progu chrześcijaństwa i Kościoła na Kujawach w X–XII wieku*, Poznań 2019, p. 127–168.

in Rome. This privilege refers to two new dioceses in Kuyavia – namely, the ones of Kruszwica and Włocławek – and two bishoprics for the lands situated on the lower Odra river: the bishopric of Szczecin, located on the river's western bank, and the bishopric of Pomerania, situated on the eastern bank. In respect of both cases, the divagations primarily concerned the possible existence of ambitious plans concerning foundations that were never implemented or were modified to the extent of two bishoprics. Specifically, the bishopric of Włocławek encompassed east Pomerania, while the one of Wolin extended to west Pomerania and the trans-Odra lands.

The assumption that the papal charter's list of the new Magdeburg suffragan dioceses is completely reliable would be very risky, though. The enumeration certainly refers to the reality as far as the five earlier Polish dioceses are concerned. However, the Church in the entire region of Pomerania was still in its early phase of organization, which could have determined the level of detail known to the Magdeburg clergy as far as the number of dioceses and locations of the episcopal cathedral churches was concerned. The question of how up-to-date their knowledge was is another problem. Yet another determinant, related to the pragmatics of mediaeval ecclesiastical privileges and charters, should be taken into account.

Regardless of the degree of recognition of the Magdeburg claims on the part of the bishops concerned, a papal charter endowing the metropolitan bishop with a considerable number of suffragan bishops leveraged the rank and prestige of Norbert of Xanten and his archdiocese. This, as may be presumed, was the main objective of the efforts of the archbishop in Innocent II's curia, which in that period was completely dependent upon its German allies. Hence, it is possible that new dioceses were purposefully multiplied. In parallel, in order to ensure a comprehensive character of the charter, one-and-the-same bishopric could have been repeatedly mentioned under diverse names, especially when the actual location of the current episcopal see was underdetermined, or the knowledge of it was as yet incomplete.

This latter case seems to be particularly pertinent to the bishopric of Kuyavia. It is rather dubious that the founder, especially if supported by the consent of the papal legate Gilo of Tusculum, would have intended to set up two dioceses with such small territories and cathedral sees situated at such a close distance to each other. The con-

troversy around the alleged existence of, initially separate, bishoprics in Kruszwica and Włocławek has ensued, to my mind, only from the polycentricity of a diocese at an early stage of its existence. As it seems, it was long before Włocławek – although a more convenient location in terms of access by transport, particularly in the perspective of pastoral activity in the territory of east Pomerania – began to provide the local bishop with an appropriate ecclesiastical environment or even, perhaps, a sufficiently grandiose cathedral church.

The existence in Włocławek of a chapter at the Cathedral Church is confirmed by a document issued in 1185 by Duke Leszek, son of Bolesław Kędzierzawy (the Curly), which bestowed an endowment to the canons in the form of the castle of Słońsk and the pertinences, the church in Gniewkowo, the village of Kowal together with the church, and mutable incomes from market and coinage in Włocławek as well as in Inowrocław[1435]. It is plausible, then, that the congregation was only founded in this locality shortly before the aforementioned date. In parallel, the Chapter of St. Peter's in Kruszwica, whose foundation might have preceded the setting up of the bishopric[1436], lost none of the prerogatives vested in the episcopal chapter since the diocese was founded. The chapter's earliest cast of members, composed of provost Bernard and five canons bearing foreign-sounding names (among whom Werner, the future Bishop of Kuyavia and Płock is identifiable), is specified in the diploma of Duchess Salomea for the Benedictines of Mogilno.[1437] The rank of the town and the settlement cluster located by the Gopło Lake, where one more church, named after St. Vitus, is attested for as early as the 12th century, was more up to the standards of an episcopal civitas than contemporary Włocławek[1438].

The reading of the phrase *monasterium beati Petri*, contained in the aforementioned charter of Duke Leszek, as proof that a Benedictine cloister functioned in Kruszwica or that the episcopal chapter was essentially monastic, should be considered a misunderstanding. In the period concerned, the term might have related either to a cathedral church or collegiate chapter. Also the reconstructed spatial structure of the eastern part of the Romanesque St. Peter's Basilica, once because of its formal features identified as "Benedictine", cannot be also a premise indicating the observance of a congregation. There are no source indications that Swidger, the first Kuyavian bishop, mentioned in the Michelsberg obituary as an *episcopus Polonie*, should be deemed a monk.[1439] This figure doubtlessly links the earliest Kuyavian ecclesiastical milieu with Bamberg, which makes one ask about the role of the Franconian bishopric in the organization of the new ecclesiastical institutions not only in west Pomerania, but also in Kuyavia and east Pomerania. One such trace might have been the dedication of the cathedral church in Kruszwica to St. Peter, though this particular dedication was so popular that its possible transferal from Bamberg Cathedral (the Apostle was its main patron) is by no means apparent in this case[1440].

The double episcopal chapter in the 12th and 13th centuries has to be deemed exceptional in the context of other Polish bishoprics. It can be regarded as a relict of the time, when St. Peter's Church was functioning as an episcopal cathedral. The latter – according to a later record – was moved around the year 1160 by Bishop Onold to Włocławek[1441]. It therefore seems that, given the whole context, the Chapter of Kruszwica ought not be viewed in terms of a proprietary church of the Kuyavian bishops, as was otherwise the case with the Chapter of Łęczyca (presently, in the locality of Tum) in respect of the Gniezno Archbishopric. The "doubled chapter" situation was reinforced in the 13th century: in a 1233 synodal decree reinstating the archdeacon's prebend at the Kruszwica collegiate church, both chapters were called 'fraternal

1435 *Codex diplomaticus Polonie*, vol. 2, ed. L. Rzyszczewski, Varsaviae 1848, no. 2.

1436 Given the scarcity of source-based data, the problem of early emergence of provostries and canon chapters in the main Piast centres, incl. Poznań, Cracow, Sandomierz, Wiślica, Zawichost, Płock, Kruszwica, Głogów can only be additionally explained only by means of comparative data analysis. Bohemia and Hungary, in the first place, provide close analogies for the same period; see M.R. Pauk, *Capella regia…*, p. 217–257.

1437 *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, vol. 1, ed. I. Zakrzewski, Poznań 1877, no. 9.

1438 For a synthetic account of the topography of early mediaeval Kruszwica as a centre of episcopal authority, see K. Skwierczyński, *Custodia civitatis. Sakralny system ochrony miasta w Polsce wcześniejszego średniowiecza na przykładzie siedzib biskupich*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" 103, 1996, p. 28–30.

1439 This argument, after the earlier literature, is proposed, for example, in M. Derwich, *Monastycyzm benedyktyński w średniowiecznej Europie i Polsce. Wybrane problemy*, Wrocław 1998, p. 189 f. Clearly enough, the name of Bishop Swidger featured in the Michelsberg obituary (see footnote 1429) is in itself no evidence, since the monastic profession of the bishops entered in such obituaries would rather have been marked.

1440 On the other hypothetical Bamberg-related threads, see M.R. Pauk, *Arcem Romanam se gestit habere coaequam. Biskupstwo bamberskie w krajobrazie politycznym i ideowym Rzeszy do początku XII wieku*, [in:] *Biskup Otton z Bambergu i jego świat…*, p. 150 ff.

1441 *Catalogi episcoporum Vladislaviensium*, ed. W. Kętrzyński, [in:] MPH 4, Lwów 1884, p. 25.

churches' (*germane ecclesie*)[1442]. Also, the ducal confirmations of estates and immunities treat both chapters as parts of the same institution; the prelates and canons of Kruszwica were referred to in the records, along with their Włocławek colleagues, as witnesses to the legal actions undertaken by the bishop. The issue certainly deserves more attention. Interesting data that can be helpful in determining the 12th-century function of St. Peter's Church in Kruszwica is provided by the movable artefacts, only recently elaborated, based on excavation research conducted in the church's interior – in particular, the funerary equipment (silk elements of a liturgical garment and paraments) discovered beside the two corpses buried there, which no doubt belonged to high-ranking dignitaries – possibly, bishops[1443].

The activity of Kuyavian bishops in east Pomerania left almost no traces for the entire period concerned. In this particular part of their diocese, they apparently held no landed estates, though incomes from Pomerania in the form of tithes, and also from coinage and judicial overlordship, must have been an essential part of the episcopal endowment. The reference in Pope Eugene III's bull to the Gdańsk stronghold as an episcopal property should rather not be understood literarily: all the more so, that a hundred years later, in Pope Gregory IX's confirmation of the bishopric's estate, the record was emended, pointing out to the collection in Gdansk of the tithe in cereals and from commodities transported by waterway[1444]. The earliest trace of the Kuyavian bishop's pastoral care in Pomerania was his participation in Duke Grzymisław's 1198 foundation of the Joannite hospital in Starogard. Bishop Stefan endowed the hospitallers with tithes, but the actual reason behind his stay in this part of the diocese was the consecration of St. Mary's Church in Świecie held on November 11, 1198, where Grzymisław's diploma was issued.

[1442] *Dokumenty kujawskie i mazowieckie przeważnie z XIII wieku*, ed. B. Ulanowski, [in:] *Scriptores rerum Polonicarum*, vol. 12, Kraków 1888 (= Archiwum Komisji Historycznej 4), no. 7, p. 177.

[1443] E. Dąbrowska, *Nieznane groby średniowiecznych duchownych z kolegiaty pw. śś. Piotra i Pawła w Kruszwicy*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze" 54, 2016, p. 21–29; for an attempted reconstruction of the inscription on the surviving fabric (fanon or chasuble edge), see M.A. Janicki, *Romańskie napisy haftowane na jedwabnych pasmach z grobu nr 24 w kolegiacie w Kruszwicy*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze" 54, 2016, p. 41–49.

[1444] Cf. *Pommerellisches Urkundenbuch…*, no. 2: "castrum Kdanzc in Pomerania cum decima tam annone quam omnium eorum que de navibus solvuntur"; and no. 61 (1238): "in castro danczk et in Pomerania decimam tam annone quam omnium eorum, que de navibus solvuntur".

5. The origins of the bishopric in west Pomerania

The complex issue of the beginnings of the bishoprics in Kuyavia and Pomerania in the 12th century has not been approached, as yet, by means of analogies and comparisons. However, in the long era of the Christianization of the Western Slavs, transfers of episcopal sees – as was also the case of the west Pomeranian bishopric – was more the norm than an exception. Political and organizational considerations were decisive in this respect. The first good example is provided by the bishopric of Zeitz, founded by Emperor Otto I. As early as 1028 it was transferred to Naumburg, probably under the influence of the margraves of Meissen from the Ekkehard family, dominating in this area. This resulted in a long use of the heterogeneous nomenclature, because the bishops in their own charters from the 12th century were titled from Naumburg, but in the diplomas of other issuers – including especially papal and imperial ones – still Zeitz was regarded as an episcopal see[1445].

In the 12th and 13th century former diocesan capital often hosted the bishops. After 1028, a collegiate chapter existed there at the former St. Peter's Cathedral. Its members were regularly featured as witnesses in episcopal charters, along with the canons of Naumburg. There is no indication, though, that the Collegiate Church of Zeitz might have been used by the bishops as a funeral place at that time[1446]. In a confirmation of the episcopal estates issued by Pope Gregory IX exactly two hundred years after the translation, the aforementioned collegiate church is referred to as a property of the bishops of Naumburg, although at the very same time the canons of Zeitz still considered themselves empowered to elect the bishop and were involved in a dispute on this point with their Naumburg colleagues[1447]. The translation of the cathedral church to Naumburg must therefore have triggered deep disputes on competencies and prestige, given that a hundred-

[1445] See Urkundenbuch des Hochstifts Naumburg [further: UB Naumburg], vol. 1, ed. F. Rosenfeld, Magdeburg 1925, no. 113, 120, 147; for more on this topic: H. Wiessne, *Das Bistum Naumburg*, vol. 1, Berlin 1997 (= Germania Sacra NF 35/1: Die Bistümer der Kirchenprovinz Magdeburg), esp. p. 123–137.

[1446] See E. Schubert, *De Bestattungen von Naumburger Bischöfen im Naumburger Dom*, "Sachsen und Anhalt" 26, 2014, p. 73–90.

[1447] UB Naumburg, vol. 2: *1207–1304*, ed. H.K. Schulze, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2000, no. 77 and 89.

odd and then, once more, exactly two hundred years afterwards, the bishops felt the need to request the Pope's confirmation.

Particularly instructive in this respect seems Innocent II's charter for Bishop Udo I, dated 1138: with reference to the authority of St. Augustine, it exposed the canonical background for the translation of the episcopal see and emphasized the exclusivity of papal prerogatives for dividing, merging, and transferring the episcopacies. This privilege was expressly formulated fifty years earlier, under Pope Gregory VII – both in the famous *Dictatus papae* and in the somewhat later treatise *Proprie auctoritates apostolice sedis*, also known as the *dictatus* of Avranches[1448]. The case of Zeitz and Naumburg may serve as an essential point of reference for the better understanding of the specificities of the Kuyavian bishopric in the 12th and 13th centuries, whereas fruitful analogies for the issues of the origins and translation of the west Pomeranian bishopric are worth seeking particularly in the Bamberg and Mecklenburg circles.

The origins of the bishopric in west Pomerania and the trans-Odra lands is a very complex issue due to the laconic and mutually contradictory historical records that have been subjected to diverse interpretations over more than a century now. Appropriate recognition of the matter is made no easier with the intermingling of facts and conjectures of scholars, whose opinions are frequently contaminated with presentist thinking in respect of categories of 12th-century political and religious culture[1449]. Pursuant to the data provided by Otto of Bamberg's hagiographers, the process of the emergence and development of the new diocese can be seen as stretched over a long time – beginning with his first mission, up to the appearance in the records, in 1140, of Adalbert as the first consecrated Pomeranian bishop. The offering by this missionary of the episcopal throne, together with the mantle and a costly *dorsale* (forming, possibly, a magnificent background for the enthroned hierarch), to Pomeranian Duke Wartislaw, at their first meeting in 1124,

[1448] UB Naumburg, vol. 1, no. 139; for more of establishing the details of papal prerogatives in the late 11th c., see L. Kéry, *Die Errichtung des Bistum Arras 1093/1094*, Sigmaringen 1994, p. 307–333.

[1449] An opinion worth quoting in this very context reads: "Observing the careers of such views, ones unverifiable on the basis of available sources, it would perhaps be legitimate to declare a moratorium on multiplication of new hypotheses regarding certain subject-matters, for the pursuit of mediaeval studies tends nowadays to overly resemble a festival of fantasies" (S. Rosik, *Bolesław…*, p. 269).

as reported by Ebo and interpreted at times as an act foreshadowing the establishment of a bishopric, is in fact not interpretable so explicitly[1450]. The hagiographer gives us no actual reason for such a symbolic interpretation. The gift could only be a customary act of establishing a good relationship with the Pomeranian ruler. On the other hand, though, a bishop's seat in the form of *faldistorium* is a very important insignium of the episcopal power, which was featured from the 12th century onwards on majestic seals. Moreover, the introduction of the bishop onto the throne, as part of the solemn ingress ceremony, was also an important element of the ritual establishment of his power and authority, which was sometimes performed in the presence of the secular ruler[1451]. All in all, the dilemma related to Ebo's account seems difficult to resolve.

No such doubts would arise from the information about Otto sending the episcopal ring, intended for the future bishop of the Pomeranians, to Rome with a request for its benediction by Pope Honorius II, as reported in the *Life of Prüfening*. Accepting the author's chronological precision would mean that the said fact should be dated before 1130, i.e., prior to Honorius' death. The ring, designed for the new bishop's investiture, was never used by Otto as never again did he visit Pomerania[1452]. The hagiographer of Prüfening made it quite clear that it was Bishop Otto's intention to carry out the investiture by himself in person. Such an measure would be in line with the Gregorian interpretation of the episcopal ring's symbolism, i.e., bestowal of the spiritual authority over the local Church entrusted to the bishop-elect[1453].

Being a missionary to the Pomeranians, Otto is presented in his earliest Life as the exclusive holder of the *spiritualia* upon the pope's consent: this fact is extremely frequently emphasized in Otto's hagi-

[1450] Ebo II, 4; S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 203.

[1451] See M. Groten, *Das Aufkommen der bischöflichen Thronsiegel im Deutschen Reich*, "Historisches Jahrbuch" 100, 1980, p. 163–197; M. Minninger, *Von Clermont zum Wormser Konkordat. Die Auseinandersetzungen um den Lehnsnexus zwischen König und Episkopat*, Köln 1978, p. 153 f.

[1452] Vita Prieflingensis III, 15.

[1453] The investiture effected by secular rulers with use of the ring and signifying the bishop's sacramental union with his diocese, was extremely sharply criticized by Church reformers; for more on this topic, see R.L. Benson, *The Bishop Elect. A Study in Medieval Ecclesiastical Office*, Princeton 1968, p. 123. On the meaning of investiture through the ring in the pre- and early Gregorian time, in more detail, see P. Depreux, *Investitura per anulum et baculum. Ring und Stab als Zeichen der Investitur bis zum Investiturstreit*, [in:] *Vom Umbruch zur Erneuerung? Das 11. und beginnende 12. Jahrhundert – Positionen der Forschung*, ed. J. Jarnut, M. Wemhoff, München 2006, p. 169–195.

ography. The papal benediction of the ring with which the first bishop was to be invested to the office, can be interpreted as a premise for his direct dependence upon the Apostolic See – the status the bishopric of Bamberg aspired to from its very beginning. This status, which precluded the ecclesial supremacy of the two neighbouring metropolitan sees, would essentially have been in the interest of the Bamberg bishops who would keep their decisive influence on the new ecclesiastical structure in Pomerania. The records are completely tacit about a secular investiture of the Pomeranian bishop by any of the rulers, which would have been effected by way of conferring the crosier.

Two extant documents of Adalbert, the first Pomeranian bishop, for the first local monastic and canonical foundations communicate a powerful ideological message that enables us to recognize the foundations of the consciousness of the episcopal office. In the first charter – more important from the perspective of our interests, issued to the Benedictines of Stolpe of 1153, Adalbert derived his episcopal power from the election of three persons distinguished for the Christianization of the country: Polish Duke Bolesław the Wrymouth, whose pious efforts had led the Pomeranian people to the new faith; Otto Bishop of Bamberg, the teacher of that people; and Duke Wartislaw, under whose reign conversion took place. A no less important constituent of the identity of the Pomeranian hierarch was the episcopal consecration received from Pope Innocent II himself, "sub apostostolice confirmationis testamento"[1454]. In the opinion of the Pomeranian bishop, the "eorundem principum election", which in this particular case meant a collaboration between the secular and ecclesiastical authorities, and the papal *consecratio* confirming the election, were the sufficient sources of canonical legitimization of his episcopal office[1455].

The canonical formula of episcopal election *a clero et populo* boiled down, in this particular case, to a group limited to three (but very significant indeed) individuals who represented communities they

[1454] PUB, vol. 1, no. 43

[1455] S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 498 f., reduces the role of Bishop Otto in this act to the conversion of the people entrusted to Bishop Adalbert; yet the word *principes* used in the text, according to the practice of the time, is extendable to church dignitaries, the Bishop of Bamberg included. On the Gregorian appreciation of the election and the consecration that constituted the episcopal authority at the expense of the monarchal investiture, see R.L. Benson, *The Bishop Elect…*, p. 231 f.

ruled: the yet non-existent diocesan *clerus* was represented by Bishop Otto, whilst the *populus* was represented by Dukes Bolesław and Wartislaw. This vision of legitimization significantly contrasts in its ideological purport with the mention of the establishment of the first bishop of the Pomeranians included in the *Dialogus de vita sancti Ottonis* by Herbord of Michelsberg. According to the Bamberg hagiographer, due to his hasty return to his diocese, Bishop Otto did not manage to establish a bishop but instead entrusted Bolesław the Wrymouth with this task. As a result, Adalbert, one of the Duke's chaplains who had assisted in Otto's missionary work, was elevated to the office of bishop[1456]. Duke Wartislaw's instrumental role is never mentioned in Herbord's *Vita*.

In the context of these accounts, the chronology of establishing Adalbert as the first Pomeranian bishop has two certain moments. One of them is the bishop's election before the death of Bolesław the Wrymouth in October 1138, who had been the first of those involved in the episcopal election. The other one is Bishop Adalbert's consecration by Pope Innocent II, which took place doubtlessly in Rome or wherever the pope might have temporarily stayed, before the issuance of the charter for the Pomeranian bishopric, dated October 14, 1140. This conclusion is based on the simple fact that Adalbert is described there as an *episcopus*, rather than *electus*. Of key importance to our chronological findings is the papal privilege for Egilbert, the new Bamberg bishop, issued by Pope Innocent II exactly one year earlier. The Pontiff approved there Egilbert's special liturgical prerogatives, including the right to administer the missionary territory of his predecessor Otto, until a bishop for the Pomeranians was established there[1457]. This clearly indicates that Adalbert was still an elect at the time, as thus was incapable of performing his liturgical duties such as consecrating churches and clergy, administering the Sacrament of Confirmation, absolving penitents. and celebrating synods. For such purposes, he had to have been replaced by another bishop – in theory, probably, the Bishop of Bamberg.

The reasons for the postponing of Adalbert's consecration can only be guessed; as it however seems, there was no coincidence in the fact that it was completed shortly after Otto of Bamberg's death. The bish-

[1456] Herbord II, 42.

[1457] PUB, vol. 1, no. 28.

op, who enjoyed enormous religious and political authority, had clearly managed to maintain the ecclesiastical supremacy over the area of his mission until the end of his pontificate. In this context, Emperor Lothair III's charter of August 1135 gains significance: by means of it, the bishop of Bamberg and his successors were granted with the right to collect the royal tribute from four 'provinces of Slavia' situated west of the Odra river and covered with the area of Otto's second missionary expedition. Especially the incentives behind the bestowal, as described in the diploma, are worth noticing: the ruler stated that exercise of the spiritual authority (*spiritualia*) is impossible without the *temporalia*.

Bishop Otto and his Church deserved the aforesaid area and the income it produced as the destruction of idolatry in that land and conversion to Christianity went to his credit[1458]. The churches erected and endowed by Otto therein should become the property of the Bamberg Church. Being the missionary's former associate, the new Pomeranian bishop does not seem to have stood in opposition to him. The consecration of Adalbert by the pope himself, which allowed him to avoid entering into dependence on the metropolitans

[1458] PUB, vol. 1, no. 27: "Dignum enim iudicavimus laborantem agricolam edere de fructibus suis et, **quia prefatus episcopus Otto in destruenda idolatria et convertenda illorum barbarie primus laboravit, vicem laboris sui etiam in terris accipiat et in tributis inde persolvendis ipse una cum ecclesia sua** [underlined by M.R.P.] perpetue recognitionis signum habeat [...]". Given the context, special prestige-building and material privileges flowing to the missionary owing to his Christianization of a territory deserve high attention. In 968, as the diocesan organization was created in the Elbe river basin area, Boso, one of the future suffragan bishops of Magdeburg, received, by way of the Emperor's privilege, the right to personally choose between the Diocese of Meissen or Zeitz, since "multum iam in eadem Sclavorum gente ad deum convertenda sudavit"; the other bishops were reportedly allotted their dioceses by the metropolitan bishop (UB Magdeburg, vol. 1, no. 67). Somewhat earlier, in 962, in an archbishopric foundation deed, in order to endow the new dioceses, Pope John XII granted Emperor Otto I himself the right to hold and manage the tributes and tithes "omnium gentium, quas predictus piissimus imperator baptizavit vel per eum suumque filium equivocum regem sucessoresque eorum deo annuente baptizande sunt" (UB Magdeburg, vol. 1, no. 28). Also the 12th-century monks of Fulda, in a dispute with the archbishops of Mainz, derived their claims to collect tithes in Thuringia from the Christianization of the country by St. Boniface, whose relics they had in their cloister; cf. *Der Codex Eberhardi des Klosters Fulda*, vol. 2, ed. H. Meyer zu Ermgassen, Marburg 1996, p. 285: "Hęc sunt loca in Turingorum provincia, quę reddunt decimationes sancto Bonifacio archiepiscopo et martyri ad Fuldense monasterium, eo quod *idem* venerabilis martir et archipresul eandem Thuringorum provinciam a paganico errore convertit ad Christum; et hoc obtinuit apud Zachariam papam, ut totius Thuringię decimatio ad suum daretur monasterium."

of Gniezno or Magdeburg, who both aspired to ecclesiastical supremacy over the diocese, marked the first step toward a lasting exemption – as was the case with Bamberg. Hence, this step legitimately seems to have been inspired by the Bamberg ecclesiastical circle, which was involved in Pomeranian affairs.

6. *Que beati Petri iuris existit* – the exemption of the Pomeranian bishopric

The question of the direct dependency of the Pomeranian diocese on the papacy, which was a result of its exemption from the ecclesiastical supremacy of one of the neighbouring metropolitan bishops, has not ceased to arouse interest and controversies among scholars. And the problem is indeed complex; the contradictory sources make the task no easier for researchers, who usually are in quest of simple and unambiguous institutional resolutions. The diocese's status ought rather to be considered in terms of the prestige interests of the bishops, their potential metropolitan superiors, and the papacy, whose policies in the matter in question were, apparently enough, strongly conditioned by the ongoing contact with the parties involved.

The Pomeranian bishops' doubtless aspirations, pursued in the 12th and 13th centuries, to have their diocese exempted, seem to have been inspired by the status of the "parental" bishopric of Bamberg, which is expressly confirmed by the opinion of Augustine of Stargard, the fourteenth-century chronicler who was particularly interested in the canonical status of Pomerania's bishopric in the face of intensified claims from the archbishops of Gniezno[1459]. However, an exclusion of the diocese of Bamberg from the obedience to the Archbishops of Mainz was at that time not yet an undisputable or definitely settled matter. Bishops of Bamberg in the 11th and 12th centuries received exempted status individually, rather *de facto* than *de iure*, based on their repeated manifestations of independence from the metropolitans of Mainz, but the dis-

[1459] Augustyn ze Stargardu zwany niegdyś Angelusem, *Protokół…*, p. 80: "[...] cum ipsa [Diocese of Bamberg – M.R.P.'s note] sit libera et nulli preterquam Romane ecclesie subiecta, et eius dicioni ac protectioni immediata addicta. Ad huius ergo ecclesie instar ecclesia Pomeranica merito fundata est, cuius etiam episcopus adeo meruit istius esse apostolus fidei christiane fundacionis et patronus".

positive phrase claiming direct dependency on the Apostolic See never became an element of the Pope's solemn privilege[1460].

Similarly as with the Pomeranian bishopric, ever since the episcopacy of Bamberg came into existence it was closely associated ideologically with the papacy; this was reflected in the *mundiburdium Romanum* extended over Henry II's foundation, which entailed the special protection from the Apostolic See, but still with an emphasis on non-diminishing the metropolitan rights of the Mainz archbishop. Such a clause long accompanied the papal privileges which from the mid-11th century onwards granted the Bamberg bishops the right to wear a pallium while celebrating the liturgy[1461]. In this particular case, the distinguishing insignia expressed the special ideological relationship with the Holy See, rather than visualized the legal and canonical or liturgical entitlements, as was the case with the pallium offered to archbishops. Bishop Otto I's acceptance of consecration from Pope Paschal II in Rome in the year 1106 (though Otto had already been elected in 1102) can be regarded as a breakthrough moment in respect of institutional liaisons with Mainz. Ignoring Mainz metropolitans in their prerogatives in administering episcopal consecration resulted in avoiding the oath of obedience sworn to them. Papal consecration was from then on consistently practiced by all successors of Bishop Otto I. Therefore it can be considered that, in spite of no formal exemption, such status was de facto received through the updating of a special and personalized relationship with the papacy.

The case of Bamberg's exemption reveals the need to consider the problem in line with mental determinants of the period, i.e., more in terms of individual status and the personal capital of prestige than

[1460] This fact was remarked for the first time in a 1245 document by Pope Innocent IV, approving the election of Bishop Henry; see A. Ussermann, *Episcopatus Bambergensis sub metropoli Moguntina chronologice ac diplomatice illustratus*, St. Blasien 1801, no. 176; for a critique of the breakthrough importance of this fact for the final exemption, see D. Willoweit, *Die Entstehung exemter Bistümer im deutschen Reichsverband unter rechtsvergleichender Berücksichtigung ausländischer Parallelen*, "Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte", Kan. Abt. 52, 1966, p. 184; also, see S. Pflefka, *Das Bistum Bamberg, Franken und das Reich in der Stauferzeit. Der Bamberger Bischof im Elitengefüge des Reiches 1138–1245*, Würzburg 2005, p. 258 f.

[1461] The first such privilege was received by Bishop Hartwig in 1053, as a means of expressing the Bamberg Cathedral's ideological ties with Rome after Pope Clement II's body was buried there in 1047; for a broader discussion, see M.R. Pauk, *Episkopat, liturgia i polityka…*, p. 658–670.

fixed institutional or legal settlements. The Gregorian upheaval was marked by unprecedented extension of papal authority and decision-making power also to the peripheries of Western Christianity[1462]. Activities and settlements of the papacy, which in the 12th century was still far from the utter centralism characteristic of Innocent III's pontificate, were evidently inconsistent in this regard; the usual reason was that supplications from the petitioners visiting the curia were handled and sorted out in the first place. This inconstancy of adjustments is particularly typical for the peripheral parts of Europe that were not covered by the direct political interests of the papacy; the north-eastern borderland of Latin Christianity certainly was one such interest.

The problem of the exemption of the Pomeranian bishopric well illustrates the above-summarized conditions and determinants. The privilege issued by Pope Innocent II in Rome during the spring of 1133, which subordinated all dioceses of the Polish Church province to Norbert, Archbishop of Magdeburg, enumerated two Pomeranian bishoprics, though in this early period they might only have been under organization. My opinion on the circumstances and objectives behind this particular charter is shown elsewhere in this study. What is more, in 1139, on conferring the pallium upon Egilbert, the new Bishop of Bamberg, Innocent II recognized his right to administer the missionary area of his predecessor until a permanent local bishop was established.

The privilege does not specify to which metropolis the territory actually belonged. In a world of strongly personalized interdependencies, it would be awkward to believe that Egilbert – granted with actual exemption from the Mainz Archbishop's authority, as he was equipped with the pallium and consecrated in Rome – might have considered himself as suffragan bishop of Magdeburg owing to his administering of a future Pomeranian diocese. However, the Magdeburg metropolitan's claims for supremacy over the Diocese of Pomerania in the end survived longer than the apparently prestigious success of Norbert of Xanten, which proved ephemeral and was only recorded on a piece of parchment. Yet the 1160 bull of Anti-Pope Victor IV for

[1462] R. Schieffer, *Die Reichweite päpstlicher Entscheidungen nach der papstgeschichtlichen Wende*, [in:] *Das begrenzte Papsttum. Spielräume päpstlichen Handelns. Legaten – delegierte Richter – Grenzen*, ed. H. Herbers, F.L. Alsina, F. Engel, Berlin and Boston 2013, p. 13–27.

Archbishop Wichmann excellently confirmed the prestigious dimension of these strivings: apart from confirming to the canons the earlier right to use dalmatics, gloves, sandals, and mitres during festive liturgies, the Anti-Pope rendered the Pomeranian bishop subordinated to the metropolitan. The purpose of such a settlement, as remarked in the charter, was prestigious "augendum prefate ecclesie [i.e., Archbishopric of Magdeburg] suffraganeorum numerum"[1463].

None of the Pomeranian bishops ever appeared during the 12th century at any of the provincial synods of the Magdeburg archbishops, or at least the available sources are tacit about such participation[1464]. However, in 1180, we can see Bishop Conrad I among the attendees of the Gniezno provincial synod in Łęczyca; the synod was presided by Archbishop Zdzisław and Duke Kazimierz (Casimir) II the Just. We can assume that Kadłubek, who specifies the cast of bishops attending this important assembly, tacitly included Conrad among the suffragan bishops of the Archbishop of Gniezno[1465]. The very appearance at Łęczyca may indeed essentially support the hypothesis that the Pomeranian bishop recognized the supremacy of the Polish metropolitan.

An irrevocable change came along with the pontificates of Conrad's successors, Siegfried I and Siegwin, who were the first to receive papal privileges directly formulated in the *libertas Romana* of the bishopric, along with direct dependency on the Holy See[1466]. The fact that such charters existed enables one to hypothetically reconstruct the facts and the background for the future conflict. The short timespan between Siegfried I's election to the episcopal office in 1186 and the date Clement III's privilege was issued, i.e., February 1188, makes it legitimate to presume that the bishop-elect traveled to Rome in person in order to receive the consecration from the pope himself. In parallel, this might entitle him to receive the privilege in question, which included the clause on direct dependency upon Rome.

[1463] PUB, vol. 1, no. 49.

[1464] For more on these synods, see D. Claude, *Geschichte des Erzbistum Magdeburg…*, vol. 2, p. 223–228; also, R.M. Herkenrath, *Die erste Provinzialsynode Erzbischof Wichmanns von Magdeburg*, "Sachsen und Anhalt" 20, 1997, p. 95–108.

[1465] *Magistri Vincentii…*, IV, 9.

[1466] The only surviving item is an extensive charter of Pope Clement III from 1188, cf. PUB, vol. 1, no. 111. Celestine III's bull is only known from a mention in Pope Honorius III's confirmation; see P. Piętkowski, *Biskupstwo pomorskie…*, p. 142 f. See also: W. Könighaus, *Pommern zwischen Papsttum...*, p. 249 ff.

Things could have been quite similar in the case of Siegwin and Celestine III. As it may be presumed, shortly after his election in 1191, the bishop-elect embarked on a trip to Rome with the same purpose in mind as his predecessor; in effect, he received a renewed charter from Celestine III who had been established in the same year as the Bishop of Rome. It is worth noting that the first papal charter for the bishopric, dated 1140, is free of any phrases or formulations that might have been interpreted in the spirit of direct dependency on the papacy[1467]. The phrase used in Clement III's 1188 charter, suggesting that such a form of dependency existed "a prima institutione" of the diocese, was thus supported by no documents whatsoever and can be regarded as a historical interpretation of the consecration of the first Pomeranian Bishop Adalbert by the pope himself. Hence to my mind the emergence of a more concrete concept of institutionalized exemption of the Pomeranian diocese can be dated to the early days of Bishop Siegfried's pontificate.

It can be surmised that the obedience conflict that raged shortly afterwards, at the very beginning of the 13th century, by no accident coincided in time with the peak phase of the Church reform and the climax of the papal political power under Innocent III. The reinforced position of the metropolitans who stayed loyal to the papal programme served as a convenient instrument of centralization and control of local Churches. The "contradance" around the issue of dependency of the Diocese of Kammin in the years 1207 to 1218, with regards to the available sources, does not make recognition of the problem any easier[1468]. The one certain thing is that there is no charter from Innocent III regarding the aforementioned exemption. It therefore seems that the pope wished instead to make the Pomeranian bishops subordinated to the metropolitan authority; yet the Roman Curia's contradictory responses came, similarly as in the earlier period, as a resultant of the contacts with Rome repeatedly entered into by the parties to the dispute. Already in 1207 Innocent III conveyed an admonition to the Bishop of Kamień in response to Henry, Archbishop of Gniezno. Henry's ecclesiastical authority had reported-

[1467] PUB, vol. 1, no. 111.

[1468] A. Weiss, *Biskupstwa bezpośrednio zależne od Stolicy Apostolskiej w średniowiecznej Europie*, Lublin 1992, p. 260–274, completely ignores this period in his considerations on the exemption of Kamień.

ly been denied by the Bishop of Kamień[1469]. However, the Magdeburg cartulary from the same period comprises a surviving text of Bishop Siegwin's oath, sworn to the evangeliary before Albert II, Archbishop of Magdeburg. A few years later Innocence III referred to that oath in a letter summoning Bishop Siegwin to respect it[1470]. As is thus evident, the oath must have resulted from the pressure of political circumstances.

The situation was reversed with the new pope on the throne. Siegwin had probably requested confirmation of the rights, properties, and privileges of his bishopric immediately after Honorius III was elected pope since he obtained the desired document already on March 20, 1217. Honorius's letter of 1218 in support of the missionary actions of the Prussian Bishop Christian should be regarded as evidence of the steady recognition by the Apostolic See of the exempted status of the bishop of Kamień. The recipients were archbishops from the broad neighbourhood of Christian's missionary area–among them, the Archbishops of Magdeburg, Gniezno, and Lund, with their suffragan bishops. The separate indication of the Bishop of Kamień as a receiver of the papal *litterae* unambiguously stands for him not being included as a suffragan of any of the possible church provinces. The same conclusion can be drawn from the appointment of the aforesaid Prussian Bishop Christian as a papal deputy who was tasked with accepting the resignation of the ailing Bishop Siegwin, and supervision over canonical election of his successor[1471]. For a bishopric not distinguished with the exemption privilege, such a role should have been played by the head of the Church's province.

The dispute over which metropolis the bishopric of Kamień belonged to in the late 12th and early 13th century left an indirect and peculiar trace in Master Vincent's chronicle. He significantly amplified the aforementioned narrative of Gallus on the Pomeranians' sudden assault on Martin, Archbishop of Gniezno. Kadłubek believed that the act of violence was caused by the Pomeranians' great hatred toward Martin owing to his zeal in eradicating paganism and enforcing ecclesiastical tithes in Pomerania[1472]. The kidnappers primarily

[1469] PUB, vol. 1, no. 143a.
[1470] *Ibidem*, no. 168.
[1471] *Ibidem*, no. 191.
[1472] *Magistri Vincentii…*, III, 10: "Cui percrebro Pomorani iuges tendere insidias, nunc toxicatis poculis nunc iugulo seu quavis nece clandestina, tum quod eis ritum inhibet idolatrie, tum quia decimas et primitias ab eis exigebat…".

intended to extort from the archbishop a renunciation of all material benefits to the Church. The punishment, for which the metropolitan had successfully prayed, fell upon them for their sacrilegious rape of the archdeacon and robbery of the relics and paraments from the Spicymierz church. It was only the release from punishment that inclined the Pomeranians to recognize the archbishop's authority and to eagerly pay the impositions ensuing from acceptance of the new religion. The sense of this broad literary amplification in Master Vincent's work seems quite clear, given the context of the conflict around the Pomeranian diocese's metropolitan affiliation. Archbishop Martin's alleged contribution to the Christianization of Pomerania, which is emphasized in the chronicle, and the collection of his owed tithes – these two threads being mutually associated (as I have already stated) – served as arguments in the claims for ecclesiastical authority over the disputed area. Kadłubek's story essentially explained the background of this superior authority and the fiscal empowerments of the Gniezno metropolitan bishop, and hence it could provide historical premises for maintenance or restoration of this authority.

7. The organizing and functioning of Church structures in west Pomerania

The participation of the Bamberg bishopric in the organization of ecclesiastical structures in west Pomerania was most expressively described by the Prüfening hagiographer of St. Otto. After he returned to his diocese, where he settled down for the next four years, Otto "displayed no lesser a concern for his sons at the time, though they remained far away from him. Many gifts did he offer to the rulers of this country and to the churches he had built: and this in gold and in silver, in books, sacred garments, or gems of all sorts, together with relics of saints. And he allotted considerable money toward ransoming the Christians, about whom he had heard that they had been taken captives by the pagans, and generously released them from fetters, prisons, and pillories"[1473]. Thus, Otto's diocese functioned as a material reservoir for the new Church organization emerging at

[1473] Vita Prieflingensis III, 2.

the time in the region of Pomerania. The latter was probably supplied for quite a long time with objects absolutely indispensable for practicing Christian cult and liturgy.

Otto's hagiographer said nothing on this occasion about the no less essential contribution from the Franconian bishopric, which must also have included those who practiced the cult. We do not learn to what degree the decision of the Bamberg bishop himself and his clergymen to embark on a missionary trip to the Slavs was informed by the conviction that the clergy of Bamberg were the most predestined to such tasks since the bishopric was established. Let us recall that one of Emperor Henry II's arguments in favour of separating the new diocese from the bishopric of Würzburg was the more efficient Christianization of the Slavic population inhabiting east Franconia[1474]. At that time, however, the new bishopric could take over the already existing infrastructure: buildings with ecclesiastical equipment as well as clerical staff. The foundation of a new bishopric in a non-Christianized country, as was the case with Pomerania, must have been a starkly different challenge. Some kind of model solution is provided by the analogous affair from the period of the Christianization of the Saxons at the turn of the 8th and 9th centuries. The organization of bishoprics founded there, which could make use of the broad Frankish personal and material resources, was a process not as fast as it had been believed. According to recent research, it came to completion not until the 2nd quarter of the 9th century – that is, some fifty years after the outset of Charlemagne's military conquest of the country[1475]. The permanent presence of clergy was required for the continuity of the Christian cult to be preserved. The latter, however, could only be ensured by contacts with already existing dioceses.

The Paderborn ecclesiastical tradition, which comes down to us in the 'Translation of St. Liborius' written in the late 9th century, preserved not only a trace of organizational and cult-related contacts between the emerging bishopric and the West Frankish Le Mans, but also strict institutional relations with the much closer bishopric of Würzburg. They were referred to as a *tuition* (custody, tutelage)

[1474] M.R. Pauk, *Arcem Romanam se gestit…*, p. 127–129.

[1475] The most recent findings, based on the earliest diplomatic material available, are best summarized by T. Kölzer, *Die Anfänge der sächsischen Diözesen in der Karolingerzeit*, "Archiv für Diplomatik" 61, 2015, p. 11–38.

of East Frankonian bishops over the emerging Paderborn Church, which was meant to be supplied by Frankish clergy. The hagiographer most probably quite aptly depicted the concerns amongst the clergymen who were reluctant to stay for longer in an alien and hostile, only superficially Christianized country. This reportedly gave grounds for establishment of a bishopric to be managed by the local Saxon clerical staff[1476]. Hathumar and Badurad, Paderborn's first appointed bishops, educated in the Würzburg circle, represented this new Saxon clergy.

The available records provide us with only scarce information on the Pomeranian clergy's Christianizing activity. A set of instructions sent by Bishop Otto to the Pomeranians during his first missionary expedition was reported in a sort of "report" of 1125[1477]. The Bishop of Bamberg ordered the Pomeranian neophytes to refrain from eating meats and drinking milk on Friday and not to perform work on Sunday and other feast days, to participate in Holy Masses on Sunday and feasts, as well as to observe Lent. The report dwells rather extensively on appropriate baptism customs: the bishop imposed on the new faithful the obligation to submit infants for baptism on Holy Saturday and on Pentecost Sunday, to celebrate the octave of the baptism at church, and to select godparents for the child being christened. Familial relationships were supposed to be maintained with such godparents, going as far as banning marriage whenever spiritual kinship was the case. The catalogue of bans in the area of marital and sexual ethics boiled down to a prohibition of incest up to the sixth and seventh degree of kinship, and prohibition of polygamy or remarriage whilst the spouse was alive.

The bishop barred the erection of temples for worshiping pagan idols, making offerings, seeking divination, using prophetesses, as well as the maintenance of contacts with pagans – particularly, the sharing of foods and beverages with them. The prescription to bury dead Christians at cemeteries, rather than in the field or forest, was indisputably connected with the eradication of the preceding system of religious beliefs. Similarly, the ban on laying sticks on tombs

[1476] *Vita et Translatio anonymi Paderbornensis*, [in:] V. de Vry, *Liborius. Brückenbauer Europas. Die mittelalterliche Viten und Translationsberichte*, Paderborn 1997, chap. 3–7, p. 189–192; M. Balzer, *Paderborn im frühen Mittelalter (776–1050): sächsische Siedlung – karolingischer Pfalzort – ottonisch-salische Bischofsstadt*, [in:] *Paderborn. Geschichte der Stadt in ihrer Region*, vol. 1, ed. J. Jarnut, Paderborn 1999, p. 46–57.

[1477] Ekkehard of Aura in: *Frutolfi et Ekkehardi chronica…*, p. 370–372.

was probably a reminiscence of anti-vampire procedures. Except for eating the meat of sacrificial animals, pagan practices had probably nothing to do, for a change, with the norms related to alimentary taboo, such as the ban on eating carrion and strangled animals, and drinking blood. These were directly adapted from early mediaeval penitentials that drew on Old Testament prohibitions[1478]. The bishop moreover imposed on the faithful the duty to confess their sins to presbyters, make penance as ordained by the canons in the case when one of the gravest sins was committed, such as perjury, adultery, or homicide[1479].

Save for the ban on killing female infants – which, according to the account, was a practice specific to the Pomeranians – the catalogue of prescriptions and prohibitions announced by the bishop of Bamberg includes a rather classical, not really original, set of universal Christian norms. It is not surprising that we can find them in the Canon Law and penitentials, and in diverse forms of rulers' legislations, oftentimes inclined to employ secular support of Christianization processes[1480]. At this point, Charlemagne's *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae* from the late 8th century can be pointed out, along with later legislations: Hungarian statutes of St. Stephen and statutes of the Bohemian Prince Břetislav I from ca. 1040. As demonstrated recently, the latter work is essentially a piece of legislation regulating the functioning of the Church judiciary in Bohemia after the model of Carolingian synodal courts (*Sendgericht*)[1481]. The aforesaid texts smoothly merged the canonical sanction, in the form of penance, with fines or corporal punishments imposed by the ruler. Not drilling down into the questions of the doctrine and quality of the neophytes' beliefs, let us mention that they focused on expressing purely external – and thus, relatively easy to control – manifestations of Christian daily life, yet this must have seemed to the freshly converted pagans to be thoroughly revolutionary in regards to the organization

1478 See R. Meens, *Pollution in the early Middle Ages: The case of the food regulations in penitentials*, "Early Medieval Europe" 4, 1995, p. 3–19.

1479 The aforesaid account of Otto's mission was taken advantage of by his hagiographers; cf. VP II, 21; Ebo II, 12.

1480 R. Michałowski, *Post dziewięciotygodniowy w Polsce…*, p. 5–40.

1481 M.R. Pauk, *Meum primum et maximum sit decretum. Prawo kanoniczne i sądownictwo kościelne w tzw. dekretach księcia Brzetysława I*, [in:] *Pravní kultura středověku*, ed. M. Nodl, Praha 2016 (= Colloquia mediaevalia Pragensia 17), p. 27–44.

of the political and community life as well as morals, and the framework of daily existence[1482].

As far as west Pomerania is concerned, the purely ecclesiastical character stands out in the bishop's Christian ordinances that were, at least at this missionary stage, not supported by the ducal authority and power. The focus on the observance of imposed regulations and prohibitions as distinctive signs of Christianity demonstrates how important the role of penance and the disciplinary dimension of the early Christianization processes. The pace of acculturation and deeper reception of the religious changes described above is difficult to assess; the enforcement of the guidelines would not have been possible without the existence of permanent ecclesiastical organization and, moreover, without working mechanisms of control over the new flock. These mechanisms took the form of itinerant judicial assemblies held by the bishop during his visitations of the diocese, or *via* the archpresbyters (or archdeacons) delegated by the bishop[1483].

The sources regarding such synodal courts and other forms of Church jurisdiction between the 9th and the 11th centuries reveal a trend for a grassroots social control system in the form, for instance, of sworn synodal witnesses coming from a given community, whose role was to inform the bishop or archpresbyter on the delicts and sins appearing in such community; or, in the form of responsibility of the local elders for overseeing of an appropriate conduct[1484]. How-

1482 For more on changes in the political community's organization, see K. Modzelewski, *Laicyzacja przez chrzest*, [in:] *idem*, *Studia wybrane z dziejów społeczeństwa, prawa i ustroju Europy wczesnośredniowiecznej*, ed. M.R. Pauk, A. Pieniądz, Warszawa 2018, p. 468–485; interesting considerations on the analogies of the community dimension of the pagan and Christian cult in the early Middle Ages, see Z. Dalewski, *Publiczny wymiar kultu w chrystianizowanej monarchii piastowskiej*, [in:] *Animarum cultura. Studia nad kulturą religijną na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu*, H. Manikowska, W. Brojer, Warszawa 2008, p. 51–62.

1483 For instance, archeological data for Bohemia, as recently collected and reinterpreted, point to a basic breakthrough in the location of funeral sites not until the late 11th and early 12th c.; see I. Štefan, L. Varadzin, *Počátky farní organizace v Čechách a na Moravě ve výpovědi archeologie*, [in:] *Církevní topografie a farní síť' pražské církevní provincie v pozdním středověku*, ed. J. Hrdina, B. Zilynská, Praha 2007 (= Colloquia mediaevalia Pragensia 8), p. 33–53; *idem*, *Super altare in ecclesia tua. Die Anfänge der Pfarrorganisation in den böhmischen Ländern aus archäologischer Sicht*, "Praehistorica" 31, 2014, 2, p. 357–372.

1484 Take, in this context, the position of village steward (administrator) who was exposed to the penalty of whipping and tearing his hair out for failure to see that the obligation of attendance at mass has been observed by the peasants: see Stephen the Saint's I statute: *Decreta Regni mediaevalis Hungariae*, vol. 1, ed. J.M. Bak, G. Bónis, J.R. Sweeney, Idylwild 1999, I, 9, p. 3; M.R. Pauk, *Ergo meum maximum…*, p. 33–39.

ever, no such judicial structures in west Pomerania are confirmed for the 12th century. The assembly held in Uckermünde under the pontificate of Bishop Conrad I "in presentia totius populi terre" – with dukes and secular lords, wealthy and powerful, attending – should rather be recognized as a diocesan synod than a local judiciary assembly[1485]. Hence, that some form of touring synodal courts of the bishops of Kamień can only be guessed, on the basis of general rules of functioning of the Church and applicable comparative data, is what we must accept. In the adjacent Ratzeburg diocese, a similar local court synod in Bergedorf, at which the local parson filed a complaint against his parishioners due to the allegedly unpaid tithe of hens, is attested for the year 1217[1486].

The phrases emerging in Pope Clement III's charter for Bishop Siegfried of 1188 refer to diverse forms of the bishop's superiority over his subordinate territory. Among them, the Pope included the right to collect tithes from lay people and the prohibition of installing or removing presbyters by secular lords of churches without the bishop's consent. In parallel, the consecration of a newly-built church by the bishop was rendered dependent upon an appropriate endowment granted by the founder[1487]. Based on these standard regulations or ordinances, which rather vaguely reflect the papal reform-oriented programme, one is not left to draw specific conclusions about the considerable dynamism of the ecclesiastical structures in Pomerania. As follows from the recent thorough study by Marian Rębkowski, the development of the network of churches was very slow: around the year 1230 only forty-seven churches of diverse rank and purpose were recorded, including monastic buildings[1488]. Even taking into account the "dark number" of churches not recorded in written sources, it has to be accepted that in the period under study, the parochial organization, capable of ensuring acculturation of the new religion

1485 PUB, vol. 1, no. 51a.

1486 *Mecklenburgisches Urkund*enbuch, vol. 1, Schwerin 1863 (further: Mecklenburgisches UB), no. 228. On the interpretation of the term 'ecclesia forensis' in the context of the judicial function of the church organization in Pomerania see: W. Schich, *Ecclesia forensis im 12. Jahrhundert. Die eccelsia forensis in Pasewalk - Markt - oder Sendkirche?,* [in:] *Brandenburgische Landesgeschichte und Archivwissenschaft. Festschrift feur Lieselott Enders zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. F. Beck, K. Neitmann, Weimar 1997, p. 37–55.

1487 PUB, vol. 1, no. 111.

1488 M. Rębkowski, *Chrystianizacja…*, p. 25–87, esp. 72–77.

on a basic level (i.e., enabling believers to attend mass on Sundays and obligatory feast days, supervising the observance of lent and of the ban on work, and providing Christian churchyards) was in its infancy. It could get denser fast only where its organization was taken over by a closely situated higher-ranking church institution.

As an example, the participation of the Benedictine monks in the Christianization efforts should be understood in light of the circumstances under discussion: as regards early Piast Poland, this fact is only based on the conviction of the scholars, but becomes a little more specific based on the analysis of a document issued by Adalbert, Bishop of Pomerania (Wolin) for the Benedictine monks of Stolpe in c. 1153. The monks, who originally came from Magdeburg, are referred to therein as the bishop's *cooperatores*; a tithe from the Province of Groźwin was bestowed to them, whereas the abbot from Grobe had the province's only existing church subordinated to him, along with all the other churches due to emerge within its limits[1489]. The monastery was to participate so in the formation of the parochial structure in its subordinate area. The scope of the abbot's competencies can be better understood in comparison with the 1230 privilege of Brunward, Bishop of Schwerin, for the Cistercian monastery in Doberan. The abbot received there a right to manage the rural churches and install the parsons, along with baptismal rights and the *ius synodale, quod bannum vocant*, which should be understood as jurisdiction of the Canon Law within the limits as defined in the document concerned[1490].

8. Material foundations of episcopal power in west Pomerania

Pope Innocent II's 1140 protection privilege for Pomeranian Bishop Adalbert came as part of the series of papal or legate diplomas issued in the 2nd and 3rd quarter of the 12th century for several Polish ecclesiastical institutions. The said privilege is formally similar to these other documents also on the basis on a rather extensive property inventory which makes up a considerable part of the disposition. A list of documents for Polish recipients opens with a diploma issued around 1124 by legate Egidius (Gilo) of Tusculum for the monks of Tyniec;

1489 PUB, vol. 1, no. 43.

1490 Mecklenburgisches UB, vol. 1, no. 380.

however, the later beneficiaries, and probably not coincidentally, include only bishoprics – namely, those of Gniezno (1136), Włocławek (1148), and Wrocław (1155) – along the monasteries of Canons Regular: in Piasek of Wrocław, Trzemeszno (1146–1148) in Greater Poland, and Czerwińsk in Mazovia (1155)[1491]. Requests submitted by church institutions for papal confirmation charters were, at that time, usually motivated by the need to hold a written warranty in a situation of the property posed under dispute, or just used the opportunity provided by contact with the papal curia in handling another business[1492]. In either case, the decisive factor was that of the increasing recognition of the universal authority of the Holy See and legal resolutions dictated by it. In the case of Poland and Pomerania, the other incentive was that of having no possibility to obtain appropriate written confirmation from any of the local rulers, as before mid-12th century ducal documents were not in use there yet.

Both external and internal critiques of the two earliest privileges for Polish recipients imply serious research problems. Both the bull for the archbishop of Gniezno (1136), as well as for the bishop of Pomerania, are preserved in more or less contemporary copies imitating genuine papal charters. This raises questions about their authenticity. Neither the circumstances nor the place of origin of these copies are known to us; as for the bull of 1136, it might be suspected (a hypothesis never before considered by scholars) that the document is, as to its formal aspect, a forgery prepared at the papal curia. The bull for the bishop of Wolin was written down none too carefully, with the use of a much later script bearing early Gothic features[1493]. Taking into account the way Innocent II's bull was used in Clement III's charter of 1188, a copy might have been compiled in face of the possible loss of the original document, presumably in the course of the bishop's journey to Rome.

A series of interpretative problems emerges also as far as the formulation of the property inventory contained in the Pomeranian privilege is concerned. It is hardly possible to explain what, namely,

[1491] For a list and discussion of the earlier literature, see Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, *Repertorium…*, no. 44, 46, 48, 57.

[1492] R. Härtel, *Additamenta zur Enumeratio bonorum der pästlichen Privilegien*, [in:], *Päpste – Privilegien – Provinzen. Beiträge zur Kirchen-, Rechts-und Landesgeschichte*, ed. R. Gießuaf, R. Murauer, Wien 2010 (= "Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung", Ergänzungsband 55), p. 107–112.

[1493] Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, *Repertorium…*, no. 37.

is actually meant by the eleven main Pomeranian castles enumerated alongside the episcopal *civitas* of Wolin – some of them together with pertinences such as a market, tavern, and rural settlements. It seems highly improbable that all of these items, let alone in their entirety, had become property of the Church. Apparently, the point was to remark the extent of the episcopal authority by means of enumerating the main towns together with their settlement surroundings, in combination with a sketchy description of material benefits received from each of them by the bishop[1494]. Elements of the dictate of papal documents classified as *enumeratio bonorum*, i.e., diverse forms of proprietary inventories, might, in each single case, have been determined by their very specific logic and pragmatics, sometimes appearing as a result of the material provided by the recipient and editorial interventions of the Curia's chancellery staff. Suffice it to mention that very similar problems with deciphering the logic behind a property inventory have concerned the (much incomplete) list of Silesian castles comprised in a somewhat later privilege of Pope Hadrian IV for Walter, Bishop of Wrocław[1495].

Similar doubt hangs over the question of a common tribute which the Pomeranian bishop apparently received from the entire diocese, up to the Łeba river in the east, precisely determined as two measures of cereals and five deniers per *aratrum*, as prescribed in the papal bull of 1140[1496]. The question arises whether this benefit should be recognized as a form of tithe: the papal document does not name it thus, while the *decima* from the market in Ziethen is termed just beside the entry regarding the bishop's levy. A wide complex of problems emerges when the issues of origins and forms of the common ecclesiastical tithe, as well as its significance in the process of Christianization in Central Europe and participation of the ducal power in its enforcement, are taken under consideration[1497]. A relatively high number of 12th-century records related to this levy in Pomerania and Polabia suggests that it was particularly important to the material foundations of the diocesan organization in this area.

[1494] J. Walachowicz, *Dziesięcina biskupia na Pomorzu Zachodnim w okresie wczesnofeudalnym*, "Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne" 51, 1999, p. 155 f.

[1495] *Schlesisches Urkundenbuch…*, vol. 1, no. 28.

[1496] PUB, vol. 1, no. 43: "de tota Pomerania usque ad Lebam fluvium de unoquoque arante duas mensuras annone et quinque denarios".

[1497] J. Eldevik, *Episcopal Power…*, *passim*.

It is fairly easy to note that the aforementioned set of cautions which Bishop Otto reportedly targeted at the Pomeranians during his first missionary expedition, contained no prescription to pay the tithe. This omission can be regarded as quite significant, since in the age of the Pomeranian mission it was already commonly regarded as an essential distinguishing feature of a Christian flock. Church leaders of this time, such as Gerold, Bishop of Oldenburg in the nearby Wagria in Polabia, strove for the adjustment of tithes in concord with Canon Law and the program of ecclesiastical reformers, unsurprisingly not without material benefits for their own churches[1498]. The admonition of Gerold targeted at the Saxon Holsats settled down in his diocese, and the conflict that broke out due to the bishop's pretenses to obtain the complete tithe, well illustrate the problems and the scale of tensions that repeatedly occurred as the portion was assigned, and the entity and addressee of the benefit determined.

According to the chronicler Helmold's account, a problem for the bishop was posed not by the settlers coming from the West or by the Slavic neophytes who paid their tithe in line with the hierarch's expectations (though in a flat-rate form), but by the Christian Saxons. They considered themselves entitled to a special relief because of their former burdensome relations with their pagan neighbours from beyond the Elbe. It was for this reason that the habit of their ancestors, who had paid the Church not more than six small measures of cereals per one unit of arable land, now transferred beyond the Elbe, was deemed by the Holsats legitimate and sufficient. Their argument was convincing, as Helmod himself admitted: in any case, a considerable portion of these benefits was turned to the benefit of the lay rather than the clergy. The bishop managed to break the resistance offered by the intractable Saxon diocesans, who went as far as threatening to leave their dwellings and abscond to Denmark, only thanks to the intervention of Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony.

The account of a parson of Bosau on the conflict between the Wagrian Saxons and their bishop over the actual amount of the tithe reveals almost the whole scope of problems concerning this source of ecclesiastical income. For the early church organization in Saxony and Polabia, the tithe formed the main, if not the only, material

1498 See *ibidem*, p. 179–214 (Salzburg as an example); Helmold I, 92, p. 178–181.

endowment; hence, in enforcing it, the bishops made use of the pressure from the secular powers – as did Gerold, who finally provoked the duke's intervention. The rulers themselves felt obliged, since the age of the first Carolingians, to supervise their subjects in this respect. The Old Testament origin of this levy and the conviction that a God's punishment might fall upon the entire community inclined the rulers to severely handle those individuals who resisted the payment of tithes[1499].

Quite interestingly, the conflict between Gerold and the Holsats reveals moreover the ethnic background behind the diversity of the tithe relations – a diversity that seems to have been rooted in a rather distant past. As for Polabia, the title of the Slavs and newcomers from the Reich seemed a welcome model to the bishop, though in other regions of medieval Central Europe the major problems were posed in this respect by the Slavic people, or foreign settlers. In Silesia, in the early 13th century, a conflict over tithes from the newly-colonized areas was waged between the bishop, on the one hand, and the duke and the German newcomers, on the other[1500]. Earlier on, in the tenth and 11th centuries, the superficially Christianized Slavic people in the territory of the bishoprics of Würzburg and Bamberg posed long-lasting problems in this respect[1501]. In Carinthia, another area of dense Slavic settlement, until the mid-11th century the archbishops of Salzburg customarily enforced a special, considerably reduced, levy called *decima Slavorum*.

This custom seems to have been anchored in the Carolingian missionary strategy of Salzburg's bishop Arno, who in the time of the Avar wars, evidently influenced by the views of his friend and mentor Alcuin, refrained from imposing on the people under Christianization such a burden in the full amount. The critical view shared by some members of the Carolingian elite with respect to the rigorous

1499 J. Eldevik, *Episcopal Power…*, p. 64–76; M.R. Pauk, *Saxony – Poland – Pomerania. The process of Christian acculturation on the margins of Carolingian and post-Carolingian Europe: the evidence of ecclesiastical tithes*, [in:] *Poland, Pomerania and Their Neighbours' Shaping…*, p. 265–281.

1500 See P. Górecki, *Parishes, Tithes and Society in Earlier Medieval Poland, c. 1100–1250*, "Transactions of the American Philosophical Society. New Series" 83, 1993, p. 1–146.

1501 *Konzilien Deutschlands und Reichsitaliens 1023–1059*, ed. D. Jaspert, MGH Concilia 8, Hannover 2010, no. 16 (chap. 5), p. 145: "Quod omnes Sclaui decimas dent sicut ceteri christiani et at hoc banno constringantur". Again, the problem of peasants' desertions appears, due to the enforcement of full tithe.

enforcement of fiscal benefits from the neophytes was originally rooted in the failures of a forcible mission amongst the Saxons, for which (in Alcuin's view, at least) the collection of the common tithe from each household was responsible[1502]. The experiences from the late 8th and early 9th centuries made a long lasting impact, because it was only in the time of the Church reform that the Salzburg archbishops managed to homogenize the tithe relations across their own archdiocese, to the determent of its Slavic residents[1503].

It is difficult to say whether the missionary experiences from the early Carolingian period, distant in time as they were, could have so strongly impacted the realities in 11th and 12th-century Central Europe. It is a matter of fact, though, that the fixed flat-rate tithe from the Slavic people in Polabia is very well attested in the records where the fixed-amount tribute – for which a Slavic term *biskupovnitsa* [i.e., 'bishop's levy'] was used – is precisely differentiated from the full tithe, as paid by the German settlers. Analogies to the bishop's rent mentioned in the Wolin bull of 1140, can be found in the earliest documents of the Saxon Duke Henry the Lion for three northern Polabian bishoprics, as well as in Helmold's account: the *census Slavorum* was supposed to be equal to three bushels of cereals and one *solidus* per unit of arable land[1504]. Helmold considered the above-mentioned levies in cereals and in current coins, established by Henry the Lion, to have been modelled after the measurement of *redditus episcopalis* as it was binding at his times in Poland and Pomerania[1505]. However, insofar as the census owed to the Pomeranian bishop can certainly be regarded as close to the solutions applied in Polabia,

[1502] On the significance of tithes in the Saxon mission, see I. Hen, *Charlemagne's Jihad*, "Viator" 37, 2006, p. 31–56.

[1503] J. Eldevik, *Episcopal Power…*, p. 179–181.

[1504] *Die Urkunden Heinrichs des Löwen, Herzogs von Sachsen und Bayern*, ed. K. Jordan, MGH Laienfürsten- und Dynastenurkunden der Kaiserzeit, vol. 1, Leipzig 1941, no. 81: "Censum autem Sclauorum de unco tres mensure, quod dicitur kuriz, et solidus unus". A broader charter, dated 1158 (*ibidem*, no. 41) and being a mid-13th century forgery, contains much broader data on tithe relations in three northern Polbian dioceses endowed by Henry the Lion; the dimension of the Slavs' episcopal tribute extended to benefits in flax and hens. On the problem of authenticity of these charters, see K. Jordan, *Die Bistumsgründungen Heinrichs des Löwen. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der ostdeutschen Kolonisation*, Stuttgart 1939, p. 1846.

[1505] Helmold I, 88: "ut solverent redditus episcopales, qui solvuntur apud Polanos atque Pomeranos, hoc est de aratro tres modios siliginis et duodecim nummos monetae publicae. Modius autem Slavorum vocatur lingua eorum curtice. Porro Slavicum aratrum perficitur duobus bubus et totidem equis".

there is no indication that 12th-century Poland might have seen a flat-rate tithe paid by the common people to the bishops. Hence, there should be no controversy over the conclusion that a flat-rate form of common tithe in cereals and minted silver was adopted across the whole area of the south-western Baltic as the fundamental form of ecclesiastical payment. Such a levy was certainly easier to enforce and not so burdensome to the payers – since Henry the Lion, on extending in 1171 the endowment of the Schwerin Cathedral Chapter, admitted that "decime Sclauorum tenues sunt"[1506]. The Slavic term *biskupovnitsa*, which specified this type of levy – and somehow related to the ducal rent known in northern Polabia as *voievodnitsa*, is not known from any of the west Pomeranian sources but instead, it appears in 13th-century Rugian records[1507].

The ambiguity of the terms appearing in the documents makes it no easier to determine when a regular common tithe, compliant with Canon Law, was actually introduced in Pomerania. It was already in the 1150s that Pomeranian Bishop Adalbert, in his documents for the monasteries in Stolpe and Grobe, had tithes at his disposal and customarily waived them to the benefit of both cloisters[1508]. However, this might have been the case of a flat-rate form of episcopal tribute known from Pope Innocent II's bull of 1140. In a similar disposition of Bishop Conrad I's charter for the Cistercians of Kołbacz in c. 1180, the issuer referred to the authority of Pope Alexander III who had empowered the bishop to collect the tithe from his diocesans; the bishop, in turn, endowed the abbey with it[1509]. Based on this, rather vague record, no simple conclusion may be drawn about an altered form of tithe in west Pomerania under Alexander III's bull during Conrad's pontificate, as Jerzy Walachowicz otherwise does[1510].

[1506] PUB, vol. 1, no. 55.

[1507] *Ibidem*, no. 208: "collectura Sclauorum, que bizcopounizha dicitur"; "censum, qui bizcopounizha dicitur, episcopo persolvant totaliter sicut ante"; see J. Matuszewski, *Biskupownica*, [in:] SSS, vol. 1, Wrocław 1961, p. 119 f.

[1508] PUB, vol. 1, no. 43: "decima de tota provincia Grozwin"; no. 48: "decimatio seu iustitia".

[1509] *Ibidem*, no. 83a.

[1510] J. Walachowicz, *Dziesięcina biskupia…*, p. 157 f. It is worth bearing in mind that it was Pope Alexander III who, somewhat earlier, restored the general Cistercian privilege for collection of tithes from the Order's own monastic estates; perhaps, this is what the *ingrossator* of Bishop Conrad's document actually had in mind, though the use of the pronouns 'nobis' and nostris' unambiguously refers the papal charter personally to the Bishop of Kamień.

A similar phrase, related to the holding of tithes from the laymen's hands, can also be found in Pope Clement III's 1188 privilege for Bishop Siegfried; this, however, seems to have been a formal set phrase produced by the papal chancellery[1511].

9. From Wolin to Kamień: translation of the Pomeranian Cathedral Church and its analogies

The location of the first Pomeranian cathedral church in Wolin, established as a result of Otto of Bamberg's mission, was noted down and perpetually confirmed by Pope Innocent II's protection bull of 1140 – a rather singular case, given the type of privilege[1512]. This seems to have stemmed from some controversy not only around the selection of the episcopal seat, but also of the cathedral church itself, as reflected earlier on in Innocent II's bull of 1133 for Norbert of Magdeburg, and in the Lives of St. Otto[1513]. The practice of episcopal power was not much different in the 10th to 13th centuries from that of secular rulers of the time, which means that the bishops were highly mobile, including outside the limits of their dioceses. Yet a permanent cathedral church as a site for the bishop to celebrate the liturgy on feast days, convoke synods, and consecrate the chrism, was a canonical requirement. The cathedral church was, moreover, the residential site of the clergy forming an episcopal chapter. Nothing is known, however, about the possible existence of such an congregation in Wolin, and so a big question mark hangs over the formation of the Pomeranian chapter around the year 1140.

The chronicler Helmold's account of the arduous conditions in which the first bishops of Oldenburg in Polabian Wagrien, Wizelin, and Gerold, operated after the diocese's restitution in the 1150s makes one no optimistic in this regard. The episcopal seat, together with the cathedral, were depopulated and destroyed during the pagan reaction. Until

[1511] PUB, vol. 1, no. 111: "Preterea decimas, quas ecclesia ipsa tam ex resignacione laicorum quam aliis iustis modis quiete possidet".

[1512] *Ibidem*, no. 30: "…statuentes, ut in civitate Wulinesi in ecclesia beati Alberti episcopalis sedes perpetuis temporibus habeatur".

[1513] On the controversy about which of Wolin's churches was actually appointed bishop Adalbert's cathedral, see further: M. Rębkowski, *Chrystianizacja…*, p. 30–32; S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 308–312.

the Oldenburg cathedral was rebuilt by Gerold, the bishops had no permanent seat for themselves and oftentimes were hosted at the court of the Saxon duke or in any of the nearby, more Christianized areas of Holstein. A temporary chapter for Bishop Wizelin was the assembly of canons in Faldera, which however after his death in 1154 fell again under the obedience of the Archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen. In order to provide himself with the festive liturgical retinue of clergy, Wizelin's successor Gerold transferred the college of canons from Högersdorf, the only one within his the diocese, to Segeberg[1514]. The lack of an episcopal chapter and the small number of diocesan clergy served as an argument for the Hamburg-Bremen Archbishop Hartwig, who refused to recognize the legality of Gerold's election and refused to consecrate him a bishop[1515]. The organization and endowment of a regular chapter took place only after the translation of the episcopal seat from Oldenburg to Lübeck in 1163[1516]. The chapter of Schwerin was, quite likewise, endowed in 1171 by Duke Henry the Lion after the bishopric's translation from Mecklenburg, These two cases might even have provided a model for the new ducal foundation in Pomerania[1517].

Although the political conditions in west Pomerania were much more favourable at the time the bishopric was organized than in northwestern Polabia, and whereas the bishop could count on permanent support from the ducal authority, there is no indication that a permanent canon chapter was finally set up successfully in Wolin[1518]. Was there any clerical assembly that might have functioned as the episcopal chapter before the mid-1170s? Helmold of Bosau, who wrote his chronicle at the time of the events in question, in his reminiscence of Duke Wartislaw I, referred to the Pomeranian bishopric as the one of Usedom, as did also the later author of the *Knytlinga saga*. An explanation of this fact was proposed in the earlier literature and is worth noting[1519]. In the opinion of Jürgen Petersohn, in the period of intensi-

[1514] Helmold I, 84.

[1515] *Ibidem*, I, 80.

[1516] *Ibidem*, I, 90.

[1517] PUB, vol. 1, no. 55; on a broader discussion of the beginnings of the Chapter of Schwerin, see M. Kaluza-Baumruker, *Das Schweriner Domkapitel (1170–1400)*, Köln–Wien 1987, p. 5–19.

[1518] Two surviving documents of Bishop Adalbert from the sixth decennium of the 12th c. do not list among the witnesses any clergymen who could possibly be regarded as cathedral canons.

[1519] J. Petersohn, *Der südliche Ostseeraum…*, p. 304; cf. Helmold II, 100.

fied influence of the Magdeburg Archbishopric, the Premonstratensian cloister in Grobe on the Usedom island might have functioned as the episcopal chapter. This would be completely in accord with the realities of 12th-century canonicate in a close geographic circle, where at least since Norbert of Xanten's pontificate at Magdeburg the trend to regularize the cathedral clergy on the basis of the Premonstratensian rule had been distinct. Although Norbert's efforts to introduce such a rule in his own cathedral chapter had failed, two other episcopal chapters in Havelberg (1150) and Brandenburg (1161) were organized on this pattern[1520].

The practice exceeded the borders of the metropolis on the Elbe, for since Bishop Evermod's time the Premonstratensian convent also formed the clerical entourage of the bishop of Ratzeburg, whilst the hierarch himself also descended from the Magdeburg clergy and before assuming the episcopacy he held the office of the provost of the Premonstratensian monastery of Blessed Virgin Mary[1521]. Although Pomeranian records give no direct premises for a statement that such was the role of the Grobe canonry in respect of Bishop Conrad I, Petersohn's concept seems highly probable owing to a particularly strong influence of the Magdeburg Church in Pomerania exactly in the period concerned. It is therefore possible that the destruction of Usedom monastery by the Danes around 1173 contributed to the decision to found a new episcopal chapter in Kamień, albeit the monastery was rebuilt very soon and a new Premonstratensian convent was brought over from Havelberg[1522].

The transferal of the Pomeranian episcopal see from Wolin to Kamień was an event well confirmed by the records: there are two of Duke Kazimierz's I charters of uncertain chronology and a much later papal confirmation of 1188[1523]. Only the latter one directly mentions and confirms the very fact of translation. Probably in reference to Innocent II's charter, which set down the location of Pomerania's cathedral church in Wolin, its translation to Kamień – specifically, to the church dedicated to St. John the Baptist – was now confirmed. The reasons behind this move included war damage and a permanent military threat to the previous episcopal see. The "civitas *Kamyn*" was presented to the pope as the more convenient location, as this centre was apparently safer and its population bigger[1524]. There is no reason to deny the reliability of such incentives: the 1170s were a time of permanent threat to the estuary of the Odra river because of repeated military expeditions by Danish troops[1525]. Two ducal documents, dated between 1176 and 1180 illustrate completely different aspects of the issue and provide premises for identifying other reasons behind the translation as well. The foundation of the new ecclesiastical institution, was entirely the initiative of a Pomeranian ruler, who had also endowed it. The St. John Chapter bound the Pomeranian bishops for good with the town which was portrayed as the main centre of ducal power in Pomerania already in the Lives of St. Otto[1526].

The shorter ducal diploma primarily comprises a deed of singling out the so-called cathedral immunity, quite unique in the ecclesiastical history of Central Europe; the "immunity" was namely the area on which the cathedral was erected, together with the canonical cloister[1527]. The other dispositions in the ducal document satisfied the postulates of *libertas ecclesie*, which included economic immunity for the canonry's estate, the *privilegium fori* for the canons (i.e., reservation of the right to resolve internal conflicts by the provost and the chapter), as well as the right to freely elect the provost. As mentioned in both ducal charters, the chapter's internal functioning was to be regulated according to the customs of the Cologne Cathedral chapter. The broader privilege mentions, moreover, the canons' right to free election of the bishop.

[1520] D. Kurze, *Bischof Wilmar und die Gründung des Domkapitels 1161*, [in:] *850 Jahre Domkapitel Brandenburg*, Regensburg 2011 (= Schriften des Domstifts Brandenburg), p. 29–39.

[1521] Helmold I, 77; D. Claude, *Geschichte des Erzbistums Magdeburg…*, vol. 2, p. 350 f.

[1522] For a broader chronology of this stage in the history of the Grobe monastery, see G. Labuda, *Około datacji dokumentów fundacyjnych klasztoru premonstratensów w Grobe (1159, 1168?, 1177–1179)*, [in:] *Personae, colligationes, facta*, ed. J. Bieniak *et al*., Toruń 1991, p. 13–25.

[1523] To give an example, two documents issued by Bishop Henry Zdík along with a confirmation of his direct superior, the metropolitan bishop of Mainz, were produced resulting from the translation of the episcopal cathedral from St. Peter's Church to St. Wenceslas' Church in Olomouc after 1131. The bishop used the opportunity to detail the diocese's endowment in its entirety; the decision to found a new cathedral church was, again, the duke's.

[1524] PUB, vol. 1, no. 111.

[1525] For a synthetic discussion, see J. Morawiec, *Wolin w średniowiecznej tradycji skandynawskiej*, Kraków 2010, p. 163–170.

[1526] S. Skibiński, *Katedra w Kamieniu Pomorskim*, Poznań 2002; J. Jarzewicz, *Architektura średniowieczna Pomorza Zachodniego*, Poznań 2019, p. 27–38.

[1527] PUB, vol. 1, no. 69: "locum claustri circumiacentem cum immunitate, cum omni claustrali et canonica libertate in perpetuam elemosinam pro me et uxore mea et liberis contuli".

The general enunciation of imitating the Cologne customs is not entirely clear; however, an attempt to understand it better can be made in the context of the transformations of 12th-century canonicate and the external influences to which the Church in Pomerania was prone at the time. The second half of the 1170s marked the beginning of a period of strong political and ecclesiastical impact of Denmark across the zone of southern Baltic. The military expansion of Valdemar I and Canute VI led, in the subsequent decade, to Pomerania's temporary political dependence on Denmark. In consequence of this expansion, the impulses in the church organization followed, especially the affiliations between the new Cistercian and Premonstratensian foundations and the Danish monasteries. These developments are described fairly well in the literature[1528]. Their significance – which, to my mind, tends to be overestimated as regards direct political impact[1529] – was primarily a matter of ideology, though the personal ties thus developed are probably not to be neglected. There is the importance of missionary and crusade aspects to the ideology of power exposed by the Danish rulers who identified themselves as descendants of St. Canute Lavard[1530].

No less essential were the organizational factors related to the centralized structure of both new religious congregations whose purposes, though, did not have to be thoroughly coincident with those of the Danish royal court. Was the organization of the Pomeranian cathedral chapter possibly based upon West European models taken over *via* the Danes? A chance for a positive answer might lie in the 12th-century codex preserved in the cathedral chapter of Lund, which contains, along with a transcript of the canonical rule of Aachen, a book of customary conduct, called the *Consuetudines Lundenses* and based on the reformed rules of common life of the Canons Regular from the circle of Marbach in Swabia and Klosterrath

[1528] See, in particular, S.M. Szacherska, *Rola klasztorów…*, p. 30–66; the study shows an exaggerated tendency for interpreting the presence of Danish Cistercians and Premonstratensians in Pomerania almost exclusively in terms of Denmark's political influence. J. Petersohn, *Der südliche Ostseeraum…*, p. 437–455, is more attentive to the influences on the forms of cult and liturgy.

[1529] Stretching the limits of such an approach *ad absurdum*, S.M. Szacherska (*Rola klasztorów…*, p. 50) states, for instance, that the foundation of the convent for the Premonstratenians imported from Lund in Białoboki fostered the strategic plans 'of the Dansh commanders' as it might have facilitated a 'landing operation' at the mouth of the Parsęta river.

[1530] J. Petersohn, *Der südliche Ostseeraum…*, p. 438–451.

(Rolduc) in Rhineland[1531]. The internal organization of the chapters, as specified in the documents, including the principle of free election of the bishop and the provost and exclusion of resolution of internal disputes from the secular jurisdiction, have their counterparts in the *Consuetudines* of Lund. The contacts with the Danish metropolis and, even more importantly, with Danish canonical circles, along with the inflow of manuscripts from Denmark whilst the new episcopal chapter Kamień emerged, is attested not only by the foundation of a new Premonstratensian convent, originating from the Holy Trinity monastery in Lund, in Białoboki on the Rega (near Trzebiatów), but also by the use by the Premonstratensian canons of a manuscript containing a calendar of Lund provenance[1532].

With time the altered location of the cathedral church influenced the nomenclature of the bishops who previously used in their official titles no name of the episcopal see or territorial description, but instead – a rare and noteworthy thing – a collective "ethnic" name of the people subject to their authority: *episcopus Pomeranorum*. Such an official title can be regarded as apparently analogous to the phrase *princeps*/*dux Pomeranorum*, being the title most frequently used by Pomeranian rulers. The special intention might have been to emphasize the consensual character of episcopal authority, which drew its legitimization from the canonical election by the duke, the clergy, and the people[1533]. The translation of the see implied a rather fast, though long inconsistent, change in the naming practice – the territory – related name of *episcopus Pomeranie* being ever more seldom in use in favour of the place-based official title: *episcopus Caminensis*[1534]. In spite

[1531] *Medeltidshandskrift 6 St. Laurentius*, Universitetsbiblioteket, Lunds universitet (digitalized at: http://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/imageViewer.jsf?dsId=ATTACHMENT-0018&pid=alvin-record%3A14714&dswid=1796; published edition: *Consuetudines Lundenses. Statutter for kannikesamfundet i Lund c. 1123*, ed. E. Buus, København 1978; the origin of such *consuetudines* is extensively dealt with by E.G., Nibblaeus, *German Influence on Religious Practice in Scandinavia, c. 1050–1150* (unpublished doctoral thesis, available at the repository: https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/portal/), p. 189–195.

[1532] PUB, vol. 1, no. 84; J. Petersohn, *Der südliche Ostseeraum…*, p. 453 f.

[1533] The most emphatically so in Bishop Siegwin's document dated c. 1191: in the context of a rent paid in wax to the Michelsberg monastery in honour of St. Otto, Bogusław I is mentioned as a *dux Pomeranice gentis*, whilst Conrad as *eiusdem gentis venerabilis episcopus* and the one giving consent for the bestowal *principes Pomeranice gentis*; see PUB, vol. 1, no. 119.

[1534] Around 1190, featured as a co-issuer of the document, Bishop Siegfried is titled *dei gratia Pomeranorum episcopus* (cf. PUB, vol. 1, no. 109); in 1216, *dominus Siguinus episcopus quartus Pomeranie* (cf. *ibidem*, no. 170).



Il. 27. The document of Duke Kazimierz I the Pomeranian for the Benedictine monastery in Stolpe on the Peene (1176)

of the altered name of the bishopric, the institutional continuation of the diocese – since its foundation and the first Pomeranian Bishop Adalbert in office – was at times highlighted by the succession number assigned to the bishop's name[1535].

The earliest milieu of west Pomeranian clergy before the early 13th century extends to just above thirty persons appearing only in diplomatic records of local provenance. Diplomas of Pomeranian dukes and bishops of the time quite frequently took note of the presence of top-rank Church dignitaries acting as witnesses to legal acts and procedures. Apart from the bishops of Pomerania, members of this elite were superiors of monastic and canonical foundations who appear the most frequently in the charters: the abbots of the Benedictine monastery in Stolpe on Peene and the Cistercian abbeys in Kołbacz and Dargun; the provosts and, thereafter, abbots of the Premonstratensian monastery in Grobe (then in Usedom); and, the provosts of two secular canonries: the Cathedral Chapter of Kamień and the Collegiate Chapter of Kołobrzeg. Some of these individuals must have heavily influenced the ecclesiastical and political life of the duchy, because of at least the long term of their service. One example is Helwig (mentioned between 1153 and 1182), the provost and subsequently abbot of Benedictine monastery in Stolpe; another one is Conrad, provost of the Kamień Chapter since circa 1181 to 1208.

A simple prosopographic analysis, based primarily on the onomastic material, reveals that German names were dominant among members of the higher clergy, which clearly points to the thoroughly immigrant composition of the west Pomeranian clerical milieu. Only two Slavic names are met within the group under examination: a certain Boguchwał, mentioned in 1186/1187, was a clergyman and, perhaps, member of the Kamień Chapter[1536]. "Discizlauus", recorded at that same time in a charter by the widow Duchess Anastasia, was probably her chaplain[1537]. However, we cannot be certain of the Pomeranian descent of the latter since he might have come from Poland, together with the duchess. The fairly common Christian names, making

[1535] Just a few years after the translation to Kamień: *Conradus Caminensis ecclesie secundus episcopus*: cf. *ibidem*, no. 94, where Adalbert is, coincidentally, referred to as the "first" [*sic*] Bishop of Kamień; also: *ibidem*, no. 222 (1224): *Conradus quintus episcopus Caminensis*.

[1536] *Ibidem*, no. 102.

[1537] *Ibidem*, no. 106.

the ethnic identification of their bearers impossible, form a slight percentage. This data points to the entirely foreign, "colonized" character of the early Pomeranian Church. The scarcity of native clergy aspirers who proved capable of a successful career may testify to the relatively weak acculturation of Christianity among the vernacular social elite in the first decades after the conversion to Christianity. The phenomenon is neither astonishing nor singular. An analogously high percentage of foreigners holding high-ranking church offices – as far as this can be established for certain based on the names – was still the case in 12th-century Poland, two centuries after the conversion[1538]. It was only with time that the native elite discovered the benefits of making their sons follow the path of a clerical career, in view of assuming politically and materially influential episcopal offices and major provostries. The ruler's influence on the appointment of clergymen to ecclesiastical offices is a separate issue.

The scarcity of relevant data prevents, in most cases, the recognition of the *cursus honorum* of the Church dignitaries. It is rather evident, though, that once the cathedral chapter was established in Kamień, the bishops who succeeded Conrad I were the chapter's prelates and canons: in 1186, the chapter's first provost Siegfried[1539]; in 1191, Siegwin, mentioned in Duchess Anastasia's document as a deacon; after Siegwin's resignation in 1219, he was replaced by Conrad II, long-standing provost of the chapter[1540]. Drawing on this basis any conclusion that the dukes did respect the right to elect the bishop by the chapter in an unrestrained manner, as laid down in Kazimierz I's foundation charter, would be overly bold. By means of the foundation, the Pomeranian dukes had the exclusive patronage right which probably enabled them to control the chapter's cast and decisions. It was probably for this reason that as Bishop Siegwin's pontificate was nearing its end, the canons of Kamień took care about the papal general confirmation of liberty granted from the secular rulers, which

[1538] For a broader discussion, see D.A. Sikorski, *Die Rolle der Geistlichen ausländischer Herkunft in der polnischen Kirche des 10.-12. Jahrhunderts*, [in:] *Fernhändler, Dynasten, Kleriker…*, p. 241–262; M.R. Pauk, *'Quicquid pertinebat ad imperium: Kościół w Polsce a Rzesza do połowy XII wieku*, [in:] *Chrzest Mieszka I i chrystianizacja państwa Piastów*, ed. J. Dobosz, M. Matla, J. Strzelczyk, Poznań 2017, p. 261–269.

[1539] PUB, vol. 1, no. 70, 87, 90.

[1540] E. Rymar, *Prałatura kapituły kamieńskiej XII–XVI wieku. Część I: Prepozyci*, "Przegląd Zachodniopomorski", 2009, 1, p. 5–30.

would have probably included free election of bishops by the chapter. Two years later, with the replacement on the episcopal see, Pope Honorius III prefered to ensure supervision from a papal delegate, appointing the Prussian Bishop Christian for the purpose. Christian was supposed to accept, in the first place, the resignation of Siegwin, ailing and incapable of remaining in office, and then see to the election of his successor being carried out in accordance with canon norms[1541].

10. *Verus fidei Christiane venerator*: West Pomeranian dukes and the Church

"Comparing to the priest, the king does not enjoy great respect amongst them. The priest investigates the oracles and outcomes of fates. He is dependent upon the slight motion of fortune; the king and the people are conditional upon his will": this significant remark comes from Helmold's description of the Rugian political system in the 12th century, which was strictly coupled with the pre-Christian cult[1542]. Perhaps the political importance of the Rugian rulers can be regarded, in the period of our interest, as particularly restricted owing to an extremely strong impact of the sanctuary of Svantevit in Arkona. There is no doubt, however, that in this age, more stable rulerships of the ducal dynasties were *in statu nascendi* across the whole southwestern coast of the Baltic Sea.

The Lives of St. Otto present a somewhat analogous picture of the Pomeranian duke's scope of power. While he favoured the Bamberg bishop's missionary action, he had to confront himself with the authority of the priests of the pagan cult and was incapable of imposing the new religion upon his subjects by virtue of his own authority[1543]. The oftentimes disturbed and abruptly aborted pro-

[1541] PUB, vol. 1, no. 176a, 191.

[1542] Helmold II, 108: "Rex apud eos modice estimationis est comparacione flaminis. Ille enim responsa perquirit et eventus sortium explorat. Ille ad nutum sortium, porro rex et populus ad illius nutum pendent". Cf. S. Rosik, *The Slavic Religion…*, p. 300 ff., 359.

[1543] The main reason behind the durability of pre-Christian cults in the Baltic zone probably lay in the lack of strong and stable ducal dynastic power in Polabia and Pomerania, which would have by itself acquired and adopted civilization models from the Reich and proved capable of enforcing a lasting conversion of the subjects. This is what makes

cesses of consolidation of ducal dominions in the area of our interest all took place in parallel to the Christianization of Pomerania and Polabia, forced by the political expansion of stronger neighbours. As it seems, however, the expansion, which significantly contributed to destruction of the traditional social, political, and cult-related structures, could act in favour of the emerging ducal lordships – especially when their rulers expressed their unconditional willingness to join the new religion, using external support to this end[1544]. From this standpoint, the attitude of the Rugian Duke Jaromar I, who (as described somewhat earlier by Helmold) appeared weak when confronted with the political power of the priests of Svantevit of Arkona, is significant. According to the chronicler, who went as far as to compare Jaromar to the Apostle Paul, the duke soon after Danish conquest turned into a zealous Christian and promoted the new religion among his subjects not only with word but also with coercion[1545]. The description *verus fidei Christiane venerator* used in the title of this chapter is quoted from the official title used in the year 1188 in reference to west Pomeranian Duke Bogusław I[1546].

The biographers of Otto of Bamberg concordantly emphasized Duke Wartislaw's no less favourable attitude toward the Christian mission, though they formulated rather differentiated opinions on Pomeranian ruler's capability to ensure security to the mission. While not delving into the recently meticulously analyzed details of these discrepancies[1547], one important fact is worth pointing out: the moment Otto arrived in Pomerania, Wartislaw was already a Christian: he had been baptized during his stay as a hostage in Saxony. The possibilities and, perhaps, the duke's willingness to practice the new religion and to adapt life to its requirements in a pagan environment seem, however, strongly limited: even his hagiographers admit that the ruler practiced polygamy, among other things[1548].

the area in question fundamentally different from the Central European dynastic rulerships such as Poland, Bohemia, Rus', and Hungary, in all of which a down-top religious replacement was carried out in the tenth century. For the most complete and synthetic discussion of the topic, see: *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchies. Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900–1200*, ed. N. Berend, Cambridge 2007.

1544 S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 566 ff.

1545 Helmold I, 108, p. 212. See S. Rosik, *The Slavic Religion…*, p. 358 f.

1546 PUB, vol. 1, no. 106.

1547 S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 129–131, 202–204.

1548 For example, Herbord II, 22.

There is no doubt, however, that west Pomeranian dukes soon noticed, as did Jaromar of Rügen (Rugia), the benefits from conversion to Christianity, including the influence and the potential of control over the emerging church organization. The records unanimously illustrate its complete dependence on the secular rulers, primarily in the material dimension, as best attested by the bishoprics reactivated in the 12th century in the Obodrite territories. Withholding payment of tithes to the bishops was the most efficient means of exerting pressure on them so that they recognized the supremacy of Duke Henry the Lion and accept investiture from him[1549]. Although west Pomeranian dukes could not legitimize their power over the Church in the same manner as Henry the Lion, privileged by Emperor Frederick in 1154, did, the financial and material dependence of the Pomeranian Church certainly had its consequences. This situation is confirmed by the hagiographer of Prüfening, who mentions in general terms the endowment by Duke Wartislaw I of the newly-founded churches during Bishop Otto's second missionary expedition; so does Herbord, who took note of ducal bestowal for the church in Kamień upon its consecration; also, indirectly, Innocent II's protection bull of 1140[1550]. The sources of bishop's unstable income, such as customs duties, fairs, *tabern*s and salterns of Kołobrzeg are usually deemed to have been the *iura ducalia* belonging to the ruler; their transferal to the bishop must therefore have followed from the duke's disposition. Also, efficient collection of the tithe that, according to the papal document, was owed to Pomeranian bishops from the area extending up to the Łeba river, was possible in that period only with good cooperation with the ducal authority. However, the charter of bishopric foundation allegedly issued by Wartislaw I, as mentioned in Gregory IX's protection bull, seems to be completely fictitious or a much later forgery[1551].

In the contemporary historical records, rare are the attempts at a theoretical justification of the secular rulers' right to superiority over the Church. As was the case with the right to dispose of the church foundation by the founder, one can also presume that rulers derived their prerogatives from the fact of foundation and endowment of the bishopric. In the texts under survey, we are hard pressed to find confirmation of the concept expressed as explicitly

1549 Helmold I, 69.

1550 Vita Prieflingensis III, 4; Herbord II, 22.

1551 P. Piętkowski, *Biskupstwo pomorskie…*, p. 31, takes its existence at face value.

as by the Danish chronicler Saxo Grammaticus, whose description of the essentially coerced election of Absalon, the king's nominee, to the bishopric of Roskilde in 1158 mentions the cession by King Valdemar I of the right to elect the bishop to the local clergy. This was in spite of the fact that, as the ruler himself stated, it was his ancestors that had founded and endowed the Diocese of Roskilde[1552].

As geographically and culturally close as this analogy is, it seems significant, but the fact remains that the Pomeranian sources give no clear answer as to how the ducal superiority over the local Church was implemented in practice. The aforementioned charter of Bishop Adalbert mentions that Wartislaw I participated in his election, but in this case, as well as in the subsequent ones, granting investiture by any of the Pomeranian rulers by the crosier seems very dubious. Dissemination of this particular form of ritual practice in Central Europe is a debatable matter; the investiture in itself, being a contested matter among Church reformers, was significantly redefined in the course of the 12th century as to its legal and ideological content[1553]. Frederick Barbarossa's privilege issued for Henry the Lion at Goslar in 1154 bestowed upon the Saxon duke the right to grant investiture by the crosier to the bishops of the reactivated dioceses in the Obodrite land. This privilege was notably exceptional, but in fact the Duke of Saxony's right to investiture was merely an instance of personal delegation of the royal prerogatives[1554].

Although Kazimierz's 1176 charter for the Canons of Kamień granted them the right to freely elect the bishop, the political realities

[1552] Saxo Grammaticus XIV, 21: "Quam continuo placida mente ingressus, Trinitatis aedi inservientium penates intravit, eorum de creando pontifice suffragia suo prosecuturus assensu. Quamquam autem ei in ecclesia a maioribus condita ac dotata iuris aliquid competere videretur, nihil se tamen adversum eam aut illicita affectatione aut insolita consuetudine praesumpturum dicebat; sacris siqu*idem* legibus cautum nosse, ne clerus peculiare eligendi ius regali imperio obnoxium habeat". On the political circumstances of this particular choice, cf. S.M. Szacherska, *Rola polityczna pierwszych metropolitów duńskich*, "Przegląd Historyczny" 59, 1968, p. 14 f.

[1553] Given the realities of 12th-century personalized political relations, It is illegitimate, though, to universalize the resolutions of the Concordat of Worms, 1122, and extend its binding force, for instance, to the form and content of a possible investiture granted to bishops by other rulers than the emperor (or, the German king) – let alone the alleged exclusivity of election by chapters, as e.g., in: W. Dziewulski, *Biskup pomorski Wojciech…*, p. 18; or: R. Marciniak, *Dobra kapituły kamieńskiej…*, p. 20.

[1554] For an extensive discussion, see J. Petersohn, *Friedrich Barbarossa, Heinrich der Löwe und die Kirchenorganisation in Transalbingien. Voraussetzungen, Bedeutung und Wirkungen des Goslarer Privilegs von 1154*, [in:] *Heinrich der Löwe. Herrschaft und Repräsentation*, ed. J. Fried, O.G. Oexle, Ostfildern 2003 (= Vorträge und Forschungen 57), p. 239–279.

of the period concerned all too frequently led to such declarations remaining merely on parchment. With no relevant data available, one cannot unambiguously resolve the question of the Pomeranian dukes' influence on the election of bishops. In the context, however, the foundation tradition of the adjacent Diocese of Schwerin, whose territory embraced the western area of Pomeranian duchy, as recorded in the early second quarter of the 13th century in a forged document of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, seems to be relevant. According to that narrative, Berno, the first bishop of Schwerin, was elected at Demmin by the *principibus terre* – i.e., Bogusław, Kazimierz, and Pribislav, and established as a bishop by Duke Henry the Lion himself[1555]. Recognition of instrumental competencies of the dukes of Pomerania and Mecklenburg at the designation of episcopal candidates, and acceptance of the investiture granted to him by the duke of Saxony at the time the forgery was compiled (after 1230), seems to have been an extremely significant testimony of the dependence of the local Churches on the secular power.

Participation of the dukes in the creation of the other ecclesial institutions within the Pomeranian duchy stands out much more clearly as a factor of the acculturation of Christianity. Already the first generation of Christian rulers, in the person of Duke Ratibor, Wartislaw I's brother and successor, involved himself in the foundation projects. This problem is associated with the rapid reception of elements of religious culture, which in some dimensions was closely connected to the ideology of ducal power. The impact of neighbouring polities: Saxony, Poland, and Denmark, on the form of the religious foundations across the region of Pomerania are most discernible for scholars. The sources primarily feature the liturgical *memoria* of deceased members of the dynasty as well as ducal acts of devotion. Accumulation of these threads in the records from the second half of the 12th century, which abound in information on liturgical *memoria* and burial sites of the dynasty members, enables us to stress the particular importance of these aspects for the ruler's representation.

The earliest known commemorative foundation, and a rather peculiar one, was certainly the church erected in Stolpe and der Peene, at the site of Wartislaw I's violent death. Regrettably, the dates of neither

[1555] PUB, vol. 1, no. 53.

are known. The charter of the Pomeranian Bishop Adalbert, in which the foundation is recorded, does not mention whether the duke was buried at that site[1556]. The latter fact was only confirmed by the chronicler Helmold, who rather vaguely mentions that the first Christian ruler of the Pomeranians was buried at the place of his demise, an abbey founded there by his sons[1557]. As a matter of fact, bringing the Benedictine convent from the abbey of Berge near Magdeburg, to Stolpe, resulted from the collaboration between the bishop and Duke Ratibor I, whereas the foundation was also meant to serve the founder's liturgical commemoration[1558].

Although not a frequent occurrence, commemorations of the site of a violent death of a high-status individual was part of medieval practice. By way of example, the geographically close case of Adolph II of Schaumburg, Count of Holstein, can be recalled. He was killed in the battle against the pagan Obodrites near Verchen, in 1164. In accordance with the practice of the time, the corpse of this aristocrat was cleared of the viscera and boiled in order to facilitate transport of his bones to Saxony, to the site of the count's appropriate resting place at the Cathedral of Minden. His guts were buried at the site of the battle, where in time a chapel was erected[1559].

In contrast to Count Adolph, who perished in battle against the heathens, there is no evidence of attempts at creating a cult of Wartislaw I; his successors definitely endeavoured, instead, to establish a site of liturgical service related to his burial. Probably soon after the duke's tragic death, a church was erected at that very place. However, it was most likely the conviction that only a monastic convent was capable of ensuring a durable, appropriately efficient and splendid liturgical setting of the *memoria*, that underlay the implantation in that very place of a Benedictine convent from Magdeburg.

It however seems that the figure of Wartislaw I as the first Christian ruler of the Pomeranians, if not their Christianizer, took a fairly essential place in the Pomeranian dynasty's ideology of power, to which the newly-arriving Christian clergymen made their contribu-

[1556] *Ibidem*, no. 43; M. Rębkowski, *Chrystianizacja…*, p. 43–46.

[1557] Helmold II, 100.

[1558] PUB, vol. 1, no. 43, 94.

[1559] *Annales Egmundani*, ed. B.J.L. de Geer van Jutfaas, Utrecht 1863, p. 61. Above the burial place of a part of the Count's corpse, miraculous lucent signs were reportedly seen, which can be deemed an element of the hagiographical legend of Adolph II as a martyr.

tions. In his first charter Pomeranian Bishop Adalbert ordered that the duke's name be written down alongside that of Bolesław the Wrymouth and Otto of Bamberg, as the one whose decision elevated him to the office and under whose rule "gens Pomeranorum [...] baptisma suscepit"[1560]. Even more tellingly, the figure of the issuer's father was recalled in the preamble of Duke Kazimierz I's diploma for the Chapter of Kamień from c. 1176. Wartislaw is shown there as the one through whom God himself acted in proselytizing the Pomeranian people, reversing their eternal condemnation, and making them part of the community of Christians.[1561]

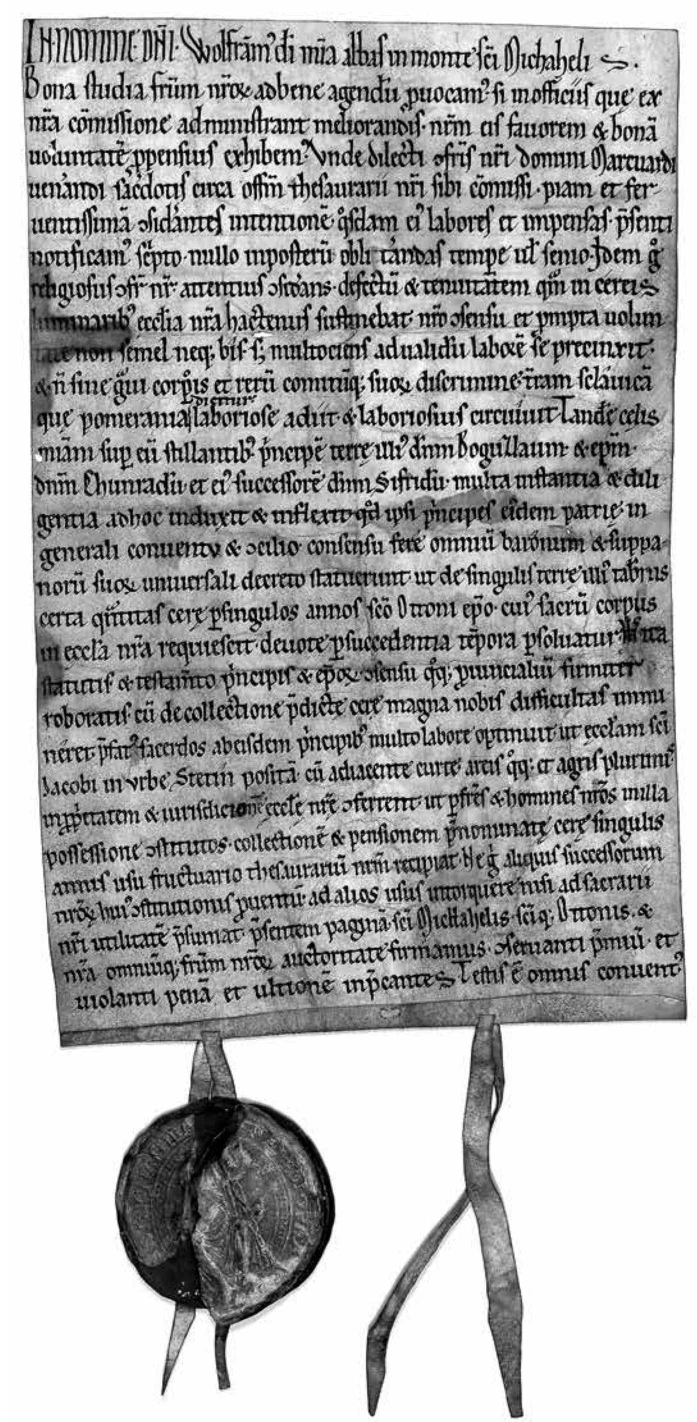
The ducal *memoria* was also associated with the early promotion of the cult of St. Otto in Pomerania. A particular devotional relationship with the venerated bishop of Bamberg was entered into by the Pomeranian dynasty before his formal canonization in 1189. Duke Bogusław I's donation for Michelsberg Abbey, where the bishop was buried, made five years earlier, was inspired by the Pomeranian Bishop Conrad and the monks of Michelsberg. The object of the duke's foundation was the eternal lamp at Otto's tomb at the Michelsberg Abbey. It is likely therefore that the donation had a more commemorative aspect than it was a manifestation of the early cult of Bishop Otto', who was described there as "gentis nostre apostolus"[1562]. Another important purpose of this donation was to establish a *fraternitatis* relationship between the duke and his family and the Michelsberg monastic community. The latter had to receive an annual tribute in wax collected from all ducal taverns in Pomerania, each of which contributed one "stone"– big or small, depending on the tavern's income.

Inspired by the monks, Bogusław I resorted, thus, to an old elite privilege of making the ruler part of the prayer community, endeavouring thereby to strengthen the perspective of eternal salvation for himself, his deceased brother Kazimierz, his spouse, sons, and future succes-

[1560] PUB, vol. 1, no. 43.

[1561] *Ibidem*, no. 70: "Pater misericoridiarum et Deus totius consolationis per sollicitudinem et fidele studium felicis memorie Wartislai patris nostri eduxit nos et populum terre nostre de tenebris et umbra mortis in ammirabile lumen suum, ut, qui prius per ydolatriam et spurcicias demonum eramus servi Sathane et populus perdicionis, nunc per ablucionem baptismi facti sumus filii adoptionis Dei, populus acquisitionis, funiculus hereditatis ipsius, consecuti graciam et exspectantes gloriam cum ceteris Christianis".

[1562] On the early reception of the Otto's title *Apostolus Pomeranorum*, see J. Petersohn, *Apostolus Pomeranorum. Studien zur Geschichte und Bedeutung des Apostolepithetons Bischof Ottos I. von Bamberg*, "Historisches Jahrbuch" 86, 1966, p. 289 f.



Il. 28. The document of Abbot Wolfram from the monastery in Michelsberg near Bamberg regarding taxation on wax from Pomerania (1186)

sors[1563]. This passage is indisputable evidence of a dynastic character of the *memoria* of the Greifen-lineage in Bamberg. The concern about securing this important foundation is reflected not only in the frequency of the related charters issued by Bogusław's successors. The next step was an association of the wax tribute with Bamberg monks operating in Pomerania in St. Jacob's Church in Szczecin, which was soon turned into the Michelsberg provostry. The church was founded shortly before 1187 by a certain Beringer, a Bamberg burger or merchant who was active in Pomerania and was influential in the duke's circle[1564].

Christianization of the pagan country and "rude" people occupied quite an essential place in the preambles to ducal charters and thus, in all likelihood, in the ideology of ducal authority and power. 'Neophyte' motifs can also be found in diplomas issued in the same period on the occasion of religious foundations by other native rulers of Polabian Slavs[1565]. In this context, particular attention should be paid to the arenga of Bogusław I's 1184 diploma for the Premonstratensians of Grobe, as a sort of ideological background of the duke's foundations and Christianization activities can be found there. The ruler's duty is to profess the faith in Christ not only with the heart and with the lips but also with pious works, of which the most important 'in hac rudi gente' seem to be anything that serves the purpose of Christian worship, that is: erecting basilicas in honour of the saints, equipping them with ecclesiastical paraments and ensuing material support to the clergy who serve God in such temples[1566]. The role of Pomeranian dukes in the entrenchment of Christianity is repeatedly emphasized: in an earlier diploma for the same monastery Bogusław I announced to all of the 'Christiane fidei domesticis' that Ratibor, his uncle and predecessor, "catholicam religionem teneram adhuc apud nostrates et

[1563] PUB, vol. 1, no. 91.

[1564] *Ibidem*, no. 108.

[1565] A telling example is provided by the preamble of Jaromar I of Rügen's diploma for the nuns of Bergen, *ibidem*, no. 123: "Omnipotentis Dei misericordia nos de ydolorum cultura, cui parentes nostri infeliciter inserviebant, clementer eripiente et ad veram et katholicam *fidem* perducente atque in benedictionibus sue gracie perveniente tot eius donati muneribus nolumus ingrati existere sed ex bonis ab ipso nobis collatis eius beneficiis quantulumcumque pro viribus respondere".

[1566] *Ibidem*, no. 96: "... quod pre ceteris in hac rudi gente precipue necessarium censuimus, obnixius amplexati sumus, hoc est ad sacrificium et laudes creatori nostro immolandas, sanctorum basilicas extruere, ornatu et supellectile congrua redimire et ad sustentandos earum ministros aliquantula dote instaurare".

imbecilem sublimare studuit et confortare", which was the reason for him to erect the cloister[1567].

The provostry of Magdeburg and, subsequently, the autonomous Benedictine abbey in Stolpe, despite its priority as a ducal foundation and funeral place of Wartislaw I's, did not maintain a function of the main dynastic necropolis of Pomeranian rulers. However, the view whereby the rotunda consecrated there in 1176 by Bishop Conrad I, functioned for the sake of commemorating the first Christian member of the dynasty, seems convincing[1568]. Bogusław I's eldest son Ratibor was entombed there in 1183; yet the Greifen clearly prefered their second foundation – the Premonstratensian cloister in Grobe/Usedom, which was also founded by Duke Ratibor I and his wife Pribislava[1569]. Cultivation of the memory of the first founders by the Premonstratensian convent also after the monastery was transferred to Usedom is confirmed by a surviving late Gothic tombstone of the duke and his wife. Actually, Bogusław I can be regarded as the second founder of the canonry that was probably destroyed during the Danish raids. In 1177, not only did he confirm the earlier bestowals of his uncle Ratibor and brother Kazimierz I, and made a new donation to the canons, but also settled in Grobe a new Premonstratensian convent from Havelberg. As we can learn from the same source, the duke's commemorative foundation for the soul of his deceased first wife Valpurga was also done there[1570].

The foundation activities and the commemorative efforts around the Grobe (Usedom) monastery were intensified due to premature death of adolescent Wartislaw, son of Bogusław I and his second wife Anastasia, in 1184[1571]. The aforementioned solemn diploma, which features an arenga rich in religious content, tells us also about the erection by the duke of a new canon monastery nearby Usedom. The consecration of the new church by Bishop Conrad I, and the funeral ministry for the soul of late Wartislaw, who was entombed there, were then also celebrated. Information comes from the same year about a bestowal for the Premonstratensians, in relation to the anniversary of Duke Kazimierz I. In my concern, this information provides suffi-

[1567] *Ibidem*, no. 72.
[1568] *Ibidem*, no. 93, 94; E. Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich…*, Szczecin ²2005, p. 123.
[1569] PUB, vol. 1, no. 71; M. Rębkowski, *Chrystianizacja…*, p. 46.
[1570] PUB, vol. 1, no. 72.
[1571] *Ibidem*, no. 96.

cient premise for recognizing the Grobe monastery as the burial place also for Bogusław I's elder brother, who fell in battle in 1180[1572].

A climax of the commemoration practices that were cultivated by the west Pomeranian rulers is definitely the diploma issued for Premonstratensians on March 18, 1188 by the widow Duchess Anastasia, together with adolescent Duke Bogusław II, on the death anniversary of her husband Bogusław I. Moreover, the diploma's conclusive formula reveals what probably a commemorative assembly of Duchess Anastasia with ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries of the Duchy at the seaside forest of Sośnica, where Bogusław accidentally died, was held at that time.[1573] The village of Sośnica, with a church and a tavern, is later attested as property of the Premonstratensians of Grobe[1574]. Hence, the diet seemingly took place within the cloister's possessions area, so that anniversary donation could be made there. That the church of Sośnica was founded around 1188 in order to commemorate the place of Bogusław I's death, following an example of foundation made after the demise of his father Wartislaw I, remains only a conjecture. The purpose behind Anastasia's donation for her deceased husband's soul was to transfer to the Premonstratensians the properties as once promised to them by the late duke for the purpose of competing the construction of the conventual church of the abbey being transferred, as was already said, to Usedom.

The origins of the earliest west Pomeranian monasteries reveal an essential role of the bishops. The belated formation of diplomatic practice caused that the earliest ducal foundations, in Stolpe and Grobe, were confirmed only in diplomas issued by Bishop Adalbert of Wolin. Later on, episcopal confirmations would oftentimes accompany the ducal diplomas. A high liturgical rank of the consecration rite caused that these events, celebrated by bishops, provided an opportunity to publicly display the duke's devotion; as e.g., was the case of the Cistercian foundation in Dargun dated 1173[1575]. During the consecration of the Blessed

[1572] *Ibidem*, no. 97; for a different concept, cf. E. Rymar, *Rodowód książąt…*, Szczecin ²2005, p. 120.
[1573] PUB, vol. 1, no. 106. The date emended by the published as 1187 does not seem to be legitimate, unless this be a case of scribe's error (not-quite-plausible for so solemn a diploma). Thus, following E. Rymar, *Rodowód książąt…*, Szczecin ²2005, p. 113 f., it has to be accepted that a rather special anniversary reunion was actually the case.
[1574] PUB, vol. 1, no. 127.
[1575] *Ibidem*, no. 61; extensively on the foundation of the convent in Dargun, see C. Kratzke, *Das Zisterzienserkloster Dargun in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. Studien zur Bau- und Kunstgeschichte*, Petersberg 2004, p. 37–47.

Virgin Mary's altar in the first monastic oratory (*prima capellula*) – hitherto, the only one in the land of the Slavic tribe of Chrezpienians, as it was remarked – Duke Kazimierz I granted the monks the right to participate in the ducal monetary income from taverns, the salt, and the fishing ground on the Peene river. An important element of the dukes' activity – with a sacral dimension to it, once a monastic foundation was the case – was a 'circuit' performed in public to mark the borders (with use of special signs) of the monastery's landed property[1576].

The close relationships between the dukes and the Premonstratensians are a characteristic feature of the west Pomeranian monastic landscape. The abbey of Grobe/Usedom was the most frequently used ducal necropolis in the 12th century; alongside it, the same century saw the emergence of two other houses of St. Norbert's Order, inhabited by canons from Havelberg (Broda on the Tollense) and Lund (Białoboki near Trzebiatów). However, neither of these foundations ever attained an ideological rank comparable to the Grobe cloister. As aforesaid, the latter probably temporarily functioned as the Pomeranian bishop's chapter. A strong influence of the Premonstratensians, particularly from their Saxon "cradle" in the circle of Magdeburg and Havelberg, diminished in west Pomerania the role of the Cistercians who were building at that time very strict relations with other Central European dynasties[1577]. The only 12th-century Cistercian cloister in the Duchy of West Pomerania, situated in Kołbacz – founded by Wartislaw, son of Świętobor (Svantobor), of the dynasty's lateral line – was never to become the Greifen's family monastery, unlike the other Cistercian houses which were founded at that time by the German new ducal dynasties ruling in the neighbourhood: the Wettins (Altzelle, 1163), the Ascanians (Lehnin, 1180), and the Mecklenburg house of Niklot (Doberan, ca. 1171)[1578].

[1576] Reference to these signs as a 'ducal frontier' is significant: "…in quandam quercum cruce signatam, quod signum dicitur Sclauice Knezegraniza" (PUB, vol. 1, no. 62).

[1577] M.R. Pauk, *Das Stiftungsprogramm der schlesischen Piasten im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert und seine mitteleuropäische Kontexte*, [in:] *Monarchische und adlige Sakralstiftungen im mittelalterlichen Polen*, ed. E. Mühle, Berlin 2013, p. 417–454.

[1578] On the Cistercian commemorative monastic foundations in this circle, see (recently, in particular) H. Winkel, *Herrschaft und Memoria: die Wettiner und ihre Hausklöster im Mittelalter*, Leipzig 2010; S. Warnatsch, *Die Geschichte des Klosters Lehnin 1180–1542*, Berlin 2000, p. 40–52; I. Minneker, *Von Kloster zur Residenz: dynastische Memoria und Repräsentation im spätmittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Mecklenburg*, Münster 2007, p. 33–62.

IV

Pomerania in the politics of the 12th century

Zbigniew Dalewski

1. Pomerania in the structures of the Piast monarchy

The final stage of Bolesław III the Wrymouth's conquests in Pomerania ended with the treaty concluded with Wartislaw I around 1121. According to Herbord of Michelsberg, one of the hagiographers of St. Otto of Bamberg, the defeated Pomeranians were forced to accept the terms of peace imposed by the Polish ruler – namely, converting to Christianity, paying tribute, and accepting the obligation to provide military service upon demand[1579]. There is no indication that the treaty mentioned by Herbord was a compromise between Bolesław and the Pomeranian duke stipulating that Bolesław would resign from his initial plans to completely subjugate western Pomerania. Rather, it seems that Bolesław conceived the treaty as a step toward subordinating to his suzerainty the Pomeranian duke's domains and their full incorporation into the structures of the Piast monarchy[1580]. Herbord wrote that owing to Otto of Bamberg's later mediation, Bolesław agreed to lower the tributary burden to 300 grivnas (marks) and decreased the number of warriors required from the Pomeranians to one for nine families, which seems to further prove that the original terms of the treaty were

[1579] Herbord II, 5.

[1580] Cf. K. Maleczyński, *Bolesław…*, p. 152 ff.; B. Zientara, *Polityczne i kościelne związki…*, p. 192–232; J. Spors, *Studia…*, p. 119–160; S. Rosik, *Bolesław…*, p. 181 ff.

dictated to the defeated Pomeranians by the victorious duke and embodied his views on how political relations should be formed[1581].

It seems that the treaties concluded with other Pomeranian dukes in the first decade of the 12th century established the nature of Polish suzerainty over Pomerania along similar lines[1582]. The events described by Gallus Anonymus that accompanied the military expedition undertaken by the Piast ruler to Pomerania, most probably in 1107, should also be viewed in this context. Polish troops conquered Białogard and moved towards Kołobrzeg. When the news reached the city, the townspeople decided to surrender to Bolesław, pledging him allegiance and service. Moreover, an unnamed Pomeranian duke humbled himself before Bolesław and swore fealty and armed service. Consequently, as concluded by the chronicler in his story of the expedition of 1107, almost the entirety of Pomerania was under Bolesław's rule[1583]. Similarly, the conquest of Czarnków in 1108 resulted in the surrender of a Pomeranian duke (it is not certain whether it was the same duke from Kołobrzeg mentioned above)[1584] and his pledge of allegiance and recognition of Bolesław's suzerainty[1585]. After conquering Nakło, Bolesław handed it over, together with other strongholds (whose names Gallus fails to mention), to Świętopełk, the Pomeranian ruler related to Bolesław, whom he obliged to pledge allegiance. Bolesław also reserved his right of free access to the strongholds[1586]. Thus, it seems that Polish suzerainty imposed on Pomerania in the wake of Bolesław's conquest was from the very beginning to be founded on a network of complex relations binding Pomeranian dukes with the Piast monarchy. Conquered Pomerania, or rather the political units functioning in Pomerania, were not directly subjugated to Polish administration (possibly with the exception of the borderland areas), but maintained their subjectivity, remaining under the rule of local rulers who recognized the authority of the Polish duke and were obliged – as expressed by Gallus – to serve him, in other words, to pay tribute and provide military assistance.

1581 Herbord II, 30.

1582 Cf. K. Maleczyński, *Bolesław…*, p. 139 ff.; B. Śliwiński, *Pomorze w polityce i strukturze państwa wczesnopiastowskiego (X–XII w.)*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" 107, 2000, p. 23 ff.; S. Rosik, *Bolesław…*, p. 163 ff.

1583 Gall II, 39, p. 109 f.; see K. Maleczyński, *Bolesław…*, p. 140 ff.; S. Rosik, *Bolesław…*, p. 170 ff.

1584 See B. Śliwiński, *Pomorze w polityce…*, p. 25.

1585 Gall II, 44.

1586 *Ibidem*, III, 26.

The system of tributary relations binding Pomeranian rulers with Bolesław, constituting the basis for his power, fully reflected the pattern of forming international, as it were, political relations characteristic of those times, when exercising direct control over conquered areas (which would involve stationing military garrisons and entrusting the conqueror's own people with their day-to-day administration) was relatively rare[1587]. However, the system was very unstable and thus the maintenance of a sufficient balance enabling the Polish ruler to exercise his supreme power required constant demonstration of his superiority over the Pomeranian dukes. Gallus Anonymus frequently quotes the examples of how the Pomeranians violated the concluded treaties and avoided fulfilling their obligations, thus forcing Bolesław to undertake new military expeditions to enforce their obedience. In this situation the consolidation of Polish rule over Pomerania required another justification, beyond the use of mere military force, in order to bind the Pomeranian dukes with the Piast monarchy and involve them in its political and ideological structures. Here Gallus' account of the campaigns of 1107 and 1108 deserves special attention. In his description of the events accompanying the subjugation of the unnamed Pomeranian dukes to Bolesław III the Wrymouth's authority, when they humbled themselves before him, the chronicler mentions a set of ritualized gestures and behaviours specific to the ritual of submission – *deditio*[1588].

In the political culture of the early medieval Latin West *deditio* was one of the most important means of forming political relations as well as settling disputes and feuds. In societies where perpetual conflict served the purpose of redefining political relations and determining one's own position in the structure of power, *deditio* enabled avoiding exacerbation of conflict that would harm both parties. Its essence entailed a combination of humility and reconciliation, offering a chance to end a conflict and restore lasting peace. On the one hand, the act of humility before a victor was a manifestation of the hierarchy formed as a result of a conflict; on the other, the act of reconciliation manifested that the victor was

1587 See. G. Tellenbach, *Vom Zusammenleben der abendländischen Völker im Mittelalter*, [in:] *idem*, *Ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze*, vol. 2, Stuttgart 1988, p. 710–769.

1588 Z. Dalewski, *Ritual and Politics. Writing the History of a Dynastic Conflict in Medieval Poland*, Leiden–Boston 2008, p. 81 ff.

ready to show clemency to the defeated enemy, thus paving the way to founding mutual relations upon consensus and cooperation[1589]. When Bolesław III the Wrymouth resorted to the ritual of *deditio* in order to define his relations with Pomeranian dukes, he clearly wanted to establish the order introduced in Pomerania upon the rituals and ideology typical of the political culture of the Piast monarchy, or even the Latin West. On the one hand, this was to accommodate Pomeranian elites within the new order and create mechanisms restricting the scope for conflict threatening the stability of Bolesław's rule, while on the other hand it enabled Pomeranian elites to maintain their position in the structure of power as long as they recognized his suzerainty.

However, it was Christianity that had a profound role to play in integrating conquered Pomerania with Poland and consolidating Piast suzerainty. Gallus' accounts of the wars fought by Bolesław with the Pomeranians emphasize their religious dimension, extolling the Polish ruler's efforts to convert the heathen barbarians[1590]. Ekkehard of Aura also sees a direct connection between the Polish conquest and the adoption of Christianity in Pomerania[1591]. Similarly, the authors of the lives of St. Otto of Bamberg highlight the role which Bolesław played in the conversion of the Pomeranians[1592], although they lay stress differently. Obviously, Bolesław's involvement in the Christianization of Pomerania cannot be reduced to mere political calculation and be perceived as a premeditated step in a long-term plan of binding Pomerania with the Piast monarchy[1593]. Yet it is hardly possible that the Polish ruler was

[1589] See G. Althoff, *Das Privileg der deditio. Formen gütlicher Konfliktbeendigung in der mittelalterlichen Adelsgesellschaft*, [in:] *idem*, *Spielregeln der Politik. Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde*, Darmstadt 1997, p. 99–125; *idem*, *Huld. Überlegungen zu einem Zentralbegriff der mittelalterlichen Herrschaftsordnung*, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 199–228; K. Schreiner, *Gerechtigkeit und Frieden haben sich geküßt (Ps. 84, 11). Friedensstiftung durch symbolischen Handeln*, [in:] *Träger und Instrumentarien des Friedens im hohen und späten Mittelalters* ed. J. Fried, Sigmaringen 1997 (= Vorträge und Forschungen 43), p. 37–86; *idem*, *Nudis pedibus. Barfüßigkeit als religiöses und politisches Ritual*, [in:] *Formen und Funktionen öffentlichen Kommunikation im Mittelalter*, ed. G. Althoff, Stuttgart 2001 (= Vorträge und Forschungen 51), p. 53–124; T. Reuter, *Unruhestiftung, Fehde, Rebellion, Widerstand. Gewalt und Frieden in der Politik der Salierzeit*, [in:] *Die Salier und das Reich*, vol. 3: *Gesellschaftlicher und ideengeschichtlicher Wandel im Reich der Salier*, ed. S. Weinfurter, Sigmaringen 1997, p. 297–325.

[1590] Gall, Prohemium I (p. 7).

[1591] Ekkehard of Aura, under the year 1124 (p. 262).

[1592] See S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 134 ff.

[1593] See M. Gładysz, *The Forgotten Crusaders. Poland and the Crusader Movement in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, Leiden–Boston 2012; D. von Güttner-Sporzyński, *Poland, Holy War..., passim.*

unaware of the political conditions for and consequences of the decisions which he made in this area. There is ample evidence that he intentionally strove to consolidate his political relations with Pomeranian rulers also on the religious plane.

Gallus wrote about the ruler of Czarnków, a certain Gniewomir, who surrendered his stronghold to Bolesław's besieging forces in 1108. The treaty subsequently concluded stipulated that Gniewomir would maintain his rule of Czarnków on condition that he recognized the Piast duke's suzerainty and convert to Christianity. The chronicler's remark that Bolesław assumed the role of Gniewomir's godfather obviously proves that the baptism was not intended as a mere introduction into the Christian community[1594]. The spiritual bond formed between the person being baptized and the godfather resulted in the emergence of a permanent relation not solely restricted to the religious sphere; to a great extent it also defined the mutual relations on the social and political planes[1595]. As a result, in the early Middle Ages the ritual of baptism assumed the role of an important means of political influence, one resorted to by Christian monarchs to tighten control over the onetime heathen rulers whom they had baptized[1596]. Thus, when Bolesław assumed the role of Gniewomir's godfather, he clearly wanted to consolidate the bond between them and impart greater permanence to it.

It seems that in the case of the other Pomeranian rulers – Wartislaw and Świętopełk mentioned above – religious aspects were also of significance in concluding the treaties, ones that granted them exceptional status in the power structure that Bolesław was building in Pomerania. When writing about the transfer in 1109 to Świętopełk of control over Nakło and other local strongholds conquered by the Polish army, the chronicler did not fail to mention the kinship ties between him and Bolesław[1597], though Gallus offers no clue as to their exact nature[1598]. Yet

[1594] Gall II, 47.

[1595] See J.H. Lynch, *Godparents and Kinship in Early Medieval Europe*, Princeton 1968; B. Jussen, *Patenschaft und Adoption im frühen Mittelalter. Künstliche Verwandtschaft als soziale Praxis*, Göttingen 1991.

[1596] See A. Angenendt, *Kaiserherrschaft und Königstaufe. Kaiser, Könige und Päpste als geistliche Patrone in der abendländischen Missionsgeschichte*, Berlin–New York 1984.

[1597] Gall III, 26.

[1598] See G. Labuda, *Czy książęta zachodnio-pomorscy wywodzili się z Piastów?*, "Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza" 4, 1958, p. 33–47; J. Spors, *Pochodzenie dynastii książęcych na Pomorzu w XI i XII wieku – w szczególności Świętobora i Świętopełka z Kroniki Galla Anonima*, "Roczniki Historyczne" 49, 1983, p. 1–47; E. Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich…*, p. 94–96.

the fact that he did mention as much in this particular context is a clear indication that Świętopełk owed it all to the blood ties with Bolesław, which may suggest that they were closely related.

The chronicle gives no clue as to Świętopełk's religious adherence. Gallus' silence about this matter prevents any far-reaching conclusions, but the fact that he was related to the Polish ruler lets us assume that – at least nominally – he was a Christian and it was his faith that may have prompted Bolesław to rely on him in exercising his suzerainty over at least a part of Pomerania. We may also assume that Wartislaw's status in the treaty concluded with Bolesław was to a great extent a consequence of the fact that he was a Christian, as confirmed in the lives of St. Otto of Bamberg[1599].

Little is known about the beginnings of Wartislaw's career. The first sources to mention him are the lives of St. Otto, where he features as the duke of Pomerania, yet his control over the main urban centres and numerous territorial communities was limited. There are no clues as to his relations with the other Pomeranian dukes mentioned in the annals, who also probably exercised their power in western Pomerania: the two unnamed dukes defeated by Bolesław in 1119 and *dux Odrensis* Świętopełk, who died in the battle against the Polish ruler in 1122[1600]. It seems, however, that Wartislaw's duchy, as it was when first mentioned in the lives of St. Otto, emerged only in the wake of the Polish conquest, which allowed him – probably one of the lesser Pomeranian dukes – to assume the role of a guarantor of Piast rule and extend his control over the whole of western Pomerania with Polish support, following his treaty with Bolesław and recognition of his suzerainty[1601].

When mentioning Bolesław's Christianization efforts, Gallus Anonymus admits that their effectiveness depended on the ability to enforce his suzerainty over Pomerania. The chronicler sadly con-

1599 Ebo III, 6; see S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 129 ff.

1600 See e.g., K. Maleczyński, *Bolesław…*, p. 145 ff.; J. Spors, *Studia…*, p. 125 ff.; E. Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich…*, p. 99–103; S. Rosik, *Bolesław…*, p. 179 ff.

1601 See e.g., J. Dowiat, *Pochodzenie dynastii zachodnio-pomorskiej i ukształtowanie się terytorium księstwa zachodnio-pomorskiego*, "Przegląd Historyczny" 45, 1954, p. 268–276; R. Kiersnowski, *W sprawie początków organizacji państwowej na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" 61, 1954, p. 160–168; B. Zientara, *Polityczne i kościelne związki…*, p. 206; J. Spors, *Studia…*, p. 61 ff.; M. Rębkowski, *Pomorze w czasach misji Ottonowych. Zarys problemu*, [in:] *Biskup Otton z Bambergu i jego świat*, ed. *idem*, S. Rosik, Wrocław 2018, p. 189–209.

cedes that the defeated dukes agreed to be baptized, only to later disavow Christianity and renew warfare once they had regained their strength[1602]. Bolesław's god-son, Gniewomir, also failed to persevere in the Christian faith; in 1109 he returned to paganism and took up arms against the Polish ruler[1603]. The lives of St. Otto offer a more complex picture. When writing about the bishop of Bamberg's missions in Pomerania, their authors differ in the description and assessment of the accompanying events, but they unanimously highlight Bolesław III the Wrymouth's efforts to convert the defeated pagans[1604]. Yet the account of Otto's second mission in 1128 clearly shows that it was undertaken on Wartislaw's initiative as it was he who asked the bishop of Bamberg to return to Pomerania[1605]. Wartislaw's taking over the role of the mission's patron coincided with a rapid deterioration of Polish-Pomeranian relations resulting in Bolesław's preparation for a new military intervention in Pomerania.

The lives of St. Otto, despite the differences between them, present the causes of the conflict in a similar way[1606]. According to Ebo of Michelsberg's account, Bolesław's decision to commence military action against the Pomeranians was provoked by their raid into Poland, when they desecrated the remains of his ancestors, throwing them out of their graves, breaking their bones, and knocking the teeth out of their skulls[1607]. Herbord does not mention the Pomeranian incursion into Poland, but he also points out that Bolesław's decision was forced by the fact that the Pomeranians had broken the terms of the treaties, failed to observe the principles of Christian faith, and refused to pay tribute[1608]. Thus both sources admit that the Pomeranians had attempted to alter the terms of the agreements concluded in the wake of Bolesław's conquests and to liberate themselves from Polish suzerainty.

In this sense, when in 1128 Wartislaw broke the treaty concluded with Bolesław, he did not differ from other Pomeranian dukes who had gone back on their word given to the Polish ruler, as Gallus Anonymus men-

1602 Gall, Prohemium I (p. 7).

1603 Gall II, 47.

1604 S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 134 ff.

1605 Ebo III, 4; see e.g., S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 379 ff.

1606 S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 439 ff.

1607 Ebo III, 13.

1608 Herbord III, 10.

tioned in his chronicle. This was the case of the above Świętopełk, who did not persevere for long in his allegiance to Bolesław. Admittedly, the expedition undertaken by the Piast duke forced him to reacknowledge Polish suzerainty, pay tribute, and surrender up his first-born son as a hostage guaranteeing his loyalty. Still, a year later Świętopełk defied Bolesław's authority again[1609]. Yet contrary to the other Pomeranian dukes referred to by Gallus Anonymus, who – in throwing off Polish suzerainty – also rejected the Christianity imposed with it, Wartislaw not only decided not to break with Christianity, but on the contrary – he intensified his effort in consolidating it, pleading with the bishop of Bamberg to return to Pomerania and continue the mission he had commenced a few year earlier. For Wartislaw and the elites around him, liberation from Polish suzerainty was no longer tantamount to the return to the traditional pagan beliefs.

2. Between Poland and the Empire

The process of Christianization initiated by Bolesław III the Wrymouth aimed at consolidating his rule over Pomerania did not result merely in the region's tighter bonds with the Piast monarchy. It also, or perhaps primarily, meant inclusion of Pomerania in a wider circle of political relations revolving around the Holy Roman Empire. Gallus' chronicle, possibly in reference to the views professed at the Piast court, presented Pomerania as being inhabited by barbarian pagans and a natural area for Polish expansion. The chronicler strongly emphasized the right of suzerainty over Pomerania, as entitled to the Polish rulers since the times of the conquests by Bolesław I the Brave[1610]. Indeed, it does seem that in the early 12th century Pomerania lay beyond the scope of interest of its more distant Christian neighbours, which – obviously – was not tantamount to isolation. Pomeranian elites maintained various relations with the Christian world. The information conveyed by Ebo that Wartislaw in his childhood had been baptized while in captivity in Merseburg clearly shows that they were also involved in the conflicts present on the German-Slavic frontier[1611].

[1609] Gall III, 26.
[1610] *Ibidem*, I, 6.
[1611] Ebo III, 6.

However, there is no evidence that German rulers had any tributary claims concerning Pomerania. The hypothesis that the Empire's tributary suzerainty had a long tradition reaching back to the Carolingian Empire is not sufficiently confirmed by the sources[1612]. The last representatives of the Salian dynasty did not show any greater interest in Pomerania; they hardly paid any attention to the Slavic lands in northern Polabia, nominally subordinate to the Empire. The task of subordinating these lands fell almost exclusively to the Saxon dukes and margraves, but their efforts were limited, and thus failed to reincorporate these areas into the Empire's political and ecclesiastical structures. They mainly consisted in occasional attempts to impose tributary subordination on Slavic peoples, usually in retaliation for their incursions. However, enforcing the obligations thus imposed required the Saxons to show constant readiness to demonstrate their military advantage over the Slavs who continually tried to contest it and to undertake new military missions whenever it was necessary[1613].

The system of tributary relations between Saxony's dukes and the region's Slavic neighbours did not rest solely on the existing balance of power. It was also based on the conviction shared by the Saxon – or indeed imperial – elites that such a system was a naturally suited to forming relations between Saxon dukes and margraves and Slavic peoples. The authority of the former was granted by the emperor and exercised in his name, while the latter were *ipso facto* obliged to acknowledge it. This in turn was based on the whole complex of notions concerning the functioning of the Empire's political and ideological order and thus the emperor's right to champion the Christian community and his duty to consolidate and expand it by subjugating and Christianizing pagan peoples.

There is ample evidence that Bolesław III the Wrymouth's court recognized the emperor's leadership and the resulting powers, at least in general terms, which is indirectly mentioned in Gallus Anonymus' account of the expedition to Poland undertaken by Henry V

[1612] See E. Rymar, *O prawach Królestwa Niemieckiego i Marchii Brandeburskiej do zwierzchnictwa nad całym Pomorzem*, "Roczniki Historyczne" 72, 2006, p. 7–51; cf. G. Labuda, *O zakresie rzekomych uprawnień Królestwa Niemieckiego i Marchii Brandenburskiej nad całym Pomorzem we wczesnym średniowieczu*, "Roczniki Historyczne" 73, 2007, p. 17–34.
[1613] See e.g, W. Brüske, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Lutizenbundes. Deutsch-wendische Beziehungen des 10.-12. Jahrhunderts*, Münster–Köln 1955, p. 83 ff.

in 1109. The chronicler strongly emphasizes the fact that Bolesław had rejected Henry's demand of tribute, at the same time highlighting his willingness to support the emperor in – in Gallus' words – his defence of the Roman Church[1614]. There is no information as to whether Bolesław sought the emperor's consent for Bernard the Eremite's first unsuccessful mission in Pomerania. Yet Ekkehard of Aura mentions in his chronicle that Henry V gave his consent for Otto's Christianization mission in Pomerania at the assembly in Bamberg in 1124, which suggests that the Polish ruler had negotiated the matter with the emperor[1615]. However, there is no evidence that the consent resulted from Henry's more general plan of subjugating Pomerania to his authority. When deciding to support the plan of Christianizing Pomerania, the emperor was unable to pursue any active policy in the north-western frontier of the Empire. After his defeat at Welfesholz in 1115 at the hands of the Saxons, he lost control over Saxony, which was taken over by the leader of Saxony's opposition, Duke Lothair of Supplinburg[1616].

It is usually accepted that when Lothair assumed the rank of duke of Saxony in 1106, the region's policy towards its Slavic neighbours changed; rather than maintaining loose tributary suzerainty, the Saxons intensified their efforts to tighter control[1617]. Admittedly, the four military expeditions undertaken against the Slavs in 1110, 1114, 1121, and 1125 mentioned in the sources do not constitute sufficient grounds to state that Lothair launched a campaign to subjugate Slavic lands, but they do testify to his efforts to consolidate Saxony's suzerainty over northern Polabia. However, the aim was not to subjugate the Slavic peoples inhabiting the area directly, but rather to incorporate them with the help of the Saxons into the realm formed by the Christian ruler of the Obodrites, Henry, which in the middle of the third decade of the 12th century comprised nearly all northern Polabia.

[1614] Gall III, 2; cf. A. Pleszczyński, *Das Reich und das Verhältnis des Piastenstaates zu ihm im Urteil der Chronik des sogenannten Gallus Anonymus*, "Frühmittelalterliche Studien" 43, 2009, p. 297–314.

[1615] Ekkehard of Aura, p. 262; see S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 170 ff.

[1616] L. Fenske, *Adelsopposition und kirchliche Reformbewegung in Sachsen*, Göttingen 1977.

[1617] See e.g., K. Maleczyński, *Bolesław…*, p. 142 ff.; H. Bollnow, *Der Kampf um Vorpommern in 12. und 13. Jahrhundert von Lothar von Sachsen bis zum Ender der Staufen*, "Baltische Studien" NF, 47, 1960, p. 56 ff.; D. Lucht, *Pommern und das Reich vom Beginn des 12. Jahrhunderts bis zum Jahre 1181*, "Baltische Studien" NF 70, 1984, p. 9 ff.

Henry's conquests cannot be perceived solely as the implementation of Saxony's political interests[1618]. His relations with Lothair – however complex – were based on cooperation that yielded mutual benefits[1619]. Saxony's support enabled Henry to extend his rule over the neighbouring Slavic peoples and form a "Slavic kingdom" that surmounted tribal divisions. Subjugation of northern Polabia to the authority of a Christian ruler recognizing Saxony's suzerainty offered Lothair a chance to normalize the situation in the turbulent borderlands and integrate local communities within the Empire on political, religious, and ideological planes[1620].

When writing about Henry's rule, Helmold of Bosau emphasized that he controlled all the Slavic peoples living between the Elbe, Baltic Sea, and the country of the Poles, including the Pomeranians[1621]. The remarks about the peoples that recognized Henry's suzerainty and paid him tribute follow directly the description of the victory over the Rugians who had besieged his residence in Old Lübeck, conventionally dated to 1110/1111. However, those remarks should not be attributed to one particular event, as they are best interpreted as a general summary of Henry's conquests from various periods of his rule, ones which enabled him to assume the role of the king of Slavs[1622]. The reliability of Helmold's account remains intact, yet the issue of the time and circumstances of Henry's imposition of tributary suzerainty over Pomerania remains unclear and contested[1623].

Laying aside the controversies concerning this issue, it is worth noting that subjugating Pomerania – interpreted by Helmold as War-

[1618] See K. Maleczyński, *Bolesław…*, p. 143; K. Myśliński, *Księstwo Saskie a Polska w XII wieku*, [in:] *Niemcy a Polska w średniowieczu*, ed. J. Strzelczyk, Poznań 1986, p. 174; A. Turasiewicz, *Dzieje polityczne Obodrzyców…*, p. 181, 187.

[1619] See B. Zientara, *Polityczne i kościelne związki…*, p. 205 ff.; H.-O. Gaethke, *Kämpfe und Herrschaft Heinrichs von (Alt-) Lübeck und Lothars von Supplingenburg im Slawenland 1093/1106–1125*, "Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübekische Geschichte und Altertumskunde" 80, 2000, p. 63–163.

[1620] Cf. W. Fritze, *Probleme der abodtritischen Stammes- und Reichsverfassung und ihrer Entwicklung vom Stammesstaaat zum Herschaftsstaat*, [in:] *Siedlung und Verfassung der Slawen zwischen Elbe, Saale und Oder*, ed. H. Ludat, Giessen 1960, p. 173 ff.

[1621] Helmold I, 36.

[1622] J. Spors, *Studia…*, p. 81; H.-O. Gaethke, *Kämpfe und Herrschaft Heinrichs von (Alt-) Lübeck…*, p. 149 f.

[1623] K. Maleczyński, *Bolesław…*, p. 154; B. Zientara, *Polityczne i kościelne związki…*, p. 206; J. Spors, *Studia…*, p. 81 ff.; H.-O. Gaethke, *Kämpfe und Herrschaft Heinrichs von (Alt-) Lübeck…*, p. 146; cf. A. Turasiewicz, *Dzieje polityczne Obodrzyców…*, p. 186.

tislaw's western-Pomeranian duchy – to Henry's rule was tantamount to incorporating it into the broader system of political relations under the direct influence of the Empire/Saxony. However, Henry's rule, based on tributary suzerainty imposed on the conquered peoples by brute force, failed to accommodate local elites into the new structures of power. As a result, after Henry the Obodrite's death in 1127 and the subsequent struggle for succession between his sons Canute and Świętopełk that followed, the tributary bonds were severed and his realm disintegrated[1624].

The accounts of St. Otto's second mission say that in 1128 Wartislaw's rule extended over the lands of the Lutici situated in Transodrania. Their pagan character and the fact that they are not mentioned in the accounts of Otto's first mission from 1124-1125 seem to prove that they had been incorporated relatively recently. It is thus generally assumed that in the wake of Henry's death, Wartislaw took advantage of the collapse of his polity, invaded the lands of the Lutici hitherto under Henry's control and subjugated their eastern part[1625]. However, it is quite possible that he may have exercised control over them earlier. Otto's account of his first mission quoted by Ekkehard of Aura mentions that apart from Pomerania Wartislaw already controlled unspecified Lutician centres[1626]. Certain data seem to indicate that Bolesław III the Wrymouth's military action against the Pomeranians in the early 1120s comprised the lands in Transodrania, reaching as far as the Müritz Lake[1627].

There is no way of telling whether the expedition to the lands of the Lutici was merely a plundering raid or an attempt at permanently incorporating Transodrania and subjugating it to Polish rule, possibly to deter Henry's expansion[1628]. If the latter was the case, that would explain why the conquered Lutician lands were transferred under the control of the Pomeranian tributary of the Piast ruler[1629]. Yet irrespectively of when and how Wartislaw incorporated them,

[1624] Helmold I, 48; see A. Turasiewicz, *Dzieje polityczne Obodrzyców…*, p. 188 ff.
[1625] See B. Zientara, *Polityczne i kościelne związki…*, p. 216 ff.; J. Spors, *Studia…*, p. 185.
[1626] Ekkehard of Aura, under the year 1125, p. 263.
[1627] Ebo III, 4.
[1628] S. Rosik, *Bolesław…*, p. 188.
[1629] See e.g., K. Maleczyński, *Bolesław…*, p. 151 ff.; J. Spors, *Studia…*, p. 133 ff.; H.-O. Gaethke, *Kämpfe und Herrschaft Heinrichs von (Alt-) Lübeck…*, p. 124 ff.

he had to take into consideration the Empire's claims to the lands. This was a great challenge, nonetheless it offered him a chance to redefine his relations with the Piast monarchy.

In this context we should appreciate the significance which Wartislaw – facing a conflict with Bolesław III the Wrymouth in 1128 caused by his struggle to liberate himself from Polish suzerainty – attributed to demonstrating his adherence to Christianity, pleading with Otto of Bamberg to undertake a mission in his domains. Wartislaw and the elites centred around him realized that when their rule had come under the direct influence of the Empire, severing ties with Poland and consolidating their control over the lands of the Lutici excluded any possibility of returning to paganism; rather, they made an effort to consolidate their rule within a Christian political and ideological order.

In his account of Otto's second mission Ebo writes about the subordination of Wartislaw's rule to the authority of Lothair, who ascended to the throne in 1125 after the death of Henry V[1630]. Ebo's tale of the Pomeranian duke recognizing the German king's suzerainty should be approached with caution, considering his conviction of the emperor's natural right to subordinate his Slavic neighbours in the east[1631]. Ebo perceived Bolesław III the Wrymouth in a similar way, emphasizing his subordination to Lothair's rule[1632]. Yet his account should by no means be rejected; we may assume that it reflects the memory – still alive in the Bamberg ecclesiastical circles – of Wartislaw's efforts to accommodate his rule within the Empire's structures.

The collapse of the network of tributary relations centred around Henry of the Obodrites that consolidated the north-western frontier of the Empire compelled Lothair to reinstate an appropriate – in his view – political order in the Slavic borderlands. He resorted to the solution already having been implemented during his ducal rule, and tried to impose tributary dependence on the neighbouring Slavic rulers. However, ascension to the throne offered him an occasion to remodel these relations and found them on new principles. Most probably in 1128, after the death of Henry's sons and grandson he

[1630] Ebo III, 6.
[1631] S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 442.
[1632] Ebo III, 13.

transferred the authority over the Obodrites to their relative, the Danish Duke Canute Lavard, at the same time elevating him to royal stature[1633]. There is evidence that later, probably in 1129, he crowned another Slavic ruler, the duke of the Stodorans who reigned in Brenna (Brandenburg), Pribislav-Henry[1634]. We may assume that granting royal titles to the subordinated rulers of Slavic peoples resulted from Lothair's attempt to redefine their position in the Empire's political system, where their elevated status tightened the mutual bond between them.

There is no direct evidence that Lothair's plans to create dependent kingdoms in Slavic lands also comprised Pomerania, which in an unspecified period in the past had recognized the tributary suzerainty of Henry of the Obodrites. Ebo's account only confirms that Lothair showed interest in St. Otto's second mission, giving him his blessing and obliging the Slavic ruler of Havelberg, Wirikind, to provide Otto with an armed escort when he travelled across the lands of the Lutici[1635]. There is, however, some evidence that the network of relations formed around Lothair constituted an important point of reference for Wartislaw in his efforts to liberate himself from Polish suzerainty and consolidate his position as a Christian ruler in a broader political order.

In this context Saxo Grammaticus' account of the friendship between Wartislaw and the Danish duke and the king of the Obodrites, Canute Lavard, mentioned above, acquires additional meaning. The chronicler mentions the bond between them when writing about the expedition undertaken by the Danish king, Niels, supported by Bolesław III the Wrymouth, against the Pomeranian duke, usually dated to 1129. When Wartislaw realized that he was unable to stop the enemy ravaging his country, he pleaded with Niels for peace talks. After he was promised the guarantee of safety, Wartislaw came to the royal ship, but Niels then broke his promise and had him arrested. Wartislaw regained his freedom only after his friend, the king's nephew Canute, intervened on his behalf and persuaded Niels to release him[1636].

It is hard to assess the credibility of Saxo's account, which was written relatively late, at the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries. Wartislaw does not play any significant role in his account; apart from the incident described above, he never appears again. When further on in his chronicle Saxo writes about Wartislaw's sons, Bogusław (Bogislav) I and Kazimierz (Casimir) I, he does not even mention their blood ties. Neither does he ever refer to Wartislaw's friendship with Canute Lavard and his help again, when he presents consecutive stages of Danish expansion in Pomerania headed by Canute's son and grand-son in the second part of the 12th century – Valdemar I of Denmark and Canute VI, despite the fact that Canute's elevation to sainthood played a very important role in the conquest[1637].

The tale of the treacherous capture of Wartislaw by Niels and his liberation by Canute Lavard may certainly be perceived as an important element in the narrative devoted to the bloody conflict within the Danish dynasty, which culminated in a prolonged civil war triggered by the murder of Canute by Magnus, Niels' son. The conflict eventually ended when Valdemar seized power in 1157 and further monopolized it in the hands of his dynastic line[1638]. Confronting the despicable King Niels, who broke his oath, with the image of the noble Canute, who came to his friend's rescue and defended the honour of royal conduct, complements the vision of a dynastic dispute promoted by the chronicler, who championed the rights of Canute's descendants to exercise the royal

[1633] Helmold I, 49; cf. Saxo Grammaticus XIII, 3.7–8; see. H.O. Gaethke, *Königtum im Slawenland östlich der mittleren und unteren Elbe im 12. Jahrhundert. Eine Untersuchung zur Frage nach der Herkunft des Königtums Pribislaw-Heirichs von Brandenburg*, "Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands" 46, 2000, p. 15–40; P. Boroń, *Kniaziowie, królowie, carowie…*, p. 141 ff.; *idem*, *Kanut Laward – rex Obotritorum. Kontrowersje wokół tytulatury duńskiego księcia, władcy słowiańskich plemion*, [in:] *Religia ludów Morza Bałtyckiego. Stosunki polsko-duńskie w dziejach*, ed. M. Bogacki, M. Franz, Z. Pilarczyk, Toruń 2010, p. 102–120; А.Ф. Литвина, Ф.Б. Успенский, *Кнут Лавард, принц датский*, [in:] *Именослов. История языка. История культуры*, ed. Ф.Б. Успенский, Москва 2012, p. 55–80; J.H. Lind, *Knes Kanutus. Knud Lavard's Political Project*, [in:] *Of Chronicles and Kings: National Saints and the Emergence of Nation States in the High Middle Ages*, ed. J. Bergsagel, D. Hiley, Th. Riis, Copehhagen 2015, p. 114 ff.

[1634] See H.-D. Kahl, *Slawen und Deutsche in der brandenburgischen Geschichte des zwölften Jahrhunderts*, Köln–Graz 1964, p. 37–76; cf. H.-O. Gaethke, *Königtum im Slawenland…*, p. 70–107.

[1635] Ebo III, 3; see J. Petersohn, *Der südliche Ostseeraum…*, p. 221 ff.; S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 381 ff.

[1636] Saxo Grammaticus XIII, 5.2–3.

[1637] S.M. Szacherska, *Rola klasztorów …*, p. 67–79; J. Petersohn, *Der südliche Ostseeraum…*, p. 191 ff.; Th. Riis, *Das mittelalterliche dänische Ostseeimperium*, Odense 2003 (= Studien zur Geschichte des Ostseeraumes 4), p. 45 ff.

[1638] See E. Hoffmann, *Königserhebung und Thronfolgeordnung in Dänemark bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, Berlin–New York 1975, p. 81 ff.

power[1639]. However, casting the Pomeranian duke in the role of the rescued friend by no means altered the general message of the chronicler's account. Thus, Saxo's reference to the friendship between Canute Lavard and Wartislaw does not seem merely a literary device. It is quite possible that it is a reference to a close bond existing between them, which for the chronicler and his informers may have had all the hallmarks of friendship.

In Saxo's account friendship was one of the most important means of forming and maintaining political relations and thus the friendship between Canute Lavard and Wartislaw should be perceived as a political concord. According to Saxo, friendship was the foundation of political agreements concluded between peers in the structures of power and the basis for the relations between rulers and the nobility subject to their authority or other rulers recognizing their suzerainty. Its essence was mutual trust, readiness to come to each other's rescue, and harmonious cooperation bringing benefits for the partners to the agreements and constituting a guarantee of stable political bonds[1640]. The significance which Saxo attributed to friendship was rooted in the idea of how political relations should be formed. It was a core notion governing the political sphere, to a great extent determining the identity of medieval elites, involving them in the network of interrelationships manifested in ritualized gestures and behaviours[1641].

[1639] See L. Hermanson, *How to Legitimate Rebellion and Condemn Usurpation of the Crown: Discourses of Fidelity and Treason in the Gesta Danorum of Saxo Grammaticus*, [in:] *Disputing Strategies in Medieval Scandinavia*, ed. K. Esmark, L. Hermanson, H. J. Orning, H. Vogt, Leiden–Boston 2013, p. 107–140; cf. B. Sawyer, *Valdemar, Absalon and Saxo: Historiography and Politics in Medieval Denmark*, "Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire" 63, 1985, p. 685–705; see also Th. Riis, *Saxo und die offizielle Königsideologie*, [in:] *Saxo and the Baltic Region: A Symposium*, ed. T. Nyberg, Odense 2004, p. 93–104.

[1640] L. Hermanson, *Friendship and Politics in Saxo Grammaticus' Gesta Danorum*, "Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire" 83, 2005, p. 261–284.

[1641] See G. Althoff, *Verwandte, Freunde und Getreue. Zum politischen Stellenwert der Gruppenbildungen im früheren Mittelalter*, Darmstadt 1990; *idem*, *Amicitiae und Pacta. Bündnis, Einung, Politik und Gebetsgedanke im beginnenden 10. Jahrhundert*, München 1992; *idem*, *Friendship and Political Order*, [in:] *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. J. Haseldine, Stroud 1999, p. 91–105; V. Epp, *Amicitia. Zur Geschichte personaler, sozialer, politischer und geistlicher Beziehungen im früheren Mittelalter*, Stuttgart 1999; *eadem*, *Rituale frühmittelalterlicher amicitia*, [in:] *Formen und Funktionen öffentlicher Kommunikation im Mittelalter*, ed. G. Althoff, Stuttgart 2001 (= Vorträge und Forschungen 51), p. 11–24; K. van Eickels, *Homagium und Amicitia: Rituals of peace and their significance in the Anglo-French negotiations of the twelfth century*, "Francia" 24, 1997, 1, p. 133–140; L. Hermanson, *Holy Unbreakable Bonds: Oaths and Friendship in Nordic and Western European Societies, c. 900-1200*, [in:] *Friendship and Social Networks in Scandinavia, c. 1000-1800*, ed. J.V. Sigurðsson, T. Småberg, Turnhout 2013, p. 15–42.

Saxo's account gives no clue as to the true nature of the relation between Wartislaw and Canute. It may have been an alliance of equal partners united by common interests: Canute struggled with Niels making claims to the Danish throne, while the Pomeranian duke strove to liberate himself from the payment of tribute imposed by Bolesław III the Wrymouth. It may well have consisted in the recognition of Canute's suzerainty by Wartislaw, who sought his assistance as the king of the Obodrites and Henry's successor, raised to the throne by Lothair[1642]. Irrespectively of the ambiguity concerning the matter, the pact of friendship was the means of introducing the Pomeranian duke, so far a nominal Christian, into the realm of the traditions of the Latin West, its symbols and rituals typical of political culture of the Latin West which – testifying to his affiliation with a narrow circle of Christian elites – enabled him to assume the role of a fully-fledged Christian ruler and an equal partner in political relations.

When in an attempt to redefine his relations with Bolesław III the Wrymouth Wartislaw gravitated towards the system of political relationships centring around Lothair III, he forced the Polish ruler to alter his policy. However, rather than setting out on a military expedition to enforce his tributary's obedience, in 1128 Bolesław had to accept an offer of mediation from Otto of Bamberg to resolve his conflict with Wartislaw. In his account of the meeting between Bolesław and Wartislaw in Gniezno, where in the wake of Otto's mediation they were to reach an agreement settling their dispute, Ebo writes about the two dukes who – exchanging a kiss of peace and promising to show good will – manifest the equality of their status[1643]. Highlighting the ritual gestures of partners concluding a pact of friendship, Ebo emphasized the submission – on an equal basis – of both the Polish ruler and the Pomeranian duke to Lothair's authority[1644]. Earlier, however, when writing about the negotiations between Otto and Bolesław, Ebo admitted that the latter agreed to end his hostilities on condition that Wartislaw would humble himself before him in retribution for an insult[1645]. The way Ebo phrased Bolesław's requests clearly indicates that he demanded that Warti-

[1642] See S.M. Szacherska, *Rola klasztorów…*, p. 72 ff.; J.H. Lind, *Knes Kanutus…*, p. 119 ff.

[1643] Ebo III, 13.

[1644] S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 439 ff.

[1645] Ebo III, 13.

slaw perform the ritual of *deditio*, thereby reconfirming the suzerainty of the Piast monarch[1646]. The assumption that in the agreement negotiated by Otto Wartislaw pledged to acknowledge Bolesław's suzerainty is confirmed in Herbord's account. Admittedly, he does not mention the meeting in Gniezno, but emphasizes that the agreement concluded thanks to the mediation of the bishop of Bamberg was tantamount to restoring the quality of the relations between Poland and Pomerania from the time of his first mission, which consisted in Wartislaw's recognition of Piast suzerainty[1647]. Restoring Pomerania's tributary dependence on Poland in 1128 sets the context for what Ebo writes about Wartislaw's donation of a large sum of money on the altar of St. Adalbert in Gniezno[1648]. The hagiographer emphasizes the religious aspect of the gift, which the Pomeranian duke offered motivated by his piety, commending himself to the prayers of the canons from the Gniezno cathedral. Yet it seems that the offering is not only evidence of Wartislaw's particular veneration of St. Adalbert, the patron saint of Bolesław's monarchy, but also proof of his consent to recognize Polish suzerainty both in religious and political terms[1649]. However, the concord from 1128 obviously differed considerably from the treaties concluded earlier between Bolesław and Wartislaw. Admittedly, Otto's intervention from 1124 resulted in relieving the burden imposed on the Pomeranians by the Piast duke, but this did not substantially alter the nature of the relations between them. However, in 1128, even if prior to the conclusion of the concord from Gniezno Wartislaw humbled himself before Bolesław in the ceremony of *deditio*, the Pomeranian duke's consent to resubmit to Bolesław's suzerainty assumed the form of a pact of friendship, confirmed by the donation offered of his own will.

Saxo Grammaticus' account of the Danish expedition to Pomerania in 1129 mentioned above demonstrates that Wartislaw did not last for long in his allegiance to Bolesław III the Wrymouth pledged in Gniezno. The chronicler attributes Danish intervention directly to the treaty concluded between Niels and Bolesław, confirmed by the marriage

[1646] Z. Dalewski, *Ritual and Politics…*, p. 74–76.

[1647] Herbord III, 10.

[1648] Ebo III, 13.

[1649] Cf. B. Zientara, *Polityczne i kościelne związki…*, p. 219 ff.; S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 445; *idem*, *Bolesław…*, p. 219 ff.

between Magnus, the Danish king's son, with Richeza, the daughter of the Polish ruler, and claims that it was caused by the persistent hostility Wartislaw demonstrated to both the Danes and Poles. It follows from his account that Niels' expedition was part of a broader Danish-Polish military operation directed against the Pomeranian duke; he writes that Bolesław also fought against Wartislaw, invading Wolin and – after joining with Danish forces – attacked Usedom, which was conquered by the allied forces after a short siege[1650]. It is impossible to conclude whether the Polish-Danish expedition resulted in effective resubjugation of Pomerania to the Piast monarchy. Saxo's remarks about Canute Lavard's involvement in the peace talks between Wartislaw and Niels prove however that the Pomeranian duke had already succeeded in consolidating ties with Lothair's political network to such an extent that Bolesław III the Wrymouth had to take into account Wartislaw's complex relations with the Holy Roman Empire in exercising his claims of tributary suzerainty.

3. The Merseburg Congress (1135)

In claiming suzerainty over Pomerania, Bolesław was aware that he had to take into account the Empire's political order not only because Wartislaw solicited its support in his conflict with the Polish ruler. To a much greater extent the change in Bolesław's policy towards Pomerania was affected by Lothair's effort to remodel the Empire's political relations with its neighbours in the north and east – not only the neighbouring Slav communities, but first and foremost with Denmark and Poland. Canute Lavard's death in 1131 and the subsequent claims to the Danish throne put forward by his younger brother Eric II the Memorable in defiance of Niels and Magnus gave Lothair an opportunity to extend his sphere of influence northwards, beyond the lands of the Obodrites, to a Denmark torn by internal conflict. Seeking support in his battle with Niels and Magnus, Eric asked Lothair for help, appealing to his friendship with Canute, and

[1650] Saxo Grammaticus XIII, 5.2–3; see L. Koczy, *Polska i Skandynawia…*, p. 151 ff.; K. Maleczyński, *Bolesław…*, p. 195 ff.; B. Zientara, *Polityczne i kościelne związki…*, p. 221 ff.; see also J. Morawiec, *Sojusz z Danią w pomorskich planach Bolesława Krzywoustego*, "Przegląd Zachodniopomorski" 32 (61), 2017, p. 199–209.

in that same year 1131 the German king set out to Denmark to avenge the murdered Canute. In this situation Niels and Magnus decided to sue for peace, and recognized Lothair's suzerainty and agreed to pay tribute as a compensation for Canute's death[1651]. Three years later, after his return from Italy, where he had been crowned emperor, Lothair decided to exercise tighter control over Niels and Magnus, who still faced difficulties confronted with Eric's rebellion. To this purpose he resorted to the solutions implemented earlier when forming political ties in the Slavic borderland in his relations with Canute Lavard and Pribislav-Henry. Faced with Lothair's new military intervention in Denmark, Magnus appeared at the assembly in Halberstadt on Pentecost 1134 and paid homage to Lothair, who in return put a royal crown on his head. Magnus also assumed the role of the emperor's sword-bearer, carrying Lothair's weapon before him in the procession to the church[1652]. According to one of the sources, Magnus pledged that neither he nor his successors would ever assume royal power without Lothair's and his successors' prior consent[1653].

Lothair's efforts to integrate Denmark with the Empire's political structures were accompanied by endeavours to subordinate the Danish ecclesiastical structure to the Empire's Church. In recognition of Lothair's efforts, in 1133 Pope Innocent II acknowledged the claims of Adalberon, the Archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, to suzerainty over the archbishopric of Lund, Denmark and issued a bull subordinating the Danish bishoprics – hitherto within the archdiocese of Lund – to the archdiocese of Hamburg[1654]. However, the death of Magnus, who died in battle against Eric a few months after his homage to Lothair, and the death of Niels, murdered by his nephew's supporters, forced Lothair to redefine his relations with victorious Eric. A document issued in January 1135 by the new king, confirming his endowment for the cathedral in Lund and mentioning metropolitan Asser still with his title of archbishop, seems to indicate that initially Eric was not going to observe the commitments to Lothair undertaken by his predecessors on the throne[1655]. Yet the presence of Danish envoys at the assembly in Magdeburg summoned by Lothair in May of the same year suggests that he wasted no time in seeking agreement with the emperor and most probably decided to submit to his suzerainty[1656]. Admittedly, no sources mention Eric's homage to Lothair, but the document issued by Eskil, the bishop of Roskilde, confirming the foundation of a Benedictine abbey in Næstved, mentions Lothair before Eric, which unequivocally shows that the emperor's suzerainty over Denmark no longer raised any resistance among Danish political elites[1657].

Lothair must have had similar plans for his relations with Poland, which he wanted to bind with the Empire on ecclesiastical and political planes. This would explain his support for the endeavours of the Archbishop of Magdeburg, Norbert, to subjugate the Polish Church to his authority. As a result, in 1131 Innocent II issued a bull subordinating the bishopric of Poznań to the archdiocese of Magdeburg and in 1133 he issued another extending the authority of the archbishops of Magdeburg over the whole archdiocese of Gniezno[1658]. Apart from these endeavours aiming at abolishing the independence of the Polish Church, Lothair also strove to force the Polish ruler to recognize his suzerainty. In the early 1130s the Piast monarchy was faced with a difficult situation. The abortive intervention in the dynastic conflict in Hungary in 1132, which culminated in the defeat of the Polish armed forces, seriously undermined Bolesław III the Wrymouth's authority and caused a retaliatory military raid by the Hungarian

[1651] *Cronica S. Petri Erfordensis moderna*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH SS 30/1, Hannover 1896, p. 363; Helmold I, 50; see E. Hoffmann, *Königserhebung…*, p. 79; N. Hybel, *The Nature of Kingship, c. 800–1300: The Danish Incident*, Leiden–Boston 2018, p. 126 ff.

[1652] *Annales Magdeburgenses…*, p. 184.

[1653] *Annales Patherbrunnenses. Eine verlorene Quellenschrift des zwölften Jahrhunderts, aus Bruchstücken wiederhergestellt*, ed. P. Scheffer-Boichorst, Innsbruck 1870, p. 160.

[1654] H. Beumann, *Das päpstliche Schisma von 1130, Lothar III. und die Metropolitanrechte von Magdeburg und Hamburg-Bremen in Polen und Dänemark*, [in:] *Deutsche Ostsiedlung im Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, Köln–Wien 1971, p. 39 ff.; K. Górski, *Lund et Gniezno dans les années 1130-1139. Suppresion et restitution de deux provinces éclésiastique*, "Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale" 19, 1976, p. 47 ff.; M.-L. Crone, *Untersuchungen zur Reichskirchenpolitik Lothars III. (1125-1137) zwischen reichskirchlicher Tradition und Reformkurie*, Frankfurt a. M.–Bern 1982, p. 211 ff.

[1655] See L. Kjær, *Political Conflict and Political Ideas in Twelfth-Century Denmark*, "Viking and Medieval Scandinavia" 13, 2017, p. 72 ff.

[1656] *Annales Magdeburgenses…*, p. 185.

[1657] See N. Hybel, *The Nature of Kingship…*, p. 127.

[1658] UB Magdeburg, no. 227, p. 283; no. 229, p. 289; see W. Abraham, *Organizacja Kościoła w Polsce do połowy XII wieku*, Poznań 1962, p. 170 ff.; K. Maleczyński, *Bolesław…*, p. 297 ff.; H. Beumann, *Das päpstliche Schisma…*, p. 297 ff.; D. Claude, *Geschichte des Erzbistums Magdeburg bis in das 12. Jahrhundert*, vol. 2, Köln–Wien 1975, p. 21 ff.; M.-L. Crone, *Untersuchungen zur Reichskirchenpolitik Lothars III…*, p. 232 ff.; J. Dobosz, *Monarcha i możni…*, p. 222 ff.; S. Rosik, *Bolesław…*, p. 227.

king, Bela II. At the same time the Bohemian duke, Soběslav I, also undertook military intervention against Bolesław, looting Silesia. It is impossible to determine whether these setbacks affected Polish-Pomeranian relations, but we may suspect that they were not helpful in executing Bolesław's suzerainty, already defied by Wartislaw. Additionally, the outbreak of civil war in Denmark and the subjugation of Niels and Magnus, Bolesław's son-in-law, to Lothair's authority severely restricted, if not shattered completely, the chances of appealing for Danish help in keeping the rebellious tributary in check[1659]. In these circumstances Bolesław had no choice but to accept Lothair's offer of mediation in his dispute with Bela II and Soběslav I that threatened the stability of the Piast monarchy. Lothair's offer was made in response to the Hungarian king's request. However, in taking advantage of Bolesław's difficult position, Lothair did not confine himself to the role of a mediator and put forward his own demands. Eventually, after more than a year of negotiations, on August 15, 1135 Bolesław arrived in Merseburg at the assembly summoned by Lothair.

According to the annals of Magdeburg, Bolesław did homage to Lothair during the assembly in Merseburg and then carried the emperor's sword during the ceremonial procession[1660]. A year earlier, as we remember, the act of recognizing Lothair's suzerainty by Magnus was carried out in the same way. It thus seems that Bolesław III the Wrymouth decided to recognize Lothair's suzerainty in the hope that the emperor would make a favourable ruling in his dispute with Hungary and Bohemia, similarly as Magnus did in Halberstadt when seeking assistance in his struggle with Eric. In both cases, to show the nature of the relations binding them with Lothair as a result of the agreements reached in Halberstadt and Merseburg respectively, similar ritual gestures and behaviours were employed. On the one hand, Magnus' and Bolesław's hommages testified to their subjugation to the emperor's suzerainty, but on the other the ceremonies of carrying the emperor's sword highlighted the closeness of the relation binding them. While underlining the Danish and Polish rulers' subjugation to the imperial power, at the same time the ceremonies of carrying the emperor's sword testified to the emperor's

[1659] K. Maleczyński, *Bolesław…*, p. 215 ff.; S. Rosik, *Bolesław…*, p. 224 ff.
[1660] *Annales Magdeburgenses…*, p. 185; and also *Chronicon Montis Sereni*, ed. E. Ehrenfeuchter, MGH SS 23, Hannover 1874, p. 144. See G. Althoff, Ch. Witthöft, *Les service symbolique entre dignité et contrainte*, "Annales ESC" 58, 2003, p. 1299 ff.

particular kindliness and exceptional trust, as with his sword the emperor also entrusted Magnus and Bolesław with his own safety.

A similar message was manifested in Magnus' coronation performed by Lothair in Halberstadt. By resorting to the means of forming political relations implemented earlier, Lothair emphasized his special position in the hierarchy of power, as a giver of royal crowns who offered the subjugated ruler a special place in the empire's political system. However, as opposed to Magnus, Canute Lavard before him, and probably Pribislav-Henry, as well, Bolesław did not receive a royal crown in Merseburg. Lothair resigned from crowning the Polish duke for complex reasons, one of which must have been the stance adopted by the Bohemian duke, who was opposed to exalting the Polish ruler. It is important to note, however, that during his return journey to Poland Bolesław was greeted in Magdeburg with a procession and tolling of bells. The annalist describing these events did not hide his indignation at the honour granted to the guest from Poland, one never before granted to any of the German dukes. His reaction proves that the Polish duke's entry into Magdeburg intentionally took the form of *adventus regis*, highlighting Bolesław's special (in fact, royal) position and serving the purpose – similarly as Magnus' coronation – of further incorporating his power into the system of political relationships created by Lothair[1661].

The decision to select Magdeburg as the place to besing the royal majesty of the Polish duke was not accidental. In 1136 Pope Innocent II issued a protective bull for the archbishopric of Gniezno, liberating it from the subjugation to the archdiocese of Magdeburg and confirming its independence[1662]. There is no evidence that the pope's decision encountered protests from the Archbishop of Magdeburg, Conrad of Querfurt, who was the successor of Norbert, deceased in 1134. Neither is there any evidence of Lothair's objections. It is thus quite possible that in Merseburg Bolesław succeeded in negotiating both the emperor's and Archbishop Conrad's consent to renouncing the claims of control over the archbishopric of Gniezno in return for recognition of Lothair's suzerainty. The Merseburg agreement sets

[1661] See Z. Dalewski, *Lictor imperatoris. Kaiser Lothar III., Soběslav I. von Böhmen und Bolesław III. von Polen auf dem Hoftag in Merseburg im Jahre 1135*, "Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung" 50, 2001, p. 317–336.
[1662] J. Dobosz, *Monarcha i możni…*, p. 225.

the context for the ceremony surrounding Bolesław's royal entry into Magdeburg, as it was an ultimate confirmation of the fact that the Archbishop of Magdeburg recognized the new, semi-royal position of the Piast duke and the independence of the Polish Church[1663].

The archbishops of Magdeburg also claimed the lands in Wartislaw's duchy. The bishoprics subjugated by Innocent II to Norbert in 1133 included two dioceses still to be established in the future – namely, the bishoprics of Szczecin and of Pomerania, which must have raised objections from Bolesław III the Wrymouth and the Archbishop of Gniezno as those bishoprics had an important role to play in Bolesław's plans to incorporate Pomerania into the organizational structure of the Polish Church. Apart from the plans mentioned above, Bolesław's plans also involved the creation of the new dioceses of Kruszwica, Włocławek, and Lubusz (Lebus), all named in the bull of 1133: these were to comprise Bolesław's latest conquests[1664]. The idea of subjugating Pomerania to the archbishopric of Magdeburg must also have raised objections from Otto of Bamberg, who after returning from his second mission had assumed the role of patron of the emerging ecclesiastical structures in Pomerania[1665].

It is unclear how Wartislaw reacted to the claims of the archbishops of Magdeburg. Because he sought to consolidate his rule within the Empire's political and religious order, he may have been interested in the integration of the Pomeranian Church with the structures of the Church of the Empire, and thus in a severance of ties with the Piast monarchy also on the ecclesiastical plane. We do not know whether the matter was discussed during the negotiations between Bolesław and Lothair, but it was ultimately settled in 1140, when Pope Innocent II decided to consecrate Adalbert as the first Pomeranian bishop and placed his diocese outside the structures of both Magdeburg and Gniezno[1666]. However, the Pomeranian issue must have been discussed in Merseburg.

The picture of the assembly in Merseburg that emerges from the annals of Magdeburg is complemented by the account from Otto

[1663] Z. Dalewski, *Lictor imperatoris…*, p. 329 ff.; cf. S. Rosik, *Bolesław…*, p. 243 ff.
[1664] J. Dobosz, *Monarcha i możni…*, p. 202–220.
[1665] B. Zientara, *Polityczne i kościelne związki…*, p. 227; J. Petersohn, *Der südliche Ostseeraum…*, p. 262 ff.
[1666] J. Petersohn, *Der südliche Ostseeraum…*, p. 277 ff.

of Freising's chronicle. In a short reference summarizing Lothair's activity in the Empire after his return from Italy, Otto also mentioned that the emperor forced the Polish ruler to pay tribute for twelve years in the amount of five hundred pounds per year, to do homage for Pomerania and Rugia, and to swear an oath of allegiance[1667]. Thus, it appears from Otto's account that Bolesław's recognition of Lothair's suzerainty had a very material aspect in the tribute paid to the emperor. In this respect, despite the kindliness demonstrated to the Piast ruler in Merseburg, Lothair's policy towards Poland did not differ substantially from the measures taken by either his predecessors or successors on the German throne. In 1109 Henry V demanded an annual tribute of 300 grivnas from Bolesław III the Wrymouth; when in 1157 Polish dukes ceased to pay the tribute of 500 pounds, Frederick Barbarossa launched a punitive military expedition against them[1668].

It also appears from Otto's account that the decisions made in Merseburg concerned Pomerania; however, their nature is not clear. The chronicler's remark about the homage, *hominium*, done by Bolesław for Pomerania and Rugia is ambiguous. The annals of Magdeburg mention only in very general terms the fact that the Polish ruler did homage, but they do not specify the territorial range of Bolesław's purported fief. They do not even suggest the feudal character of this hommage. The notion of *hominium*, referred to by Otto when mentioning Bolesław's homage, and the ritual of joining hands during the assembly in Merseburg described by the author of the annals of Magdeburg, which he took from Thietmar's account of Bolesław I the Brave's homage in 1013, evince a complex meaning exceeding the sphere of feudal law.

They appear in the descriptions of various agreements resulting in the emergence of hierarchical relations wherein one party recognized its subjugation to the other, thus acknowledging their inferior position in the hierarchy of power[1669]. Thus, it is doubtful that the hom-

[1667] *Ottonis episcopi Frisingensis chronica sive historia de duabus civitatibus…*, VII, 19.
[1668] Gall III, 2; *Ottonis episcopi Frisingensis et Rahewini Gesta Frederici seu rectius Cronica*, ed. F.-J. Schmale, Darmstadt 1965, III, 2, p. 400; see Z. Dalewski, *Polnische Herzöge und das Reich im 12. Jahrhundert*, [in:] *Verwandtschaft – Freundschaft – Feindschaft. Politische Bindungen zwischen dem Reich und Ostmitteleuropa in der Zeit Friedrich Barbarossas*, ed. K. Görich, M. Wihoda, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2019, p. 149–176.
[1669] See P. Hyams, *Homage and Feudalism: a Judicious Separation*, [in:] *Die Gegenwart des Feudalismus / Présence du féodalisme et présent de la féodalité / The Presence of Feudalism*, ed. N. Fryde, P. Monnet, O.-G. Oexle, Göttingen 2002, p. 13–49; J. Dendorfer, *Was war das Lehnswesen? Zur politischen Bedeutung der Lehnsbindung im Hochmittelalter*, [in:] *Denkweisen*

age in Merseburg is tantamount to establishing a feudal relationship between Bolesław and Lothair; nor should we interpret Otto's account as a more precise rendering of the story from the annals of Magdeburg that proves Lothair granted Pomerania and Rugia to the Polish ruler to hold in fief[1670]. Considering the imposed tribute and the oath sworn by Bolesław on the one hand and the still limited use of feudal law as a means of forming political relations in the Empire at that time on the other, it is better to assume that in return for Bolesław's recognition of Lothair's suzerainty as manifested in the *hominium*, the emperor, exercising his rights, acknowledged Bolesław's suzerainty in Pomerania and consented to the Polish ruler's conquest of Rugia in the future[1671].

In this view the agreement in Merseburg would not be tantamount to incorporating Pomerania – as a fiefdom of the second degree – into the system of power centring on the emperor, but rather to nullifying Wartislaw's attempts to accommodate his rule within the Empire's political and ideological structures. Quite paradoxically, his plans were thwarted not so much as a result of Bolesław's direct action but primarily as a consequence of Lothair's policy. After his imperial coronation, he was aware of the favourable circumstances and thus decided to resume traditional imperial policy and claim suzerainty not only over the Slavic borderland, but also over Denmark and Poland. This system of mutual relations between the Piast monarchy and the Empire excluded Pomerania as an independent player

und Lebenswelt des Mittelalters, ed. E. Schlotheuber, M. Schuh, München 2004, p. 43–64; *idem*, *Die Wormser Konkordat – ein Schritt auf dem Weg zur Feudalisierung des Reichsverfassung?*, [in:] *Das Lehnswesen im Hochmittelalter. Forschungskonstrukte – Quellenbefunde – Deutungsrelevanz*, ed. *idem*, R. Deutinger, Ostfildern 2010, p. 299–328; R. Deutinger, *Vom Amt zum Lehen. Das Beispiel der deutschen Herzogtümer im Hochmittelalter*, [in:] *Ausbildung und Verbreitung des Lehnswesens im Reich und in Italien im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. K.-H. Spieß, Ostfildern 2013 (= Vorträge und Forschungen 76), p. 133–157.

1670 See K. Maleczyński, *Bolesław…*, p. 235 ff.; T. Grudziński, *Pertraktacje merseburskie z 1135 roku*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" 75, 1968, p. 273–300; G. Labuda, *O stosunkach prawnopublicznych między Polską a Niemcami w połowie XII wieku (Merseburg – 1135, Kaina – 1146, Krzyszkowo – 1157*, "Czasopismo Prawno Historyczne" 25, 1973, 1, p. 25–60; B. Zientara, *Polityczne i kościelne związki…*, p. 223 ff.; J. Petersohn, *Prawnopaństwowy stosunek Pomorza Zachodniego do państw sąsiednich w okresie średniowiecza*, [in:] *Śląsk i Pomorze w historii stosunków polsko-niemieckich w średniowieczu*, ed. M. Biskup, Wrocław 1983, p. 97 ff.; J. Spors, *Studia…*, p. 152 ff.; S. Rosik, *Bolesław…*, p. 232 ff.

1671 Cf. O. Auge, *Hominium, feudum, tributum. Zu den Anfängen des Lehnswesen im Nordosten des Reiches bis 1250*, [in:] *Das Lehnswesen im Hochmittelalter…*, p. 200.

on the political stage. It is no coincidence that Otto of Freising mentioned Pomerania alongside Rugia. Attributing them with equal status proves that, for Lothair, Christian Pomerania still remained, similarly as Rugia, a distant (in the ideological sense) land beyond the boundaries of the civilized world, despite its duke's continuous efforts to accommodate his rule into the Empire's political structure.

4. New alliances

Just a few days before Bolesław III the Wrymouth arrived in Merseburg on August 10, 1135, a huge Slavic fleet attacked and pillaged the Norwegian port of Konungahella. The story of the attack is told in Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla*, written nearly a hundred years later. The credibility of the account, abounding in numerous details, should not, however, be disputed, at least in its description of the general course of events. The attack on Konungahella was led by Rétti-bur, whom Snorri called the king of the Slavs, and who is universally identified as Ratibor, Wartislaw's brother. His army is to have consisted of 550 ships, each of which carried 42 warriors and 2 horses. Leaving aside the numbers reported by the chronicler, it is obvious that Ratibor had considerable forces at his disposal. It appears from Snorri's account that the attack on Konungahella was the culmination of a greater expedition targeting Denmark, whose shores were ravaged by the Slavic invaders[1672]. Considering the scale and direction of the military action undertaken by Ratibor in 1135, it is doubtful that he employed solely the ships from Pomerania.

Snorri strongly emphasizes the paganism of the Slavic invaders. They pillaged and destroyed the town, razing to the ground the local church where its founder, King Sigurd the Crusader, had deposited relics of the Holy Cross[1673]. He also argues that during their attack the Slavs resorted to magic[1674]. His description of Ratibor's warriors as cruel, treacherous, and pagan barbarians should not be taken literally

1672 Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, transl. A. Finlay, A. Faulknes, vol. 3: *Magnús Óláfsson to Magnús Erlingsson: Magnúss saga blinda ok Harald gilla*, London 2015, chap. 10–12, p. 177–181; see L. Koczy, *Polska i Skandynawia…*, p. 192 ff.; R. Zaroff, *Slavic Raid on Konungahella*, "Collegium Medievale" 27, 2014, p. 6–22.

1673 Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla…*, chap. 11, p. 181.

1674 *Ibidem*, chap. 11, p. 179 f.

as it carries the stereotypical image of Baltic Slavs. However, it should not be totally rejected – indeed, we may well assume that Ratibor's army was primarily pagan, which resulted not only from the fact that Pomerania had been only superficially Christianized. It seems that many warriors taking part in Ratibor's expedition came from pagan Slavic lands, mainly from Rugia, possibly due to its political significance and military potential.

Wartislaw's Pomerania had complex relations with Rugia, ones not always free from tension and military conflicts. Polish annals for the year 1122 or 1123 mention an overseas expedition undertaken by Bolesław III the Wrymouth, culminating in the conquest of unnamed strongholds, and this has given rise to the assumption that after conquering the Pomeranians and imposing tribute on them, he attacked and conquered Rugia[1675]. It is impossible to decide whether this is true as these sources may also refer to the crossing of the Bay of Szczecin prior to conquering Wolin or Uznam (Usedom)[1676]. But even if the Polish army did indeed invade Rugia, Bolesław was unable to occupy it and consolidate his rule. The information provided by Helmold about Henry of the Obodrites' conflict with the Rugians proves that the latter maintained full independence and actively pursued their own policy. Their military action undertaken in reaction to the expansion of the Obodrite ruler to the lands of the Lutici, which jeopardized their interests, probably resulted in the death of Henry's son, Voldemar, who – according to Helmold – was killed in 1123 by the Rugians.

As a result of Henry's retaliatory expedition in 1124 the Rugians had to recognize his suzerainty and agree to pay tribute. However, they soon broke the agreement by refusing to pay. Henry's next expedition to Rugia in 1125, when he was aided by Lothair, still a Saxon duke, ended in failure: the joint Obodrite-Saxon forces crossed over to Rugia on ice, but were unable to defeat the Rugians and, faced with a thaw, quickly had to retreat[1677]. Henry's death and the ensuing struggle for power between his sons weakened the Obodrites'

[1675] See e.g., K. Maleczyński, *Bolesław…*, p. 151 ff.; G. Labuda, *O stosunkach prawnopublicznych…*, p. 42 ff.; J. Spors, *Studia…*, p. 135 ff.

[1676] B. Zientara, *Polityczne i kościelne związki…*, p. 202; see also S. Rosik, *Bolesław…*, p. 189 ff.

[1677] Helmold I, 38; see H.-O. Gaethke, *Kämpfe und Herrschaft Heinrichs von (Alt-) Lübeck…*, p. 127 ff.; A. Turasiewicz, *Dzieje polityczne Obodrzyców…*, p. 185 ff.

authority in the lands of the Lutici. Taking advantage of the situation, the Rugians made another attempt to impose their rule on their lands and that is probably when they attacked Old Lübeck, as mentioned by Helmold, which resulted in the utter destruction of Henry's main centre of power[1678].

The invasion of Lübeck probably happened in 1127 or in the next year at the latest. At more or less the same time the Rugian fleet attacked Szczecin, which is mentioned in the lives of St. Otto written by Ebo and Herbord. The two accounts differ in their descriptions of the circumstances and development of events[1679]. In Ebo's version the Rugians decided to attack because the people of Szczecin converted to Christianity without their consent or having even asked their opinion. After landing on the banks of the Oder, Rugian forces stormed the town; however, not only were they unable to overcome the defenders' resistance, but after three days of battle they were defeated and retreated in panic[1680]. On the other hand, Herbord emphasizes that the Rugians had repeatedly invaded the lands under Szczecin's rule. His account is more ambiguous than Ebo's, but he also writes that the hostility of the Rugians resulted from religious causes: the relations between them and the people of Szczecin deteriorated after the latter converted to Christianity. Even though the Rugians were in each case forced to retreat, they were not going to abandon further opportunities to attack. When they invaded again, the people of Szczecin decided to meet them halfway. The ensuing battle ended with the total defeat of the Rugians: many died on the battlefield, some were taken prisoner, while the rest fled. In the wake of their victory the people of Szczecin forced the Rugians to make peace on humiliating terms[1681]

Despite the differences in their accounts, both authors associate the Rugian invasion with the news that the bishop of Bamberg had decided to expand his mission work into Rugia. In Ebo's version it was the attack of the Rugians that persuaded Otto to begin preparations for his mission to convert the irredeemable pagans. In Herbord's account the plan to organize a mission to Rugia emerged when

[1678] Helmold I, 48; see A. Turasiewicz, *Dzieje polityczne Obodrzyców…*, p. 189 f.

[1679] S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 487 ff.

[1680] Ebo III, 23.

[1681] Herbord III, 31.

the relations between the Rugians and the people of Szczecin deteriorated prior to the invasion[1682].

Neither of the two accounts gives any convincing clues as to the causes of the Rugian-Pomeranian conflict. It is quite possible that the religious issue emphasized by their authors did play a significant role. However, it seems that the attack of the Rugian fleet on Szczecin may have had other important causes. As mentioned above, there are reasons to assume that following the death of Henry, Wartislaw undertook expansion onto the lands of the Lutici hitherto subordinated by the Obodrite ruler and conquered their eastern part, thus imposing his rule onto the area that remained within the sphere of Rugian direct interests. It is thus quite possible that the invasion of the Rugians on Szczecin mentioned by the authors of the lives of St. Otto was primarily the result of Pomeranian-Rugian competition for control over the lands of the Lutici, where the Rugians attempted to deter the process by which Wartislaw was consolidating his power in Lutician territory. From this perspective the hostilities would constitute another stage, following the attack on Lübeck, in the campaign against the Obodrites on the one hand and – on the other hand – against the Pomeranians, who strove to subjugate the lands of the Lutici[1683].

The possible participation of the Rugians in Ratibor's expedition to Konungahella seems to indicate that in the mid-1130s Pomeranian-Rugian relations improved considerably, as it is hardly plausible that their joint undertaking resulted from a temporary agreement concluded in anticipation of short-term profits acquired during a pirate raid. Rather, it should be attributed to the changes in the system of power in northern Polabia resulting from the improvement in the relations between Bolesław III the Wrymouth and Lothair III, ultimately confirmed by the decisions made at the assembly in Merseburg. The fact that the emperor recognized the Polish ruler as a partner in the talks aimed at establishing a new order on the Empire's eastern frontier shattered Wartislaw's hopes to consolidate his rule within

[1682] Ebo III, 23; Herbord III, 30.

[1683] It cannot be ruled out that the clash of Rugian and Pomeranian interests had already occurred during a struggles in Transoderania by Bolesław Wrymouth, who was supported by the reinforcements of his new Pomeranian tributary, see H.-O. Gaethke, *Kämpfe und Herrschaft Heinrichs von (Alt-) Lübeck…*, p. 144 ff.

the Empire's political and ideological structures and may have persuaded him to alter his policy. Hence his alliance with the Rugians, who also felt threatened by the prospect of the agreement between Lothair and Bolesław, and his granting the latter the right of suzerainty over Rugia. In this context the joint Pomeranian-Rugian expedition to Denmark and Norway, another in the long tradition of Slavic pirate raids, may be perceived as sealing the ties of friendship and a demonstration that Pomeranian elites were prepared to create a new system of political relations, this time outside the structures of the Empire.

A year after the assembly in Merseburg, on August 16, 1136, Lothair issued a document in which, following a request from Otto of Bamberg, he granted the rent from four Lutician lands to the bishopric of Bamberg. The document reveals that the Transodranian part of the Pomeranian domain was subject to the suzerainty of Margrave Albert the Bear of the Northern March. Lothair pointed out in the document that he had granted his endowment following Albert's consent as the lands belonged to his march[1684]. It is certainly possible that this phrasing is just a distant echo of the margraves' age-old claims of power over Lutician lands[1685]. Yet it is more likely that it reflects the changes in political relations that had taken place in this area in the mid-1130s. Some claim that Albert's rights to Luticia mentioned in the document are linked with the decisions made in Merseburg: the emperor recognized Bolesław's suzerainty only over the eastern, Pomeranian part of the duchy, while the western, Lutician part, comprising the area claimed by the Empire, became Margrave Albert's fiefdom[1686]. However, as we said above, interpreting the agreement concluded in Merseburg in terms of feudal law is hardly justified. It is thus doubtful that Albert's rights mentioned in the document actually reflected the complex existing network of feudal relations binding the Pomeranian ruler, Saxon margrave, Polish duke, and the emperor. As a matter of fact, the document never refers to the Pomeranian duke, who was supposed to rule the lands mentioned in the endowment as Albert's vassal; neither is he on the list of witnesses, which

[1684] *Lotharii III. diplomata nec non et Richenzae imperatricis placita*, ed. E. von Ottenthal, H. Hirsch, MGH Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae 8, Berlin 1927, no. 91, p. 142 f.

[1685] See W. Brüske, *Untersuchungen…*, p. 105.

[1686] K. Maleczyński, *Bolesław…*, p. 235 ff.; J. Petersohn, *Prawnopaństwowy stosunek Pomorza Zachodniego…*, p. 97 f.

prompts the conclusion that for Lothair the lands were situated outside the Pomeranian domain and their sole ruler was the margrave[1687].

It is difficult to determine the circumstances in which the western part of the Pomeranian duchy was subjugated to Albert's suzerainty. Perhaps the expedition against the Slavs undertaken by the margrave in 1136 played a role[1688], even though the annalist does not unequivocally say that he reached the lands of the Lutici subject to Wartislaw's suzerainty or succeeded in their permanent subjugation[1689]. Thus, another explanation might be the collapse of the structures of power established by Wartislaw caused by the rebellion of Lutician elites against Pomeranian rule[1690]. These events are linked with the death of Wartislaw, who is to have died in unclear circumstances in Stolpe on the Peene, which was first mentioned in a document issued by the Pomeranian Bishop Adalbert in 1153[1691]. The death of Wartislaw, who died in a battle with the Lutici, is to have led to the collapse of the system of political relations centred around him and enabled Albert to impose his suzerainty over local Lutician communities, most probably in the form of a loose tributary dependence[1692]. Although the whole matter remains in the sphere of mere speculation, we may assume that nearly a year after the victorious raid of the Pomeranian fleet along the Danish and Norwegian coasts the Pomeranian duchy faced a serious crisis and in 1136 lost most of its Lutician conquests.

Saxo Grammaticus' information that King Eric II the Memorable of Denmark invaded Rugia should most probably be dated to the year 1136. The expedition counted 1100 ships, which for the first time carried horses. After landing, the Danish forces besieged Arkona. Following a short battle the inhabitants realized that they were unable to resist the attack; they therefore surrendered and agreed to convert to Christianity. After the ceremony of baptism, the victorious Eric took hostages as a guarantee that the terms of peace would be observed and left for Denmark. However, the Rugians did not persevere in the Christian faith for long. Soon after the king's departure they expelled the priests who Eric had left behind and returned to paganism[1693]. Saxo's account may raise certain doubts. His story of Eric's expedition to Rugia, the baptism of the Rugians, and their subsequent apostasy is an introduction to the detailed account of the great expedition of Valdemar I of Denmark in 1168, which resulted in the permanent subjugation of Rugia to Danish rule and the conversion of its inhabitants to Christianity[1694]. There is no doubt, however, that Saxo's conviction that Rugia belonged to the Danish sphere of influence was universally shared in the 1120s and 1130s by Danish political elites. It is difficult to conclude to what extent the fact of tributary dependence imposed on Rugia at the end of the 1090s during the reign of Eric's father, Eric I the Good, recorded by Saxo was responsible for this belief[1695]. The credibility of this information is in dispute[1696]. Still, the conviction may have been based on the fact that in the sphere of ecclesiastical relations Rugia was subordinate to the archbishopric of Lund, even though it is not clear when and how that happened[1697]. Perhaps it was a result of the active policy which Eric I pursued in Slavic lands, including – if Saxo Grammaticus' account is to be believed – Rugia, before he had received in 1103 or 1104 the pope's consent to elevate the bishopric in Lund to the rank of archdiocese[1698]. In any case, when Otto of Bamberg planned to undertake his mission in Rugia, he thought it wise to ask for the permission of the Danish archbishop. Even

1687 See J. Dowiat, *Pochodzenie dynastii…*, p. 246, footnote 79.

1688 *Annales Patherbrunenses…*, p. 163; see K. Myśliński, *Polska a Pomorze Zachodnie po śmierci Krzywoustego*, "Roczniki Historyczne" 17, 1948, p. 34 ff.

1689 B. Zientara, *Polityczne i kościelne związki…*, p. 225.

1690 See J. Dowiat, *Ekspansja Pomorza zachodniego na ziemie wielecko-obodrzyckie w drugiej połowie XII wieku*, "Przegląd Historyczny" 50, 1959, p. 702; B. Zientara, *Polityczne i kościelne związki…*, p. 225 ff.; J. Spors, *Studia…*, p. 230 ff.

1691 PUB, vol. 1, no. 43, p. 21 f.; the murder of Wartislaw I is also mentioned in the document of his son Bogusław I from 1183, see *ibidem*, no. 94, p. 71–73; see also Helmold II, 100; cf. E. Rymar, *Rodowód książąt…*, p. 105 ff.

1692 See K. Ślaski, *Zwycięstwo stosunków feudalnych na Pomorzu Zachodnim...*, p. 63; B. Zientara, *Polityczne i kościelne związki…*, p. 225.

1693 Saxo Grammaticus XIV, 1.6–7.

1694 Cf. K.V. Jensen, *Crusading at the Edges of Europe: Denmark and Portugal, c. 1000–c. 1250*, London–New York 2017, p. 117 f.; see also H.-O. Gaethke, *Saxo und die Geschichte der Ranen auf Rügen in der 1. Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts*, [in:] *Saxo and the Baltic Region…*, p. 134 f.

1695 Saxo Grammaticus XII, 6.5.

1696 See Th. Riis, *Das mittelalterliche dänische Ostseeimperium…*, p. 17; cf. H.-O. Gaethke, *Saxo und die Geschichte der Ranen…*, p. 120 f.

1697 See B. Büttner, *Die Pfarreien der Insel Rügen. Von den Christianisierung bis zur Reformation*, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2007, p. 26 f.

1698 Cf. L. Koczy, *Polska i Skandynawia…*, p. 185 ff.; K.V. Jensen, *Denmark and the Second Crusade: the formation of a crusader state?*, [in:] *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*, ed. J. Phillips, M. Hoch, Manchester–New York 2001, p. 168 f.; J.M. Jensen, *Denmark and the Holy War: A Redefinition of Traditional Pattern of Conflict 1147-1169*, [in:] *Scandinavia and Europe: Contact, Conflict, and Coexistence*, ed. J. Adams, K. Holman, Turnhout 2004, p. 222, footnote 11.

though the authors of the lives of Otto assure us that his envoys were greeted in Denmark with kindliness, the archbishop's reply – limited to a vague promise to present his request to Danish dukes and nobles for their consideration – is obvious proof that he was not going to resign from his prerogatives[1699].

As described by Saxo, the expedition undertaken by Eric II the Memorable culminated in the conversion of the inhabitants of Arkona, however insincere and short-lived. This can be understood as the Danish ruler's attempt to execute the rights of the archbishopric in Lund to carry out missionary work in Rugia. He may have been additionally motivated by the controversies concerning the status of the archdiocese in Lund, resulting from the fact that in 1133 Innocent II subordinated it to the archbishopric of Bremen-Hamburg in recognition of its claims. The baptism of the Rugians may have constituted an important argument in Eric's efforts to reinstate an archdiocese in Lund. However, Saxo himself remains quite vague when writing about Eric's motives for attacking the Rugians. He only mentions in very general terms that the Slavs disturbed the peace in Denmark, and this forced the king to react[1700]. The reference here is probably to the Slavs' attack on Roskilde and the destruction of the town, dated to 1133, 1134, or 1135 depending on the source, which in turn may be linked with Ratibor's expedition on Konungahella, when – according to Snorri Sturluson – he also attacked Denmark[1701].

In this context Eric's invasion of Rugia resulted not so much from his broader plan to conquer and Christianize, thus incorporating it into Denmark's ecclesiastical and political structures, as suggested in Saxo's account – for it is more probable that it was his reaction to the recent attack of the Slavic fleet on Denmark, when next to the Pomeranian ships an important role was also played by Rugian forces. On the other hand, Eric's expedition against the Rugians cannot be reduced solely to his will to retaliate. Here the decisions made in Merseburg acquire additional significance. Lothair III's recognition of Bolesław III the Wrymouth's suzerainty over Rugia challenged the claims of the Danish kings, already weakened by the refusal to recognize the metropolitan status of the archdiocese in Lund. This may have persuaded Eric to attack the Rugians in order to defend

1699 Ebo III, 23; Herbord III, 30; see S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 490 ff.

1700 Saxo Grammaticus XIV, 1.5.

1701 L. Koczy, *Polska i Skandynawia…*, p. 191 f.

his right of suzerainty in Rugia that had been negated in Merseburg. Whatever his reasons, his expedition was tantamount to challenging Bolesław's rights granted by Lothair.

We do not know whether the Polish ruler reacted to these events in any way. There is no evidence that immediately after the meeting in Merseburg he tried to enforce his rights of suzerainty over Rugia granted by the emperor. In fact we even do not know whether he managed to consolidate his position in Pomerania as there are no accounts referring to his activity there at that time. Consequently, we have to rely on speculation and hypotheses that evade verification. The emphasis which the decisions made in Merseburg placed on the issue of Polish suzerainty over Pomerania and Rugia unambiguously proves that the issue was of great significance to Bolesław III the Wrymouth. Gaining Lothair's approval of his suzerainty indicates that he strove not only to tighten his control of the perennially rebelling Pomeranian tributary, but that he also had serious plans to extend his sphere of influence over northern Transodrania and Rugia.

The question whether he ever implemented his plans in practice remains unresolved. However, the fundamental changes in the system of political relations in northern Transodrania which took place in the mid-1130s immediately before and right after the assembly in Merseburg prompt the conclusion that he may well have attempted to make his presence felt more strongly in the region. The threat from Bolesław must have been responsible for the turnaround in the relations between Pomerania and Rugia, which resulted in resolving their conflict over influence in the lands of the Lutici and in forming the alliance between Wartislaw and the Rugians. It is also quite possible that Bolesław may have contributed to the abrupt collapse of Pomeranian rule in northern Transodrania in 1136. Wartislaw's rule was founded on a system of loose relations constituting a compromise between his aspirations and the attitudes of local elites, who – in return for maintaining their position – agreed to recognize his power[1702]. The fact that the Lutici severed their bonds with the Pomeranian duke and submitted to the authority of Albert the Bear is evidence of a serious crisis in Pomeranian-Lutician relations. Its sudden emergence is puzzling. The expedition to Denmark

1702 J. Dowiat, *Ekspansja Pomorza zachodniego…*, p. 702.

and Norway organized by the Pomeranian ruler nearly a year earlier is testimony to his unchallenged position, while its success, providing the elites centred around him with rich spoils, should have consolidated it even further. Loss of control over the lands of the Lutici proves a sudden change of his status, which resulted in loosening the system of relations with local elites and deprived him of effective influence. It is thus quite possible that his demise was caused by the fact that Bolesław III the Wrymouth launched his bid to enforce his rights granted in Merseburg. Forcing Wartislaw to submit to Bolesław's rule and, possibly, to pay the tribute that he had owed, undermined his authority and thereby encouraged the Lutici to turn against him and throw off his suzerainty. Yet even if Bolesław did attempt to bring Wartislaw to heel, following the decisions made in Merseburg, his efforts were only moderately successful.

Admittedly, the Polish ruler succeeded in preventing the Pomeranian duke from implementing his plans of having his domain incorporated into the Empire's political and ecclesiastical structures, but this was not tantamount to strengthening his rule over Pomerania and forming lasting bonds with the Piast monarchy.

As far as ecclesiastical relations are concerned, Bolesław III the Wrymouth had to accept the status quo, whereby the Pomeranian Church, subjugated to Otto of Bamberg, remained outside the organizational structures of the Polish Church. This arrangement lasted until the death of Bolesław in 1138. Otto's death in 1139 initially did not bring about any changes in this matter, as in the same year Innocent II confirmed rights of control over the Pomeranian Church to Otto's successor, Egilbert. However, a year later the pope decided to ordain Adalbert as the first bishop of Pomerania and subjugate the newly created diocese directly to the Holy See[1703]. The pope's decision, ignoring the claims of the archdiocese of Magdeburg, certainly weakened the ties between Pomerania and the Empire. At the same time Innocent's decision to leave the Pomeranian Church outside the structures of the archdiocese of Gniezno loosened the bonds between Pomerania and Poland and considerably restricted the chances of Bolesław's successor to effectively control the situation in Pomerania also in political terms.

[1703] B. Zientara, *Polityczne i kościelne związki…*, p. 226 ff.; J. Petersohn, *Der südliche Ostseeraum…*, p. 276 ff.; J. Spors, *Studia…*, p. 201 ff.

5. The Wendish Crusade

It seems that the decisions concerning the Pomeranian diocese were at least partly a result of the efforts of Ratibor I, Wartislaw's successor as ruler of Pomerania, who aspired to liberate his domain from tributary dependence on Poland. The hypothesis that he essentially continued his predecessor's and brother's policy is confirmed by events during the Wendish crusade in 1147, which unequivocally indicated another turning point in Polish-Pomeranian relations in the 1140s – however little can be said about the precise time and circumstances of what really happened. Perhaps it was connected with the conflict between Bolesław III the Wrymouth's sons, which seriously restricted their chances of pursuing any active policy concerning Pomerania and could have encouraged Ratibor to challenge Polish rule. Whatever any case, the fact that the crusaders attacked Szczecin clearly shows that in 1147 the Piast rulers no longer controlled Pomerania.

The proposal of the crusade against the pagan Slavs was put forward by the mighty Saxon nobles in March 1147 at the assembly in Frankfurt. In opposing the plans of King Conrad III, who wanted to take part in the crusade in the Holy Land, they emphasized the threat to the Empire posed by its pagan neighbours. They successfully persuaded Bernard of Clairvaux, who was present in Frankfurt, to support the idea and win the approval of Pope Eugene III[1704].

In his letter calling for participation in the crusade, Bernard of Clairvaux emphasized its missionary nature and stressed that the crusade's aim was to eradicate paganism and convert the heathen Slavs to Christianity. Promising the same indulgence as that granted to the crusaders who set off for the Holy Land, the pope stressed that the aim of the Wendish crusade was to convert the Slavic pagans. Yet both the pope and Bernard realized that the crusaders may have various motives and that not everyone would be sufficiently determined in their efforts. The indulgence was thus granted on condition that the pagans would not be allowed to persevere in the old faith in return for money or other

[1704] See e.g, H.-D. Kahl, *Wie kam es 1147 zum "Wendenkreuzzug"?*, [in:] *idem*, *Heidenfrage und Slawenfrage im deutschen Mittelalter. Ausgewählte Studien 1953–2008*, Leiden–Boston 2011, p. 623–632; *idem*, *"…Auszujäten von der Erde die Feinde des Christennamens". Der Plan zum "Wendenkreuzzug" von 1147 als Umsetzung sibyllinischer Eschatologie*, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 633–666.

tributes. Similarly, Bernard forbade the crusaders to enter into any agreements with the pagans, nor to accept money or tribute, unless they were either converted to Christianity or totally exterminated[1705].

It does indeed seem that in deciding to undertake the crusade the Saxon nobles may have had complex motives, where religious considerations intertwined with political calculation. The death of Lothair III in 1137 and the subsequent outbreak of civil war in Saxony between his son-in-law Henry the Proud and Albert the Bear (elevated to the rank of a Saxon duke by the new king, Conrad III) shook the foundations of Saxon-Slavic relations as established by the deceased emperor on the system of tributary dependences binding Slavic communities with the Empire. Skirmishes in the borderland soon grew into an outright war whose aim was not so much to subject the Slavic peoples to tributary dependency, but to conquer their lands and subject them directly to the rule of Saxon counts.

At the turn of the 1130s and 1140s the lands of the Wagri and the Polabians were successfully occupied and divided between the Saxon counts; in 1143 the count of Holstein, Adolph II, founded a new town near Henry of the Obodrites' former seat, Old Lübeck[1706]. In the new order that was taking shape on the Saxon-Slavic borderland there was no longer any room for Slavic chiefdoms subject only to loose Saxon suzerainty that maintained their own customs and religion. In the context of the Saxon perception of relations with their Slavic neighbours the idea of a crusade aimed at converting them to Christianity provided an ideological background for their policy to subjugate Slavic lands not only in political, but also in religious terms[1707].

The sources devoted to the Wendish crusade offer only limited insight into its development. It is, however, assumed that the crusaders, divided into two columns, attacked the lands of the Obodrites

[1705] H.-D. Kahl, *"…Auszujäten von der Erde die Feinde des Christennamens". Der Plan…*, p. 633–666; F. Lotter, *Die Konzeption des Wendenkreuzzugs. Ideengeschichtliche, kirchenrechtliche und historisch-politische Voraussetzungen der Missionierung von Elb- und Ostseeslawen um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts*, Sigmaringen 1977, p. 11 ff.; *idem*, *The Crusading Idea and the Conquest of the Region East of the Elbe*, [in:] *Medieval Frontier Societies*, ed. R. Bartlett, A. MacKay, Oxford 1992, p. 287 ff.

[1706] A. Turasiewicz, *Dzieje polityczne Obodrzyców…*, p. 226 ff.

[1707] See H.-O. Gaethke, *Herzog Heinrich der Löwe und die Slawen nordöstlich der unteren Elbe*, Frankfurt am Main 1999, p. 86 ff.

and the lands of the Lutici. The first, commanded by the Saxon duke, Henry the Lion, and Conrad of Zähringen, reinforced with troops from Denmark, besieged Dobin. However, the crusaders failed to conquer it and were forced to conclude an agreement with the Obodrite Duke Niklot, who promised to convert to Christianity and release Danish prisoners. The other, led by numerous representatives of the Saxon episcopacy, including Archbishop Frederick of Magdeburg and Bishop Anselm of Havelberg, as well as the lay nobles, Margrave Albert the Bear of the Northern March and Margrave Conrad of Lusatia, conquered the stronghold of Malchow and proceeded to besiege Demmin[1708].

It is not entirely clear who at that time controlled the stronghold. In the 1120s it lay within the boundaries of Wartislaw's duchy[1709]. However, it is most likely that when his rule over the Lutici had collapsed in the mid-1130s, the Pomeranians were no longer able to control it. Admittedly, the bull of Innocent II from 1140 enumerates Demmin as a stronghold belonging to the Pomeranian diocese, but this is hardly convincing evidence of its affiliation with the Pomeranian duchy and Ratibor's successful reimposition of his rule over the Lutici. There are arguments that in the 1140s the stronghold was still beyond the Pomeranian duke's control, and that it remained within the sphere of influence of the Obodrites[1710]. If this is to be believed, the siege of Demmin should be perceived as another step, after the attack on Dobin, in the crusading campaign against Niklot. If, however, the attack of Demmin was part of the campaign against the Obodrites and not the Pomeranians, the expedition against Szczecin is ultimate proof that the crusaders wanted to conquer Pomerania, even though it had converted to Christianity twenty years earlier.

The information about the expedition against Szczecin comes from the Bohemian chronicler, Vincent of Prague. According to his account, Saxon bishops led a powerful army to Pomerania to convert its people to Christianity and besiege Szczecin. The defenders hung crosses on the fortifications and sent envoys enquiring about the reason of the invasion. The envoys were led by the local bish-

[1708] M. Gładysz, *The Forgotten Crusaders…*, p. 71 ff.

[1709] See J. Dowiat, *Pochodzenie dynastii zachodnio-pomorskiej…*, p. 257 ff.

[1710] See *idem*, *Ekspansja Pomorza zachodniego…*, p. 702; B. Zientara, *Polityczne i kościelne związki…*, p. 228; J. Spors, *Studia…*, p. 230 ff.

op, Adalbert, who – as the chronicler made sure to mention – was appointed to his office by Bishop Otto of Bamberg, who had converted the Pomeranians to Christianity. During the talks the Pomeranians accused the Saxons of the intention to divest them of their land; if their aim had been to strengthen them in their faith, they would not have resorted to military force but to sermons. Ultimately, the Saxon bishops decided to conclude a peace treaty with Duke Ratibor and Bishop Adalbert and returned home together with the nobles accompanying them[1711].

Vincent's account resounds with a distinct echo of the disapproval of the crusaders' actions encountered in other sources[1712]. Helmold, in his description of the crusade, claims that Henry the Lion and Albert the Bear were more interested in appropriating the lands of the Slavs than in converting them[1713]. Similarly, the author of the annals of Pöhlde mentions the disputes between the crusaders concerning the division of the still unconquered Slavic territories[1714]. In Vincent's account the accusations of the crusaders' inappropriate behaviour become even graver. The chronicler points out that not only were they not interested in the Christianization of the Slavs, but – in undertaking a crusade against the Christian Pomeranians – they hampered the process of strengthening the Pomeranians' Christian faith. Not surprisingly – in Vincent's conclusion – God did not support them in their endeavour, which ended in failure[1715].

In his account of the expedition against Szczecin Vincent did not enumerate its participants, except for Bishop Henry Zdík of Olomouc. He only writes generally about Saxon bishops, Saxon nobles, or simply the Saxons. He attributes the primary role to the former. It is the bishops who had decided to set off for Pomerania, to lead the expedition, conduct the negotiations, conclude the treaty and – finally – to decide to stop the siege and retreat. The chronicler only mentions

[1711] *Annales Bohemorum Vincentii Pragensis*, ed. J. Emmler, [in:] Fontes rerum Bohemicarum, vol. 2, Praha 1874, p. 417 f.

[1712] See H.-D. Kahl, *Zum Ergebnis des Wendenkreuzzugs von 1147. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des sächsischen Frühchristentums*, [in:] *idem*, *Heidenfrage und Slawenfrage…*, p. 682 ff.; F. Lotter, *Die Konzeption des Wendenkreuzzugs…*, p. 70 ff.; *idem*, *The Crusading Idea…*, p. 292 ff.

[1713] Helmold I, 65.

[1714] *Annales Palidenses*, ed. G.H. Pertz, [in:] MGH SS 16, Hannover 1859, p. 82.

[1715] *Annales Bohemorum Vincentii Pragensis…*, p. 418.

the Saxon nobles when writing about the crusaders' retreat from Szczecin. Vincent's emphasis on the involvement of the Saxon episcopacy in the expedition to Pomerania gave rise to the assumptions that it was mainly motivated by the interests of the Saxon Church.

There are arguments that the primary motives of the expedition against Szczecin arose from the aspirations of the papal legate and, at the same time, the bishop of Havelberg, Anselm, who formally led the crusade, to recapture the lands of the Lutici having belonged to his bishopric in the past. Other arguments highlight the plans of Archbishop Frederick of Magdeburg to subjugate the Pomeranian bishopric. Their plans won the support of the Saxon nobles (primarily of Albert the Bear) who wanted to expand their rule in these lands[1716]. However, there are also claims that it was Margrave Albert who was behind the attack on Szczecin, which was to serve the purpose of accomplishing his political aims[1717], while the fact emphasized by the Bohemian chronicler that the bishops took part in the peace talks proves that they wanted to maintain the crusading nature of the expedition and put an end to an endeavour that had taken an unfortunate turn[1718].

The account by Vincent of Prague offers very limited scope for determining who exactly took part in the invasion of Szczecin, who its commanders were, and what aims it pursued[1719]. The emphasis which the chronicler placed on the role of the Saxon bishops lends itself to various interpretations. It is no coincidence that in his account the most prominent figure on the Pomeranian side is Bishop Adalbert, who negotiated with the Saxon bishops and – together with Duke Ratibor – concluded the agreement. It remains a matter of pure speculation whether this particular angle in the description of the Pomeranian expedition results from the information passed to Vincent by Bishop Henry Zdík or whether it is a narrative measure employed by the chronicler to present two distinct approaches to Christianization as represented by the Saxon episcopacy on the one hand and

[1716] See W. Schlesinger, *Bemerkungen zu der sogenannten Stiftungsurkunde des Bistums Havelberg von 946 Mai 9*, "Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands" 5, 1956, p. 31 ff.; H.-D. Kahl, *Zum Ergebnis des Wendenkreuzzugs…*, p. 697 ff.; *idem*, *Slawen und Deutsche…*, p. 187 ff.; J. Petersohn, *Der südliche Ostseeraum…*, p. 342 ff.

[1717] H.-O. Gaethke, *Herzog Heinrich der Löwe…*, p. 102 ff.

[1718] F. Lotter, *Die Konzeption des Wendenkreuzzugs…*, p. 73.

[1719] Cf. M. Gładysz, *The Forgotten Crusaders…*, p. 76 ff.

the Pomeranian bishop on the other[1720]. The question of the reasons which the crusaders might have contemplated when making the decision to attack Szczecin is further complicated by other sources that seem to suggest a more complex context for the expedition to Pomerania than the mere aspirations of Saxon lords – both clerical and secular – to subjugate it.

When enumerating the participants in the crusade, the author of the annals of Magdeburg stressed that they were assisted by Polish troops led by Mieszko III the Old and Danish soldiers[1721]. It appears from Helmold's account that the Danes supported Henry the Lion during the battles at Dobin[1722]. The sources give no information about the military actions of the Polish units. It is sometimes speculated that they were there because the Piast dukes wanted to counteract Saxon expansion into the lands of the Lutici and Pomerania[1723]. However, at that time the Polish dukes maintained close relations with the east-Saxon nobles. In 1146 Conrad III intervened in Poland in defence of Duke Władysław II exiled from the country by his younger brothers. Thanks to the mediation of margraves Albert the Bear of the Northern March and Conrad of Lusatia an agreement was concluded which successfully ended the war between the king on the one side and Bolesław IV the Curly aided by Mieszko III the Old on the other[1724]. In January 1148 Saxon nobles led by the Archbishop Frederick of Magdeburg concluded a pact of friendship with Bolesław and Mieszko at the meeting in Kruszwica, which was strengthened by a marriage between the Piast dukes' sister and Albert the Bear's son, Otto[1725].

It is thus doubtful that Mieszko the Old participated in the crusade merely because he wanted to deter the Saxons from appropriating lands remaining in the Polish sphere of influence. Similarly, it is doubtful that the aim of the crusaders' military incursions in the lands of the Lutici and in Pomerania was to conquer the territories remaining under Polish suzerainty. Thus the most plausible hypothesis is that the Polish forces participating in the Wendish crusade cooperated with, or most probably, simply joined the crusaders led by the Saxon nobles – including Albert the Bear and Archbishop Frederick – bound with the Piast dukes *via* a network of political relations. Together they may have besieged Demmin and – possibly – attacked Szczecin. Admittedly, no sources mention the presence of Polish military forces, nor do they offer any reliable basis for concluding who exactly was involved during this stage of the campaign[1726].

The conjecture that the troops led by Mieszko III the Old constituted an integral part of the army participating in the Wendish crusade is confirmed by information from the annals of Magdeburg – namely, that his brother, Bolesław IV the Curly, set off against the pagan Prussians, aided by Ruthenian troops[1727]. The annalist included information about the expeditions undertaken by both Piast dukes in a longer account devoted to the second crusade. In his view both the struggles in the Holy Land and the battles against the pagan Slavs and Prussians constituted one great crusading effort, albeit differing in their scale. Mieszko III the Old and Bolesław IV the Curly took part in the crusade as equal partners of all the Christian kings and dukes mentioned in the annals[1728].

It is thus doubtful that directing the crusade to Pomerania could have happened against Mieszko's will. The Piasts participated in the crusade for complex reasons, among which religious motivation was as important as political calculation. In the case where Władysław II, exiled by his younger brothers, was not going to relinquish his rights to the throne, all the less so as his claims were supported by Conrad III – and Pope Eugene III – Bolesław's and Mieszko's participation in the crusade proved the legality of their rule as truly Christian dukes, entitled them to the privileges granted to the crusaders and paved the way to acquiring the pope's favours[1729].

The focus primarily on the lands situated in the direct vicinity of Poland suggests that Bolesław's and Mieszko's decision to join

1720 Cf. S. Górski, *Biskupi i krzyże. Tak zwany epizod szczeciński krucjaty połabskiej (1147) w relacji Wincentego z Pragi*, "Zapiski Historyczne" 83, 2018, p. 531–556.
1721 *Annales Magdeburgenses…*, p. 188.
1722 Helmold I, 65.
1723 See K. Myśliński, *Polska a Pomorze Zachodnie…*, p. 45 ff.; J. Spors, *Studia…*, p. 238; see also H.-D. Kahl, *Slawen und Deutsche…*, p. 752–753, footnote 261.
1724 *Annales Magdeburgenses…*, p. 188.
1725 *Ibidem*, p. 190.

1726 See M. Gładysz, *The Forgotten Crusaders…*, p. 88 ff.
1727 *Annales Magdeburgenses…*, p. 188.
1728 See M. Gładysz, *The Forgotten Crusaders…*, p. 90 ff.; D. von Güttner-Sporzyński, *Poland, Holy War…*, p. 86 ff.
1729 Cf. M. Starnawska, *Między Jerozolimą a Łukowem. Zakony krzyżowe na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu*, Warszawa 1999, p. 183.

the Wendish crusade and undertake the expedition against the Prussians may have been motivated by their plan to expand their sphere of influence and subjugate local pagan peoples. Thus, it would resemble the case of the German nobles who put forward the idea of substituting the expedition to the Holy Land with the crusade in Polabia, The dukes also referred to the idea of crusading during their military incursions against the Prussians in the second half of the 12th century as a justification of their aspirations to subjugate them to their rule[1730]. It may thus be safely assumed that the crusaders' attack on Szczecin may have been motivated by Mieszko's will to achieve his political objective of reinstating Piast rule over Pomerania[1731].

It seems that it was the fact of Ratibor's severing ties with the Piast monarchy that was the direct cause of the events described by Vincent of Prague when he wrote about the expedition against Szczecin, and even perhaps the siege of Demmin if it was still under Ratibor's control. Nothing seems to indicate that the alliance between Wartislaw and the pagan Rugians and the subsequent transfer of power to his brother undermined the status of Christianity in Pomerania and brought about the rebirth of old pagan traditions. The establishment of the Pomeranian bishopric in 1140 proves that at least at the institutional level the process of Christianization intensified during Ratibor's rule.

However, the fact that the new bishopric functioned outside the organizational structures of the archdioceses of Gniezno and Magdeburg may have caused doubts within the Polish and Saxon episcopates as to the effectiveness of the pastoral work carried out by the local clergy, along with fears concerning the long-term sustainability of the mission initiated by Otto of Bamberg. Their doubts and fears were further intensified by Ratibor's attitude. Obviously the matter was not the duke's possible pagan sympathies but his policy. Ratibor continued the project initiated by Wartislaw in the 1130s when the latter faced with the agreement between Lothair III and Bolesław III the Wrymouth, which aimed at accommodating the Pomeranian duchy within the network of political relations involving its closest Slavic neighbours, outside the power structures of both the Piast monarchy and the Empire.

[1730] Cf. *ibidem*, p. 184 f.; D. von Güttner-Sporzyński, *Poland, Holy War…*, p. 121 ff.

[1731] See B. Zientara, *Stosunki polityczne Pomorza Zachodniego…*, p. 548 ff.

When the crusading army appeared outside Szczecin's walls, Ratibor was forced to alter his policy and redefine his relations with Poland on the one hand, and with the Empire, or – to be more precise – with Saxony, on the other. The sources offer scant information about Polish-Pomeranian relations at that time, but the prevailing opinion is that during the years following the crusade Polish influence in Pomerania intensified and Polish control over it tightened. In his letter to Wibald of Stablo, Frederick Barbarossa writes about his expedition against Poland undertaken in 1157 and in this context mentions Pomeranian auxiliary forces that supported the Piast dukes. The emperor's remarks about Pomeranian involvement in the battles against the imperial army is often seen as proof that Pomeranian dukes fulfilled their duty of providing military help, which in turn gives evidence of the Piasts' domination[1732].

Of course, Barbarossa's letter by no means constitutes any sensible basis for far-reaching conclusions concerning the subjugation of Pomerania by Piast dukes. Its primary purpose was to present the emperor's greatness and the magnificence of his victory over Poland. Therefore, the emperor devotes much space to various difficulties which he had experienced in subduing the Polish rulers. Frederick stressed that he had to force his way through thick forests, break through defences which his predecessors hardly managed to penetrate, and ford the Odra. He also argued that the Polish dukes had gathered a mighty army supported by the auxiliary forces sent by the neighbouring peoples. In his letter he mentions not only the Pomeranians but also the Ruthenians, Parthians, and Prussians[1733]. Even if we assume that the list of the dukes' allies who were defeated by the emperor was not only to impart greater splendour to his victory, but that it testified to the actual presence of the auxiliary forces within the ranks of the Polish army, it can by no means be interpreted as actual proof of Pomerania's subordination to Poland. Nonetheless, the conjecture that the Piast dukes indeed managed to subdue Pomerania in the wake of the Polabian crusade is confirmed, however indirectly, by other sources.

[1732] See K. Myśliński, *Polska a Pomorze Zachodnie…*, p. 47 ff.; B. Zientara, *Stosunki polityczne…*, p. 550 ff.; J. Spors, *Studia…*, p. 243.

[1733] *Frederici I. Diplomata*, ed. H. Appelt, MGH Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae 10/1, Hannover 1975, no. 181, p. 304 f.

Especially interesting is the information conveyed by the annals of Magdeburg that in the summer of 1148 Ratibor visited Havelberg. During the meeting with the Saxon nobles Ratibor professed the Catholic faith, which he had converted to thanks to Otto of Bamberg, and promised to defend the Christian religion and never cease to promote it[1734]. The annalist did not write about the reasons for Ratibor's visit and his profession of faith. It is more than probable that a year earlier, during the negotiations conducted outside Szczecin's defence walls, Ratibor assured the crusaders about his devotion to the Catholic faith[1735]. It is usually assumed that the meeting in Havelberg was convened to continue the negotiations which had begun in Szczecin and to define the nature of Saxon-Pomeranian relations, especially on the ecclesiastical plane. As a result, Ratibor was to recognize the subordination of the Pomeranian Church to the archbishopric of Magdeburg, or at least the subordination of the Transodranian lands under his control to the bishopric in Havelberg[1736]. Indeed, soon after the convention in Havelberg the Pomeranian duchy established direct contacts with the Saxon Church, which resulted in the arrival of monks at the first monasteries established in Pomerania – a Benedictine one in Stolpe and a Premonstratensian monastery in Grobe around 1155[1737].

The growing influence of the Magdeburg Church seen in Pomerania in the 1150s may have been the consequence of the convention in Havelberg. However, it is doubtful whether it resulted from the decisions taken at that time to subordinate the Pomeranian bishopric to the archdiocese of Magdeburg. The annals mention only the meeting between Ratibor and the Saxon nobles. It is quite likely that the meeting was also attended by representatives of the Saxon episcopacy. The annalist, however, did not perceive their presence as sufficiently important to mention it. Ratibor's partners in the negotiations conducted in Havelberg were solely Saxon *principes* and it was before them, and not before the bishops, that the Pomeranian duke confirmed under oath his adherence to the Christian religion.

[1734] *Annales Magdeburgenses…*, p. 190.

[1735] Cf. H.-O. Gaethke, *Herzog Heinrich der Löwe…*, p. 104.

[1736] B. Zientara, *Stosunki polityczne…*, p. 551 ff.; J. Spors, *Studia…*, p. 241 ff.; J. Petersohn, *Der südliche Ostseeraum…*, p. 347 ff.

[1737] B. Zientara, *Stosunki polityczne…*, p. 552; J. Petersohn, *Der südliche Ostseeraum…*, p. 356 ff.

The annals do not mention any other additional obligations concerning the political matters that accompanied Ratibor's oath. However, the fact that the chronicler focused primarily on the presence of the Saxon nobles at the convention seems to suggest that despite the religious character of Ratibor's declaration, the purpose of the meeting in Havelberg was to determine the nature of Saxon-Pomeranian relations on the political plane. Yet the annals do not offer even the slightest suggestion that Ratibor recognized Saxon suzerainty[1738]. It is more plausible that his demonstration of adherence to the Catholic faith was to confirm his affiliation with the circle of Christian elites and thus to establish relations with Saxony based on partnership and co-operation.

Ratibor probably reoriented his policy towards Saxony in an attempt to tip the balance of power that had emerged following the crusade. Faced with the reinstatement of Polish rule over Pomerania, he wanted to counterbalance Polish domination[1739]. In this sense his endeavours in Havelberg constituted the return to Wartislaw's policy from the 1120s and the 1130s, aimed at weakening Polish influence by incorporating Pomerania into the Empire's political structures. Similarly as his brother before him, Ratibor – faced with Polish domination – attempted to accommodate his domain within a broader system of relations and interdependencies, exceeding the political order imposed by the Piast monarchy, by concluding the agreement with Saxon nobles and bringing in Saxon monks to the monasteries established in Pomerania.

There is no way of telling whether Ratibor's efforts to establish closer relations with Saxony resulted in severing ties with Poland. The Piast dukes had concluded a treaty of friendship in Kruszwica with Albert the Bear and the Archbishop of Magdeburg, Frederick. However, the willingness of the Saxon nobles, demonstrated in Havelberg – a few months after the convention in Kruszwica – to co-operate with Ratibor and the involvement of the Magdeburg Church prove that it was hardly a sufficient guarantee of Polish domination in Pomerania. There is no way of knowing how long the Piast rulers were able to maintain the control regained in 1147. Yet even if the Polish influence had lasted till 1157, for which there is no evidence, soon afterwards the duchy was incorpo-

[1738] Cf. H.-O. Gaethke, *Herzog Heinrich der Löwe…*, p. 104.

[1739] Cf. W. Dziewulski, *Biskup pomorski Wojciech…*, p. 34 f.

rated into the new political order that emerged in northern Polabia and Pomerania and left no room for Polish claims.

6. New challenges

The turn of the 1150s brought about a fundamental change in the balance of power in the region. In 1158 the Saxon duke, Henry the Lion, resumed expansion into the Slavic territories, which in the next few years resulted in the subordination of the lands of the Obodrites[1740]. At the same time the Danish king, Valdemar I, launched his own campaign of conquering Slavic lands, invading the Obodrites and the Lutici as well as Rugia[1741]. It is not entirely clear how the sons of Wartislaw I – Bogusław I and Kazimierz I – who ruled Pomerania after the death of Ratibor in 1156, reacted to the military forays against their Slavic neighbours. It is possible that initially they may have seized the opportunity to expand their rule to the land of the Lutici[1742]. Soon, however, the Saxons and the Danes invaded the territories under their control, if not Pomerania itself. In this situation they had to redefine their relations with Saxony and Denmark, trying to accommodate their own rule in the new system of political relations that was emerging in the wake of Saxon and Danish conquests[1743].

It is usually assumed that in 1163 or soon afterwards the Pomeranian dukes, faced with the recurring Saxon and Danish military invasions, decided to conclude an agreement with Henry the Lion and recognized his suzerainty in return for his confirmation of their rights to Demmin[1744]. Still, the extent and nature of their subordination is not

[1740] See K. Jordan, *Heinrich der Löwe. Eine Biographie*, München 1979, p. 84 ff.; H.-O. Gaethke, *Herzog Heinrich der Löwe…*, p. 143 ff.; A. Turasiewicz, *Dzieje polityczne Obodrzyców…*, p. 259 ff.

[1741] See O. Eggert, *Der Wendenzüge Waldemars I. und Knuts VI. von Dänemark nach Pommern und Mecklenburg*, "Baltische Studien" NF 29, 1927, p. 7–149; *idem*, *Dänisch-wendische Kämpfe in Pommern und Mecklenburg (1157–1200)*, "Baltische Studien" NF, 30, 1928, p. 1–74; Th. Riis, *Das mittelalterliche dänische Ostseeimperium…*, p. 20 ff.

[1742] See J. Dowiat, *Ekspansja Pomorza zachodniego…*, p. 703 ff.; cf. however B. Zientara, *Stosunki polityczne…*, p. 555.

[1743] Cf. O. Auge, *Handlungsspielräume fürstlicher Politik im Mittelalter. Der südliche Ostseeraum von der Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts bis in die frühe Reformationszeit*, Ostfildern 2009, p. 29 f.

[1744] See e.g., B. Zientara, *Stosunki polityczne…*, p. 556 ff.; K. Jordan, *Heinrich der Löwe…*, p. 94; J. Petersohn, *Prawnopaństwowy stosunek Pomorza Zachodniego…*, p. 99; H.-O. Gaethke, *Herzog Heinrich der Löwe…*, p. 323 ff.

entirely clear, whereas its feudal character causes serious doubts[1745]. The dukes took part in Valdemar's expedition to Rugia in 1168, which seems to indicate that the ties with the Saxon duke were not very strong, since they attempted to establish closer bonds with the Danish king. Admittedly, Helmold argues that Bogusław and Kazimierz were ordered by Henry the Lion to set off to Rugia in support of the Danish invasion[1746]. Yet Saxo Grammaticus' account suggests that their decision to join the invasion was motivated by their own political interests and aspirations to gain control over Rugia with Danish help[1747]. When the Danish king rejected Pomeranian claims to Rugia, Bogusław and Kazimierz turned to the Saxon duke and offered their support in his action against the Danes[1748].

There is no evidence that when faced with the threat from Saxony and Denmark, the Pomeranian dukes sought closer relations with Poland. By the same token there is no evidence that Henry the Lion and Valdemar took into account the rights of the Polish dukes to Pomerania when attempting to subordinate it. There is no data that would prove that the attempts undertaken by the Saxon duke and the Danish king to incorporate Pomerania into the sphere of their influence were met with resistance from the Piast rulers. The Polish dukes undoubtedly had their reasons, however complex, not to react to whatever was going on in Pomerania.

The political situation in Poland in the 1150s and 1160s, entangled in a dynastic conflict and forced to resist Frederick Barbarossa's claims of suzerainty, prevented any active policy in Pomerania. When attempting to re-impose their control in 1147, the Piast dukes could count on the support of the eastern-Saxon lords. In the new circumstances they would have had to compete for influence in Pomerania with the Saxon duke and the king of Denmark. It is also quite probable that at that time the issue of Pomerania was not central in their plans. In 1166 Bolesław IV the Curly launched a large-scale military operation against Prussia, which suggests that the Piasts had planned

[1745] See D. Kattinger, *Heinrich der Löwe, Kasimir I. von Demmin und Bogislaw I. von Stettin. Ein Versuch über Lehnsverhältnis Heinrichs des Löwen gegenüber den pommerschen Herzögen*, [in:] *Land am Meer. Pommern im Spiegel seiner Geschichte. Roderich Schmidt zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. W. Buchholz, G. Mangelsdorf, Köln–Wien 1995, p. 63–84.

[1746] Helmold II, 108.

[1747] Saxo Grammaticus XIV, 39.46.

[1748] B. Zientara, *Stosunki polityczne…*, p. 558.

to expand their domain in that direction rather than regain their control over Pomerania[1749].

The evidence of closer contacts between Pomerania and Poland comes from the next decade. Vincent Kadłubek's information about the marriage concluded between the son of Bogusław I, Ratibor, and the daughter of Mieszko III the Old, Salomea, concerns – as it seems – the first years of Mieszko's rule as a *princeps*, a grand duke[1750]. In 1177 Bogusław took part in the assembly summoned by Mieszko in Gniezno[1751]. During his visit in Gniezno another marriage was probably concluded between representatives of the Pomeranian ducal family and the Piast dynasty; this time Bogusław himself married Mieszko's other daughter, Anastasia[1752].

The reasons for the rapprochement between Bogusław and Mieszko clearly seen in the sources were rooted in the change of the situation in Pomerania caused by the agreement concluded between Henry the Lion and Valdemar in 1171[1753]. As a result, the Pomeranian dukes' policy consisting in exploiting the conflicts of interest between the Saxon duke and the Danish king to strengthen their own political position had become impossible and they faced the threat of sharing the fate of their Slavic neighbours – the Obodrites and the Rugians, forced to submit to complete Saxon and Danish control. In 1173 Pomerania experienced a destructive Danish military intervention, while a year later another Danish invasion was avoided only after a huge ransom was paid[1754]. In these circumstances, unable to count on help from Henry the Lion allied with Valdemar, they were forced to ask Mieszko III the Old for help and to agree to recognize the suzerainty of the Piasts, perceiving it as the lesser evil compared to Danish domination.

Mieszko III the Old must have realized that Bogusław's request resulted from the current political situation, involving the Danish threat and failure to get help from Henry the Lion. It is also possible that he was

[1749] See M. Biniaś-Szkopek, *Bolesław Kędzierzawy*, Poznań 2014, p. 147 ff.

[1750] *Magistri Vincentii…*, IV, 2; see O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, Kraków 1895, p. 207; E. Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich…*, p. 138 ff.

[1751] *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski…*, vol. 1, no. 22.

[1752] *Magistri Vincentii…*, IV, 2; see O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów…*, p. 208; E. Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich…*, p. 127 ff.

[1753] K. Jordan, *Heinrich der Löwe…*, p. 96; H.-O. Gaethke, *Herzog Heinrich der Löwe…*, p. 380 ff.

[1754] O. Eggert, *Dänisch-wendische Kämpfe…*, p. 54 ff.; Th. Riis, *Das mittelalterliche dänische Ostseeimperium…*, p. 37 ff.

aware that the agreement concluded in an emergency would not constitute solid foundations for any lasting relations between Pomerania and Poland, therefore – striving to commit Bogusław and to create a more solid basis for incorporating his domain into Polish political structures – he arranged the marriages involving the Pomeranian duke and his son in the family circle of the Piasts.

The place which Mieszko had planned for Bogusław in the system of power of the Piast monarchy was reflected in the position awarded to the Pomeranian duke among the witnesses of the document from 1177 mentioned above. In the document issued by Mieszko III the Old as the duke of the whole of Poland, Bogusław as a witness features directly after the four Piast dukes – Bolesław the Tall of Wrocław, Kazimierz the Just, Mieszko Plątonogi (Tanglefoot) of Racibórz, and Leszek of Mazovia – referred to as Polish dukes, but before the representatives of the episcopacy, including the Archbishop of Gniezno, and lay nobles[1755]. Obviously, caution is advisable when drawing far-reaching conclusions on the basis of one source, but in this case we may venture that the order in the document, where Bogusław is named in a separate group of ducal witnesses next to the Piast dynasts, which was also probably reflected in the seating arrangement during the assembly, resulted from the conviction that he exercised his authority on a par with the Piast dukes, subordinated solely to the power of Grand Duke Mieszko III the Old.

It appears from Vincent Kadłubek's chronicle that the early fall of Mieszko's senioral rule and the seizure of power by Kazimierz II the Just did not result in severing the relations with Pomerania established by the overthrown grand duke; neither did it undermine the Piasts' supreme rights over it, which he had re-asserted. It is even possible to conclude from the chronicle that the bonds between Bogusław and the Piast monarchy became stronger and that the new grand duke continued Mieszko's policy, which made the Pomeranian duke an participant in power wielded by the Piasts rather than a tributary subordinated to them.

This sets the context for the information conveyed by Kadłubek that Kazimierz II the Just appointed Bogusław the duke of the Pomeranians, when he gives an account of Kazimierz's deeds after he had

[1755] *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski…*, vol. 1, no. 22.

assumed his senioral rule, i.e., division of Silesia between the sons of his elder brother Władysław II, granting the duchy of Poznań to Mieszko the Old's son Odon, confirming the rights of Leszek of Mazovia to his duchy and transferring the march of Gdańsk to Sambor[1756]. In the chronicler's rendition Kazimierz's attitude to the other Piast dukes was exactly the same as to the Pomeranian rulers; they were to be all subordinated to his authority as the grand duke, who controlled their provinces, endorsed their rights and granted new. Obviously, the primary purpose of Kadłubek's account was to highlight Kazimierz's power and present him as the indisputable ruler of the whole of Poland. Mentioning Pomerania in this context proves that in the chronicler's view it constituted an integral part of the Piast monarchy.

In his account the chronicler often expresses his conviction that Polish rulers had been entitled to control Pomerania since the dawn of time[1757]. Thus, it is hardly surprising that arguing for Kazimierz's greatness, Kadłubek did not miss any opportunity to stress his rights to rule Pomerania. However, at the same time he admitted that he exercised his authority there in the same way as in Silesia, Mazovia or the duchy of Poznań given to Odo, i.e., through the agency of subordinate dukes. The only exception was Sambor, who had been entrusted with the march of Gdańsk. The chronicler mentioned that he was the nephew of the voivode Żyron. It does not seem that this remark resulted solely from the concern for presenting genealogical connections of the ruler in Gdańsk but rather to emphasize his different position in the structures of power in Kazimierz's monarchy, distinguishing him from the other provincial rulers mentioned by Kadłubek, both the Piast dukes and Bogusław occupying an equal position.

It is not clear whether Bogusław's younger brother, Kazimierz I, was a party in the agreement concluded between Bogusław and Mieszko the Old and, subsequently, with Kazimierz the Just. The nature

[1756] *Magistri Vincentii…*, IV, 8.

[1757] See J. Hertel, *Pomorze w myśli politycznej elity intelektualnej wczesnośredniowiecznej Polski (Anonim Gall i Wincenty Kadłubek)*, "Zapiski Historyczne" 47, 1982, p. 73 ff.; *idem*, *Pomorze w myśli politycznej kronikarzy Polski piastowskiej (Anonim Gall, Wincenty Kadłubek, kronikarz wielkopolski)*, [in:] *Prace z dziejów państwa i zakonu krzyżackiego*, ed. A. Czacharowski, Toruń 1984, p. 32 ff.; see also A. Krawiec, *Pomerania and the Baltic Sea in the Imaginative Geography of the Polish Middle Ages from the End of the 10th Century to the Beginning of the 13th Century*, "Studia Maritima" 31, 2018, p. 122 ff.

of the mutual relations between Wartislaw's sons and the range of the provinces subordinated to their rule are controversial. It is, however, assumed that Kazimierz's province primarily comprised the lands of the Lutici; in any case, it is where the main centres of his power, including Demmin, were situated[1758]. The fact that Henry the Lion attacked this stronghold in 1177 seems, however, to prove that at that time Kazimierz supported Bogusław in his efforts to establish closer relations with Poland.

The military expedition to Demmin was undertaken by the Saxon duke in agreement with Valdemar I, who at the same time set off for Pomerania. The joint action of the Saxons and the Danes against the Pomeranians was undoubtedly a reaction to the treaty concluded between Bogusław and Mieszko the Old and the former's recognition of Polish suzerainty[1759]. The Danes burnt Wolin and Choćków but were unsuccessful in conquering Kamień and Wołogoszcz and ultimately, when the Saxon army failed to arrive, decided to return home. Henry the Lion, ignoring his Danish ally, decided to conclude an agreement with the defenders of Demmin, which he had besieged for ten weeks. According to the terms of the agreement, the people of Demmin were to pay him a tribute and promised not to attack his lands; he also took hostages, who were a guarantee that the obligations would be fulfilled, thus finishing the war[1760]. The treaty, most probably concluded with Kazimierz, who controlled Demmin, is seen as another instance of subordination of the Pomeranian duke to Saxon suzerainty. The terms of the treaty are to explain also Kazimierz's involvement in 1178–1180 in internal struggles in Saxony on the side of Henry the Lion, which resulted in Pomeranian invasion of Lusatia and the dominions of the Archbishop of Magdeburg[1761].

It seems, however, that the relations between Kazimierz and Henry the Lion were more complex than that and Kazimierz's military action

[1758] See J. Dowiat, *Pochodzenie dynastii zachodnio-pomorskiej…*, p. 249 ff.; J. Spors, *Studia…*, p. 260 ff.

[1759] K. Myśliński, *Polska a Pomorze Zachodnie…*, p. 58; B. Zientara, *Stosunki polityczne Pomorza Zachodniego…*, p. 561; H.-O. Gaethke, *Herzog Heinrich der Löwe…*, p. 395 ff.

[1760] O. Eggert, *Dänisch-wendische Kämpfe…*, p. 57 ff.; H.-O. Gaethke, *Herzog Heinrich der Löwe…*, p. 412 ff.; Th. Riis, *Das mittelalterliche dänische Ostseeimperium…*, p. 41.

[1761] K. Myśliński, *Polska a Pomorze Zachodnie…*, p. 59; J. Dowiat, *Ekspansja Pomorza zachodniego…*, p. 716 ff.; B. Zientara, *Stosunki polityczne Pomorza Zachodniego…*, p. 562; H.-O. Gaethke, *Herzog Heinrich der Löwe…*, p. 419 ff.

against the enemies of the Saxon duke cannot be interpreted merely as the result of his tributary obligations[1762]. Admittedly, the sources stress that the Pomeranian duke was summoned or persuaded by Henry to invade Lusatia and the dominions of the Archbishop of Magdeburg, but they do not state directly that the Saxon duke invoked his rights of suzerainty[1763]. The account of the chronicle by Arnold of Lübeck from the beginning of the 13th century, where Kazimierz is referred to as Henry's friend and clearly contrasted with Henry's ministeriales, who served him and were subordinated to his authority, seems to suggest that their relations in the late 1170s exceeded the constraints of ordinary tributary dependence, assuming the form of a pact of friendship, recognizing the Pomeranian ruler as the Saxon duke's partner and not merely his subject[1764]. It is not known whether Bogusław was a party to the agreement, which – however – is not impossible. The *Saxon chronicle*, devoted to the Pomeranian-Brandenburg conflict in 1180, written later but most probably drawing on the local Brandenburg tradition, mentions the involvement of Wartislaw's both sons, which prompts the conclusion that Bogusław indeed was a party to the agreement concluded between Kazimierz and Henry and as such he may have fought against Henry's enemies together with his brother[1765].

The friendship between Henry the Lion and Kazimierz, and probably Bogusław, should not be, however, contrasted with the relations between Bogusław, and possibly also Kazimierz, with Mieszko the Old and later with Kazimierz the Just. In this context Saxo Grammaticus' account of another Danish military expedition to Pomerania becomes important. In 1178 or 1179 a Danish fleet supported by the Rugians set off for a plundering raid along the Pomeranian coast[1766]. Unable

[1762] Cf. H.-P. Richter, *Zu den machtpolitischen Hintergründen und Zielen der Pommernzüge von 1178 und 1180 in die Lausitz und das Land Jütebog*, "Jahrbuch für Geschichte des Feudalismus" 10, 1987, p. 83–104.

[1763] See *Chronicon Montis Sereni…*, p. 157; *Annales Pegavienses et Bosovienses*, ed. G.H. Pertz, [in:] MGH SS 16, Hannover 1859, p. 263; see also H.-O. Gaethke, *Herzog Heinrich der Löwe…*, p. 422, p. 105.

[1764] *Arnoldi Chronica Slavorum*, ed. G.H. Pertz, MGH SrerGerm 14, Hannover 1868, II, 17, p. 58; cf. D. Kattinger, *Heinrich der Löwe…*, p. 79.

[1765] *Sächsische Weltchronik*, ed. L. Weiland, MGH Deutsche Chroniken 2, Hannover 1877, chap. 335, p. 234; see A. Hofmeister, *Über eine Handschrift der Sächsischen Weltchronik*, "Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde" 32, 1907, p. 122 ff.; H.-O. Gaethke, *Herzog Heinrich der Löwe…*, p. 425.

[1766] O. Eggert, *Dänisch-wendische Kämpfe…*, p. 59 ff.; Th. Riis, *Das mittelalterliche dänische Ostseeimperium…*, p. 41.

to fend off the attackers, the Pomeranian dukes decided to negotiate and pay ransom. When writing about the talks between Bogusław and Kazimierz and the commander of the invaders, Canute, the son of Valdemar I, and the Archbishop of Lund, Absalon, Saxo quoted the words of one of the Danish nobles, who derided the Pomeranian dukes, saying that they had been forced to surrender the upper part of their country to the Danes and the lower to the Poles[1767].

Extensive descriptions of the battles between Pomerania and Denmark during the reign of Valdemar I and Canute VI, occupying a great part of Saxo's chronicle, mention Poles only one more time, in the account of the earlier invasion in 1173. It mentions a resident of Wolin, who – when captured by the Danes – admitted that even Polish military assistance would not have helped the Pomeranians defeat the Danish forces, and even additional support from the Saxons would not have guaranteed the victory[1768]. Undoubtedly, when quoting these words, the chronicler wanted to show the Danish might. Yet it is hardly a coincidence that he mentioned Poles, beside the Saxons, as potential allies of the Pomeranians. It is doubtful that the remark of Polish assistance should hint at Polish military involvement in the conflict[1769], as Saxo's text offers no grounds for such conjectures. However, it does seem that it alludes to the changes taking place in the balance of power in Pomerania in the 1170s, resulting from the reorientation its policy towards Poland and establishing closer relations between the Piasts and the Pomeranian dukes. The words quoted by Saxo about surrendering by the Pomeranian rulers one part of the country to the Danes and the other to the Poles should be also seen in the same way and treated as proof that in the early 13th century the Danish elites were still aware of the affiliation of Pomerania with Poland and subordination of its rulers to the Piasts. Reference to both Pomeranian dukes reveals that the chronicler's informers were convinced that the subordination ties with Poland were binding for both Bogusław and Kazimierz.

Saxo Grammaticus' account, stating that in the late 1170s the Pomeranian dukes were subordinated to Poland, proves that their friendship

[1767] Saxo Grammaticus XV, 1.3.

[1768] *Ibidem*, XIV, 42.21.

[1769] See K. Myśliński, *Polska a Pomorze Zachodnie…*, p. 56 ff.; cf. B. Zientara, *Stosunki polityczne Pomorza Zachodniego…*, p. 560 f.

with Henry the Lion and their involvement on his side in the internal conflict in Saxony was not tantamount to severing the ties with the Piast rulers. This premise is additionally confirmed by Vincent Kadłubek's account of the assembly in Łęczyca in 1180. The chronicler stressed that beside the representatives of the Polish episcopate, it was attended by the Pomeranian bishop, Conrad[1770]. His presence at the assembly summoned by Kazimierz the Just unequivocally proves that after Bogusław recognized Polish suzerainty and his domain was incorporated into the political structures of the Piast monarchy, an effort was made to bind Pomerania with Poland more tightly, also on the ecclesiastical plane.

At the same time, however, friendly relations between the Pomeranian dukes and Henry the Lion and their assistance in his struggle with the Saxon opposition are a convincing proof that the ties with Poland did not restrict their scope for independent action and accomplishment of their own current interests, i.e., in this case expanding their rule in Transodrania further south[1771]. Their policy consisted in forming an extensive network of relations, comprising in equal measure Poland, Denmark and the Empire/Saxony, which would enable them to attain the status of an equal partner in political relations.

7. A Pomeranian Kingdom?

This sets the context for the events which took place in 1181 in Frederick Barbarossa's camp outside Lübeck. After his return to Germany from Italy in 1178, the emperor decided to break the power of Henry the Lion, taking advantage of the fact that Saxon opposition had turned against him. Henry's refusal to appear at the assembly summoned in Worms by Frederick in January 1179 initiated judicial procedures, which pronounced him guilty of infringing the liberties of the Church and nobles and a year later, at the assembly in Würzburg, deprived him of both his duchies – Saxony and Bavaria. In summer 1180 the emperor set off for Saxony to enforce the decisions made in Würzburg. Most of Henry's supporters decided to

[1770] *Magistri Vincentii…*, IV, 9.

[1771] W.H. Fritze, *Das Vordringen deutscher Herrschaft in Teltow und Barnim*, "Jahrbuch für brandenburgische Geschichte" 22, 1971, p. 115 ff.

submit to the emperor. In the next year, in an attempt to definitively break Henry's resistance, Frederick undertook another expedition, crossed the Elbe and besieged Lübeck[1772].

Bogusław also arrived at the camp outside Lübeck. After the death of Kazimierz, who fell in battle with the margrave of Brandenburg, Otto, in 1180, Bogusław became the sole ruler of Pomerania. According to the account by Arnold of Lübeck, Bogusław was to have paid homage to Frederick and paid a tribute[1773]. Saxo Grammaticus told the story of the events which took place outside Lübeck in a slightly different way. In his account he mentions both Pomeranian dukes, Bogusław and Kazimierz, who received ensigns with an eagle and were ceremoniously nominated the dukes of Slavia by the emperor[1774]. Despite the differences both sources unequivocally state that at Lübeck Bogusław recognized Frederick Barbarossa's suzerainty. However, the character of the relations established there is not entirely clear and is still controversial. As a result, it is an open matter whether it was tributary subordination, feudal allegiance or possibly Bogusław was elevated to the status of the duke of the Reich[1775]. It seems, however, that strict legal notions are not applicable in the case of the homage in Lübeck. The reality of the Empire during the rule of Frederick Barbarossa was characterized by the diversity of means, permeating each other, used to build political relations[1776].

It follows from Saxo Grammaticus' account that closer relations with the Pomeranian dukes were established on the emperor's initia-

[1772] See K. Jordan, *Heinrich der Löwe…*, p. 187 ff.; K. Görich, *Friedrich Barbarossa. Eine Biographie*, München 2011, p. 354 ff.; J.B. Freed, *Frederick Barbarossa: The Prince and the Myth*, New Haven–London 2016, p. 428 ff.

[1773] *Arnoldi Chronica Slavorum…*, II, 17.

[1774] Saxo Grammaticus XV, 5.11.

[1775] See e.g., P. von Nießen, *Das staatsrechtlichen Verhältnisse Pommerns in den Jahren 1180 bis 1241*, "Baltische Studien" NF 17, 1913, p. 263 ff.; F. Curschmann, *Die Belehnung Herzog Bogislaws I. im Lager vor Lübeck (1181)*, "Pommersche Jahrbücher" 31, 1937, p. 5–33; K. Myśliński, *Polska a Pomorze Zachodnie…*, p. 2 ff.; B. Zientara, *Stosunki polityczne Pomorza Zachodniego…*, p. 563 ff.; D. Lucht, *War Bogislaw I. Reichsfürst?*, "Baltische Studien" NF 54, 1968, p. 26–30; H. Lubenow, *Der Sturz Heinrichs des Löwen und die Reichslehenschaft über Pommern*, "Baltische Studien" NF 58, 1972, p. 7–18; J. Petersohn, *Prawnopaństwowy stosunek Pomorza Zachodniego…*, p. 99 ff.; R. Benl, *Slawische Stammesnamen in pommerschen Urkunden und die Frage der pommerschen Reichszugehörigkeit*, "Baltische Studien" NF 72, 1986, p. 7–23.

[1776] Cf. J. Dendorfer, *Vasallen und Lehen unter Friedrich Barbarossa: Politische Bindungen durch das Lehnswesen?*, [in:] *Verwandtschaft – Freundschaft – Feindschaft…*, p. 69–95.

tive. In an attempt to persuade them to abandon Henry the Lion, he promised that he would increase their power and prestige in this way that they would rule as satraps over the provinces which had so far remained under their control without any distinguished title[1777]. The imprecise and ambiguous wording of the Danish chronicler suggest that Frederick contemplated offering Bogusław some kind of distinction. Additional information concerning the matter may be found in other sources. In his chronicle Arnold of Lübeck refers in one account to Bogusław as *princeps sive rex Pomeranorum*[1778]. Whenever he mentions him again, Arnold resorts to the term *princeps*[1779]. It is thus possible to conclude that the only instance when the royal title was mentioned might have been a mistake or the chronicler's imprecise description. In his diplomas Bogusław was always referred to as *dux* and only exceptionally as *princeps*[1780]. However, the royal title appeared in a form of an inscription *BVOGSCLOFF REX* on Bogusław's two denarii dated to the 1180s[1781].

For Frederick Barbarossa the ceremonies of royal coronation performed by him played a very important role in forming political relations and bonds of subordination. Frederick resorted to them to an even greater degree than Lothair III to demonstrate imperial majesty and bind the rulers elevated to the royal status with the Empire. During his reign Frederick crowned at least six rulers. In 1152 the Danish king, Sven III, received the royal crown from Frederick after paying homage. In 1162 the subsequent Danish ruler, Valdemar I, also paid homage to Frederick and was crowned. In 1158 the emperor crowned the Bohemian duke, Vladislav II. In 1164 one of the Ruthenian princes, most probably Yaroslav Osmomysl of Halych, recognized Barbarossa's suzerainty and received the royal title. A year later, after receiving homage the emperor crowned one of the local judges, Bareso of Arborea, as the king of Sardinia. In 1184, during a grand assembly

[1777] Saxo Grammaticus XV, 5.5; see also *ibidem*, XV, 5.10.

[1778] *Arnoldi Chronica Slavorum…*, III, 7.

[1779] *Ibidem*, II, 17, III, 4, 7.

[1780] H.-O. Gaethke, *Königtum im Slawenland…*, p. 66.

[1781] H. Danneberg, *Münzgeschichte Pommerns im Mittelalter*, Berlin 1893, p. 27, no. 5, 6, tab. 1; R. Kiersnowski, *Denary zachodnio-pomorskie z drugiej połowy XII wieku*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" 23, 1959, p. 209–231, no. 6, 7; A. Suhle, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Münzwesens in Pommern (bis ca. 1330)*, "Baltische Studien" NF 39, 1937, p. 123; K.-O. Konow, *Münzstätten und Prägezeiten der früheren Denare des Herzogtums Pommern*, "Baltische Studien" NF 85, 1999, p. 7–18.

in Mainz the emperor also crowned his son, Peter I. Some sources mention negotiations concerning coronation of a claimant to the Hungarian throne, Géza, a Bulgarian ruler, Peter, and the Armenian ruler of Cilicia, Leo II[1782].

The role which royal ceremonies played in Frederick Barbarossa's policy suggests that Saxo Grammaticus' ambiguous remarks about the promise to increase Bogusław's power and prestige might actually mean that the emperor planned to elevate him to the royal status. Admittedly, the sources mentioning the encounter at Lübeck do not offer any reasonable grounds for concluding that Bogusław was actually crowned. Yet the royal title on the denarii minted by him suggests that the issue may have been discussed during the talks. The fact that Bogusław revealed his royal aspirations right after he had paid homage to Frederick might be the consequence of the decisions concerning his coronation; recognition of the imperial suzerainty demonstrated at Lübeck would have been additionally confirmed and consolidated by the fact of coronation, just like in the case of the other rulers mentioned above[1783].

The Pomeranian duke was not the only ruler who arrived at Lübeck to support Frederick Barbarossa's siege of the town. It is quite possible that one of the two Obodrite princes competing for power, Niklot II, was there as well. After he paid homage to the emperor, Frederick recognized his rights to the throne[1784]. Valdemar I, who decided to break his alliance with Henry the Lion, arrived leading a powerful fleet supported by his Rugian tributaries. When describing the meeting between the two rulers, Saxo Grammaticus wrote that the emperor did not agree for the participation in it of the Rugian duke, Jaromar, despite the fact that on the previous day he complemented him and even called him a king. The chronicler explained that Frederick's dislike for Jaromar resulted from the latter's particular loyalty

[1782] See L. Reitinger, *Imperator posuit in caput eius coronam. Barbarossas Könige und Vladislav II. von Böhmen*, [in:] *Verwandtschaft – Freundschaft – Feindschaft…*, p. 111–147.

[1783] See H.-O. Gaethke, *Königtum im Slawenland…*, p. 65 ff.; P. Boroń, *Rex Pomeranorum – o próbie awansu w hierarchii władców pomorskich w XII wieku*, [in:] *Ekskluzywne życie – dostojny pochówek. W kręgu kultury elitarnej wieków średnich*, ed. M. Rębkowski, Wolin 2011, p. 117–131; cf. however H.-D. Kahl, *Europäische Wortschatzbewegungen im Bereich der Verfassungsgeschichte. Ein Versuch am Beispiel germanischer und slawischer Herrschernamen*, "Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte", Germanistische Abteilung, 77, 1960, p. 154–240.

[1784] See H.-O. Gaethke *Herzog Heinrich der Löwe…*, p. 448 f.

to the Danish king[1785]. Saxo's account is ambiguous, but it probably reflects Frederick's efforts to loosen the bonds between Jaromar and Valdemar and persuade the former to submit to the emperor's suzerainty in return for a royal crown[1786].

After Barbarossa broke Henry's power, he was faced with the challenge of regulating political relations in the north-eastern frontier of the Empire, so far remaining under the defeated Saxon duke's control, and introducing a new order built on the network of relations focused around himself. The agreement with Valdemar concluded at Lübeck, confirmed by the marriage between the emperor's son and the daughter of the Danish king, and the treaties with Slavic rulers were to assist him in implementing this task. More or less direct references to the royal title for Bogusław and Jaromar suggest that Frederick might have planned to elevate them to the throne and establish new Slavic kingdoms as counterbalance to Denmark in order to play a role of arbiter between them and enabling him to keep his suzerainty. In this sense the homage from Lübeck became a specific culmination of Wartislaw's efforts to join the Empire's political structures and – by invoking the rituals and ideals characteristic of the Empire's political culture – to provide the Pomeranian dukes with the position equalling that of Polish, Saxon or Danish rulers, who had constantly put forward their claims of control over Pomerania.

In this context it is worth noting the not entirely clear account in Vincent Kadłubek's chronicle about a certain former tax collector in Pomerania. Married to the daughter of Mieszko the Old, he helped him to regain Gniezno against Kazimierz the Just[1787]. The identity of Mieszko's son-in-law mentioned by the chronicler causes controversy[1788]. It seems, however, that he can be identified with Bogusław and as a result Kadłubek's account can be seen as proof of Bogusław's involvement in the disputes between the Piast dukes. We only know the year when Gniezno was taken by Mieszko[1789]. We do not know, therefore, whether it happened before Bogusław met Frederick Barbarossa at Lübeck or after he had

[1785] Saxo Grammaticus XV, 5.10.

[1786] See H.-O. Gaethke, *Königtum im Slawenland…*, p. 62 ff.; cf. H.-D. Kahl, *Europäische Wortschatzbewegungen…*, p. 157 f.

[1787] *Magistri Vincentii…*, IV, 12.

[1788] See E. Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich…*, p. 129, 209 ff.

[1789] *Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej*, [in:] *Roczniki wielkopolskie*, ed. B. Kürbis, MPH NS 6, Warszawa 1962, p. 24.

paid homage to the emperor. However, the issue does not seem very important in this case. The turnaround in Bogusław's policy, consisting in severing the bonds of friendship with Henry the Lion and seeking rapprochement with the emperor, may be dated to 1180. Contrary to the earlier co-operation with Henry, the recognition of the emperor's suzerainty caused a radical change in the nature of the relations between the Pomeranian ruler and the Piast dukes. It was reflected in Kadłubek's description of the relations between Mieszko and the Pomeranians, where the chronicler emphasizes that they were based not on obedience but friendship[1790]. Having recognized the emperor's suzerainty, the Pomeranian duke could no longer be subordinate to the Piast ruler; he could only be his friend.

Frederick Barbarossa never accomplished his plans to create a system of political relations, comprising Polabia, Pomerania and Denmark, where the Pomeranian ruler would have had a special status. The emperor had to give up his project to crown Jaromar probably due to protest of Valdemar, whose military potential had to be reckoned with[1791]. It is also probable that due to the Danish king's objections Bogusław also was not crowned at Lübeck, even though the matter may have been left open as substantiated by Bogusław's royal denarii. In any case, the bonds between the emperor and the Pomeranian ruler were not severed; on the contrary, it seems that they became stronger after Valdemar's successor, Canute VI, refused to recognize the emperor's suzerainty and accept a royal crown from him after his predecessor's death in 1182.

In 1184 Bogusław undertook a military expedition to Rugia. It follows from Saxo Grammaticus' account that he attacked on Barbarossa's instigation, who wanted to punish the new Danish king, denying his authority[1792]. The *Knýtlinga saga* from the mid-13th century attributes the initiative to Bogusław, who was said to have proposed that he would attack Canute to force him to submit to the emperor's authority[1793]. However, it is doubtful that the Pomeranian duke actu-

[1790] *Magistri Vincentii…*, IV, 12.

[1791] See O. Engels, *Friedrich Barbarossa und Dänemark*, [in:] *Friedrich Barbarossa. Handlungsspielräume und Wirkungsweise des staufischen Kaisers*, ed. A. Haverkamp, Sigmaringen 1992 (= Vorträge und Forschungen 40), p. 382.

[1792] Saxo Grammaticus XVI, 3.5; XVI, 4.4.

[1793] *Knytlinga Saga: The History of the Kings of Denmark*, transl. H. Pálsson, P. Edwards, Odense 1986, chap. 128 (p. 176); see also about Bogusław's mission to the emperor and the promise to force Canute to recognize his authority, Saxo Grammaticus XVI, 4.4.

ally wanted any open confrontation with Denmark. Even though Saxo accuses Bogusław of deceit, the chronicler admits that during the first stage of the Pomeranian-Rugian conflict he was ready to accept Canute's mediation[1794].

Arnold of Lübeck presented the circumstances of the expedition to Rugia differently, stating that the cause was Bogusław's claims to control it[1795]. It is possible that with the tensions between Pomerania and Rugia one should connect Jaromar's emissions of coins, presenting an image of a ruler with a crown and inscription *IGAROMAR REX* on the obverse and a building with two towers with the inscription *RVGIANORUM* on the reverse[1796]. In light of the account mentioned above by the Saxon that was dedicated to the meeting near Lübeck, the manifestations of Jaromar's royal aspirations cannot be referred to Frederick Barbarossa's proposal then tabled to elevate him to royal dignity. The longevity of the close relations of the Rugian ruler from Denmark does not permit us to allege in this a gesture made against his Danish superiors.

The date of the issue of Jaromar's coins is by no means certain. Yet Arnold's remarks about the causes of the Pomeranian-Rugian war prompt the conclusion that the appearance of the royal title on Jaromar's coins can be seen as the Rugian duke's ideological response to Bogusław's claims to Rugia[1797]. These in return were rooted in the royal aspirations of the Pomeranian ruler, resulting from the agreement concluded with Frederick Barbarossa at Lübeck. Facing the increasing tension in Danish-German relations, Bogusław may have concluded that it was the right moment to renew his claims made back in the 1160s to rule over Rugia and transform his domain into a real kingdom, comprising not only Pomerania, but also Rugia and possibly the lands of the Obodrites[1798].

However, to accomplish his plans, Bogusław needed the emperor's help. Yet Frederick Barbarossa's ability to pursue any active policy on the south coast of the Baltic was very limited. Downfall of Henry

[1794] Saxo Grammaticus XVI, 4.1.

[1795] *Arnoldi Chronica Slavorum…*, III, 7.

[1796] H. Danneberg, *Münzgeschichte Pommerns…*, p. 34–36.

[1797] Cf. H.-O. Gaethke, *Königtum im Slawenland…*, p. 56 ff.

[1798] Bogusław's ambition to extend his sphere of influence onto the lands of the Obodrites may prove his involvement in the dispute between the local dukes struggling for power and his support of one of the claimants to the throne, Henry Borwin, see *Arnoldi Chronica Slavorum…*, III, 4.

the Lion was not tantamount to full control of his lands; the emperor ceded the power to the Saxon aristocrats who had supported him and who were primarily interested in accomplishing their own political plans[1799]. As a result Bogusław could not count on the emperor's help, undertaking the expedition to Rugia, which in consequence meant war with Denmark. Not surprisingly, it ended in defeat. The Rugians, supported by the Danes, defeated the Pomeranian fleet, while in the next year a Danish military expedition led by Canute set off for Pomerania. Bogusław was unable to fend off the invaders and had to pay homage to the Danish king, agreeing to pay a tribute[1800]. If the *Knýtlinga saga* is to be believed, in 1186 Bogusław arrived at Roskilde and during the Easter celebrations appeared as the king's sword bearer, carrying Canute's sword before him[1801].

In the 12th century the sword-bearing ceremony accompanied coronation of Danish kings performed by the emperors. In 1134, as was mentioned, it accompanied the coronation of Magnus, who was crowned by Lothair III; in 1152 another Danish king, Sven III, crowned by Frederick Barbarossa, carried the emperor's sword in a ceremonial procession[1802]. In the case of the coronation of Valdemar I in 1162, the sources mention only the homage paid to Frederick[1803]. It is, however, quite possible that also during this ceremony the Danish king carried the emperor's sword. It is hard to decide to what extent the memory of the details of these coronation ceremonies was cherished at the Danish court. It seems, however, that when in 1182 Canute VI rejected Frederick's demand to appear before him to be crowned as his predecessors on the Danish throne had done, the nature of the ceremony and its rituals must have been still well remembered. Employing the sword-bearing ceremony during Bogusław's first visit in Denmark after he recognized Danish suzerainty reflects the will to emulate the rituals of the German-Danish relations in the relations between Denmark and Pomerania and present Canute as the monarch who – like an emperor – ruled over other rulers subordinated to his power.

[1799] See K. Görich, *Friedrich Barbarossa…*, p. 371 ff.; J.B. Freed, *Frederick Barbarossa…*, p. 441 ff.

[1800] See O. Eggert, *Dänisch-wendische Kämpfe…*, p. 61 ff.; Th. Riis, *Das mittelalterliche dänische Ostseeimperium…*, p. 43 ff.

[1801] *Knytlinga Saga…*, chap. 130 (p. 179).

[1802] *Ottonis episcopi Frisingensis et Rahewini Gesta Frederici…*, II, 5.

[1803] *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, ed. G. Waitz, MGH SSrerGerm 18, Hannover 1890, p. 113.

There is no clear evidence that taking over the control of Pomerania by Denmark was met with any response from the Piast dukes. In 1186 the son of Mieszko the Old, Władysław Laskonogi (Spindleshanks), visited Bogusław's court[1804]. The reasons of his stay are, however, not clear. Even if it had had anything to do with Mieszko's plans aiming at weakening Danish influence, it failed. The dating formula of a diploma issued in 1187 by Duchess Anastasia, the widow of Bogusław, who had died a few months before, mentioning the years of Frederick Barbarossa's reign shows that Pomeranian elites pinned their hopes of liberation from Danish domination on the emperor rather than Poland[1805]. Their attitude resulted from the assessment of the existing balance of power and the awareness that the Piast monarchy, divided and torn by internal conflicts, had only very limited potential to pursue any active policy in Pomerania. It seems, however, that it also resulted from the conviction, deeply rooted in Pomeranian political tradition, that the process of constructing Christian monarchy in Pomerania, initiated by the conquests of Bolesław III the Wrymouth and the resulting Christianization, may only be completed by joining the political and ideological structures of the empire, offering protection against the expansion of the neighbouring countries and enabling preservation of its own identity.

[1804] PUB, vol. 1, no. 103, 104.

[1805] *Ibidem*, no. 108; cf. K. Myśliński, *Polska a Pomorze Zachodnie…*, p. 63 ff.; B. Zientara, *Stosunki polityczne Pomorza Zachodniego…*, p. 566 ff.

EXCURSUS: THE POLISH-POMERANIAN BORDER IN THE 12TH CENTURY

Paweł Migdalski

Basically four concepts concerning the hypothetical course of the Polish-(western)Pomeranian border in the 12th century have predominated in scholarship[1806]. The first, most universally accepted today, maintains that Bolesław III the Wrymouth moved it from the Noteć-Warta line towards the lake district and Pomeranian belt of terminal moraine in the north, which would correspond to the situation in the second half of the 12th century. The second claims that the border was stable and ran along the moraine belt earlier (from the 10th century?). The third represents a mixed concept, saying that in some places the border ran along the moraine belt and in others along the Noteć-Warta line, which Wrymouth "aligned" in the moraine belt. The fourth opposes the idea of moving the border from the Noteć–Warta line in the 12th century.

In the second half of the 10th and the first half of the 11th century the Piasts hypothetically located on the Noteć and possibly the lower Warta a latitudinally arranged system of strongholds – Santok, Drezdenko, Wieleń, Czarnków, Ujście, and Nakło – as well as permanent fortifications – the Kuyavian Ramparts[1807] near Bydgoszcz. Some researchers, such as Andrzej M. Wyrwa, have observed that this was a defensive system – the Polish limes[1808]. On the other hand, Alek-

[1806] For a review of older works see E. Rymar, *Jeszcze w sprawie pogranicza wielkopolsko-pomorskiego między Gwdą i Myślą w XII i w XIII w.*, "Przegląd Zachodniopomorski" 3, 1988, 1–2, p. 183–193; about *Zitarigroda* see: *idem*, *Czy Zitarigroda z 1124 roku to Stargard nad Iną?*, "Stargardia" 6, 2011, p. 13–22.

[1807] According to one of the datings, they are supposed to have been erected in the 11th century – S. Kalinowski, *Pogranicze kujawsko-pomorskie we wczesnym średniowieczu. Wybrane problemy badawcze*, "Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici", Archeologia 33, 2013, p. 116–118.

[1808] A.M. Wyrwa, *Wczesnośredniowieczny gród w Wieleniu w systemie grodów nadnoteckich*, [in:] *Z najdawniejszych dziejów ziemi wieleńskiej. Materiały z konferencji Wieleń 22 luty 2002*, ed. P. Waśko, K. Heppner, H. Machajewski, Wieleń 2002, p. 151–204; *idem*, *Wczesnośredniowieczne grody "limesu" nadnoteckiego. Zarys problemu*, [in:] *Ziemia Nadnotecka wczoraj, dziś, jutro*, ed. A.M. Wyrwa, W. Gapski, Drawsko–Poznań 2004, p. 95–97;

sander Paroń gives the example of Santok to indicate its expansive character, perceiving it as infrastructure offering support for the forays into Pomerania[1809]. Other researchers, e.g., L. Leciejewicz and Sebastian Kalinowski, combine both offensive-defensive functions[1810].

It is assumed that the border stabilized along this line of strongholds in the 11th century, when in the 1030s or at the end of the century the Pomeranians fortified their positions along this line of resistance[1811], or even – according to E. Rymar – claimed the lands further south, which is substantiated by the fact that Wrymouth had to defeat them to conquer Międzyrzecz[1812]. The fact that the border ran in this area at the turn of the 11th and 12th centuries is substantiated by Gallus Anonymus' account about the move made by the Pomeranians, who – in the time after exiling Sieciech after 1097 and before August 1100 – erected "a stronghold situated opposite" (*castrum oppositum*) near Santok. It is supposed to have been high and located so close that they were able to see and hear what was happening in the Polish stronghold. Yet in the words of the chronicler, the Pomeranians destroyed the stronghold at their own initiative out of fear of Bolesław III the Wrymouth[1813]. Today this Pomeranian fortification is hypothetically located on Góra Zamkowa (Castle Hill) in Santok, the high right bank of the Warta, over the Polish stronghold situated in the valley right beyond the river's channel[1814].

Gallus goes on to write about Bolesław III the Wrymouth's subsequent successful battles with the Pomeranians for the strongholds

idem, *Czynniki związane z procesem formowania się grodów limesu nadnoteckiego we wczesnym średniowieczu. Stan i perspektywy badań*, [in:] *Pradolina Noteci na tle pradziejowych i wczesnośredniowiecznych szlaków handlowych*, ed. H. Machajewski, J. Rola, Poznań 2006, p. 281; E. Rymar, *Historia polityczna i społeczna Nowej Marchii w średniowieczu (do roku 1535)*, Gorzów Wlkp. 2015, p. 112.

1809 See above, p. 225 ff.

1810 L. Leciejewicz, *Z badań nad kształtowaniem się ośrodków grodowych na pograniczu pomorsko-wielkopolskim we wczesnym średniowieczu*, "Slavia Antiqua" 6, 1957–1959, p. 147; J. Rajman, "*In confinio terrae". Definicje i metodologiczne aspekty badań nad średniowiecznym pograniczem*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" 109, 2002, p. 89.

1811 J. Powierski, B. Śliwiński, K. Bruski, *Studia z dziejów Pomorza…*, p. 13; S. Kalinowski, *Pogranicze kujawsko-pomorskie…*, p. 118.

1812 Gall II, 14, p. 78; E. Rymar, *Historia polityczna…*, p. 115.

1813 Gall II, 17.

1814 According to older archaeological prospection, this Pomeranian stronghold was destroyed between the 11th and 13th centuries. See T. Jurek, *Santok*, [in:] *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny województwa poznańskiego w średniowieczu*, ed. A. Gąsiorowski, part 4/2: *Sabel–Sikorzyn*, Poznań 2003, p. 294; A. Paroń, *Dzieje Santoka w świetle źródeł pisanych*, [in:] *Santok. Strażnica…*, p. 51.

of Santok, Czarnków, Ujście, Wieleń, Nakło on the Noteć line, and for Wyszogród situated on the Vistula, but forming a line with the strongholds mentioned above. The battles were interspersed with the Polish ruler's raids into Pomerania's central part[1815].

The situation after the occupation of the frontier strongholds is seen in three lives of St. Otto of Bamberg, ones which differ in details. The oldest, known as the *Vita Prieflingensis*, tells about Otto's retinue reaching the borders of the Polish duchy, where they were awaited by the comes of Santok, Paweł. He accompanied the missionaries to Duke Wartislaw I, who met them halfway at the Warta river (*iuxta fluvium Wvrtam*). The retinue crossed the border of Pomerania and reached Pyrzyce. Finishing their Pomeranian expedition the missionaries travelled across a foreboding wilderness[1816] and reached Ujście situated on the Polish border[1817].

Ebo presents the crossing of the Polish-Pomeranian border in a different way. He wrote that Comes Paweł (without any mention of Santok) looked after the mission already on its way to Ujście situated on the Polish border. The first stop after leaving Ujście was a stronghold (*castrum*) called *Zitarigroda*, where the retinue was met halfway by Wartislaw and where it began its journey into Pomerania to reach "the Pomeranians' first stronghold" (*castrum primum Pomeraniae*), i.e., Pyrzyce, on its tenth day. This account was referred to by Herbord, who complemented it – possibly after *Vita Prieflingensis* – with the information that past Ujście they encountered forests and bogs separating Poland and Pomerania. Past these there was a river (*flumen*), which constituted Pomerania's border (*qui limes Pomeranie est*); at the river Wartislaw awaited Otto, who – after a warm welcome – proceeded to Pyrzyce[1818].

It seems that the last two sources are a liberal travesty of the first account. Ujście was featured in the description of the beginning of the journey, while the Warta river became a border and lost its name, similarly as Comes Paweł (Pawlik) lost the territorial reference to his function. In describing the border Herbord resorts to

1815 Gall II, 18, 22, 28–31, 39, 44, 47, 48, III 1, 26.

1816 Is it the same wilderness which Gallus mentions when talking about Wrymouth's expedition from Głogów to Kołobrzeg? – Gall II, 28. According to R. Moldenhauer, *Terra deserta, locus horroris et vastae solitudinis als siedlungsgeschichtliche Terminanten in Wagrien und Mecklenburg*, "Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte", Germanistische Abteilung 104, 1987, p. 190–215, the wilderness was the transition zone between the duchies.

1817 VP II, 2, 3, III, 1.

1818 Ebo II, 4, 5; Herbord II, 10, 12.

two characteristic ways of defining it – through the wilderness and across the river. Yet this sequence proves that he combined the motifs taken from the works of his predecessors, ignoring reality[1819]. In this situation it is crucial to decide who was more credible in indicating the place where Otto crossed the Polish-Pomeranian border in 1124 – the monk of Prüfening or Ebo. There are more arguments supporting Santok and thus the former seems more reliable[1820].

Assuming that the monk of Prüfening was right, Ebo's *Zitarigroda* should be hypothetically located in the vicinity of Santok[1821]. However, A. Paroń observed that Ebo does not say that the stronghold was situated near the border or in the vicinity of a frontier river, while S. Rosik emphasized that, contrary to Pyrzyce, Ebo did not locate it in Pomerania, which – together with the fact that no mission was undertaken there – proves that *Zitarigroda* was only a Pomeranian frontier fortification[1822].

Thus, the question remains unresolved, while Ebo's mention of *Zitarigroda* does not contribute much to the discussion of the Polish-Pomeranian border. However, Ebo's additional contribution deserves attention, i.e., the desecration of the graves of Wrymouth's ancestors by the Pomeranians during their raid in 1128. Independently of the exact location of the necropolis in Płock or in Gniezno/Poznań and controversies concerning the exact date of the event put forwards by S. Rosik[1823], the information seems to suggest that the frontier of Wartislaw's lands was situated closer to the line of the Noteć than the lake district, which facilitated attacking the targets situated further away in the enemy's territory.

One of the arguments in favour of locating the border deeper in Pomeranian territory was the thesis of establishing the office of castellan in Santok and other strongholds on the Noteć, whose jurisdiction

[1819] See S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 199–202, 204; A. Paroń, *Dzieje…*, p. 53.

[1820] The very fact that *Vita Prieflingensis* was written earlier than Ebo's works is not a sufficient argument (both authors could have referred to the accounts of the expedition members). What is important are the details, such as the fact that comes Paweł managed Santok, and – primarily – that in the case of the itinerary from Gniezno to Pyrzyce, crossing the border on the Warta, in the vicinity of Santok, seems more probable than in Ujście. For discussion see: S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 68 ff.

[1821] And interpret it as, e.g., the stronghold abandoned by the Pomeranians out of fear of Wrymouth, mentioned in Gall (II, 17).

[1822] S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 199–202, 204; A. Paroń, *Dzieje…*, p. 53.

[1823] Ebo III, 13, p. 115. S. Rosik, *Bolesław…*, p. 220 f.

reached deep into Pomerania. However, the latest research of the castellany system contradicts the possibility of such early emergence of entities of this type[1824]. Thus, A. Paroń observed that the lands on both sides of the Warta and Noteć were under the control of a stronghold wielder – the commander of the Santok garrison, Paweł – while the castellany was not established there until later. However, he writes that the church in Santok (1270), mentioned in the sources not until the 13th century, and the office of the provost (1232) were established by Wrymouth; the dedication of the church to St. Andrew the Apostle[1825] proves the purpose of the foundation – the Christianization of the newly conquered lands beyond the Warta and Noteć[1826]. Yet with the use of the retrogressive method, especially when confronted with the changes of the border taking place in the region in the 13th and the beginning of the 14th centuries, a high degree of caution should be exercised.

Thus, it should be emphasized that the lives of St. Otto say that Ujście, and possibly Santok, were situated on the border, which should be located in the vicinity of the Warta and the Noteć. In accordance with this, B Zientara, E. Rymar, and J. Spors write that the area as far as the Noteć and the lower Warts was subordinated to the Pomeranian bishopric until 1140; the expansion of the Greater-Polish and Silesian Piasts resulted in replacing it on the Odra by the Lubusz bishopric and the Poznań bishopric further east[1827]. Admittedly, the charter of protection of the Pomeranian bishopric from 1140[1828] does not list the strongholds situated to the south of Pyrzyce, but this document, whose date and the information which it includes raise doubts in any case[1829], does not seem to list all the centres of the bishopric and Wartislaw I's lands.

[1824] See below, M. Pauk's excursus in this volume.

[1825] The dedication was confirmed not until 1270 – *Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej…*, p. 48. The range of the provost's jurisdiction (between the Noteć, Warta, Odra, Ina and Drawa) is determined by *Chronica Poloniae Maioris*, ed. B. Kürbis, MPH, NS 8, Warszawa 1970, chap. 159 (p. 125).

[1826] A. Paroń, *Dzieje…*, p. 53–56.

[1827] B. Zientara, *Henryk Brodaty i jego czasy*, Warszawa 1975, p. 279, J. Spors, *Przynależność administracyjna ziem nad środkową Odrą i dolną Wartą w XII i I. połowie XIII w.*, "Sobótka" 41, 1986, 1, p. 5; *idem*, *Początki i stan posiadania templariuszy w ziemi kostrzyńskiej w latach 1232–1261*, "Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Wielkopolski Pomorza" 16, 1987, 2 (32), p. 116; E. Rymar, *Historia polityczna…*, p. 148; *idem*, *Jeszcze w sprawie…*, p. 198.

[1828] PUB, vol. 1, no. 30.

[1829] The literature collected by P. Piętkowski, *Biskupstwo…*, *passim*.

However, in the second half of the 12th century the stronghold in Cedynia emerges from the mists of time, distinctly seen in the archaeological material at least from the 11th century[1830]. According to most researchers, it was to have been the Pomeranian castellany[1831]. Perhaps it was from here, or rather from the Transodranian lands of the Griffins (the Wkra lands or Teltow and Barnim lands adjacent from the south[1832]) that the attack was launched on Lubusz in 1194[1833], which testifies not only to political interests but also to the possibility of operating in this area.

It is only at the turn of the first and second quarters of the 12th century that the possessions of the Piasts in the north of the stronghold line on the Noteć directly facing the lands of the Griffins were conclusively confirmed; the relevant sources mention the rivalry for the lands between the Greater-Polish Piasts – Władysław III Spindleshanks and Władysław Odonic, Silesian Piasts – Henry the Bearded, Lubusz bishopric, the Griffins – Barnim I, and the bishopric in Kamień. The issue therefore still remains open to debate[1834].

1830 M. Rębkowski, *Gdzie rezydował…, passim*; *idem*, G. Kiarszys, *O niektórych problemach badawczych związanych ze średniowieczną Cedynią*, [in:] *Civitas Cedene. Studia i materiały do dziejów Cedyni*, vol. 1, ed. P. Migdalski, Chojna–Szczecin–Cedynia 2014, p. 105–124.

1831 For more recent studies: E. Rymar, *Historia polityczna…*, p. 119; M. Rębkowski, G. Kiarszys, *O niektórych problemach…*, p. 113. Opposing the hypothesis of the existence of the castellany: J. Spors, *O domniemanej kasztelanii cedyńskiej*, "Materiały Zachodniopomorskie" 30, 1984, p. 131–134.

1832 I intentionally leave out the discussion of the role played in Polish-Pomeranian relations in the 12th century by the last independent Polabian state neighbouring with the so-called Lubusz Land in the west – the duchy of Jaxa of Köpenick (died in ca. 1176), whose heirs in Teltow and Barnim lands – according to some theories – were Pomeranian dukes. See B. Zientara, *Henryk Brodaty…*, p. 226; E. Rymar, *Klucz do ziem polskich, czyli dzieje Ziemi Lubuskiej aż po jej utratę przez Piastów i ugruntowanie władzy margrabiów brandenburskich / Der Schlüssel zu den polnischen Ländern, oder die Geschichte des Lebuser Landes bis zu dessen Verlust durch die Piasten und der Festigung der Herrschaft der Brandenburger Markgrafen*, Gorzów 2007, p. 34; *idem*, *Pomorskie wyprawy zbrojne na Łużyce i Brandenburgię w latach 1178–1180*, [in:] *Monumenta manent. Księga pamiątkowa dedykowana profesorowi Tadeuszowi Białeckiemu w 70. rocznicę urodzin*, ed. A. Makowski, E. Włodarczyk, Szczecin 2003, p. 77–102. In view of the results of the latest archaeological discoveries in Berlin and its vicinity, the issue deserves a separate profound study.

1833 *Rocznik kapituły gnieźnieńskiej*, [in:] *Roczniki wielkopolskie*, ed. B. Kürbis, MPH NS 6, Warszawa 1962, p. 3.

1834 E. Rymar, *Historia polityczna…*, p. 119–124; *idem*, *Jeszcze w sprawie…*, p. 200; Ch. Gahlbeck, *Zisterzienser und Zisterzienserinnen in der Neumark*, Berlin 2002, *passim*; *idem*, *Der Oder – Drage – Raum in voraskanischer Zeit*, "Jahrbuch für Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands" 45, 1999, p. 1–97.

EXCURSUS: TWELFTH-CENTURY WEST POMERANIAN CASTELLANS: ON THE PROBLEM OF POLISH STRUCTURAL INFLUENCE

Marcin R. Pauk

The social and political foundations of polities of the high Middle Ages in Central Europe has again (after several decades' intermission) become an object of broad discussion, if not sharp scholarly polemic. At issue is an attempt to deeply revise the model of social relations and state organization developed in the 1960s and 1970s and "binding", in its local varieties, in Polish, Czechoslovak, and Hungarian historiographies. This was a model which assumed that the three Central European states that formed in the tenth and eleventh centuries drew upon the organizational solutions of Great Moravia. As a result, it was believed, a territorial organization emerged in the eleventh century founded upon a system of comital burgs or castellanies and its surrounding system of public treasury benefits and services contributed by the subject peasant population to the early-state power elite. The latter was centred around the ruler and had no autonomous material resources on its own[1835]. Such an organized system of exploitation of land and people came to an end, apparently, only with the social and legal transition of the thirteenth century.

The polemics against this concept, which have appeared in Poland and the Czech Republic, are markedly diverse as they are based on

1835 The model in question most completely emerges in Poland from detailed studies and polemics of Karol Buczek and Karol Modzelewski; see K. Buczek, *Studia z dziejów ustroju społecznego Polski piastowskiej*, vol. 1–3, ed. W. Bukowski, Kraków–Warszawa 2006–2010; K. Modzelewski, *Studia wybrane z dziejów społeczeństwa, prawa i ustroju Europy wczesnośredniowiecznej*, ed. M. Pauk, A. Pieniądz, Warszawa 2018; *idem*, *Chłopi w monarchii wczesnopiastowskiej…*, *passim*; also, see B. Krzemieńska, D. Třeštík, *Hospodařské základy raně středověkého státu (Čechy, Polsko, Uhry v 10. a 11. století)*, "Hospodařské dějiny" 1, 1978, p. 149–230; D. Třeštík, *K sociální struktuře přemyjch Čech. Kosmas o knížecím vlastnictví půdy a lidí*, "Československý časopis historický" 19, 1971, p. 537–567; G. Györffy, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft der Ungarn sum die Jahrtausendwende*, Budapest 1983; M. Kučera, *Slovensko po páde Věl'kej Moravy*, Bratislava 1974.

different methodologies and focus on different elements of the system under debate. The attempt to replace the model of "ducal law" with a competitive model of the gradual modernization of power structures, combined with the reception of West European legal and political patterns, appears as the most coherent and cohesive approach[1836]. An element of this transition was the appearance in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century of the office of castellan, equipped with territorially-restricted fiscal, judicial, and military prerogatives. According to Sławomir Gawlas, the inspiration for such organization came from the burgraviates of east Germany, whose role was significant in the building of the royal domain under the Hohenstaufen emperors and the territorial rulerships of new princely dynasties in the Empire[1837].

The critiques of the model of "ducal law", which were primarily based on extensive comparative studies, were targeted against abuse of a retrogression that consisted in projecting the image obtained from analysis of thirteenth-century immunity privileges onto a rather distant past (up to the latter half of the eleventh century, or even further on). Emphasized has also been the underestimation of autonomous foundations of the property-based economic position of the twelfth-century magnate elite as well as the other economic factors of relevance, such as the regalia or mintage (incl. renovation of currency), as having been no less essential sources of the ruler's income than tributes-in-kind[1838].

A political system and territorial administration concept alternative to the "ducal law" that was recently proposed by Czech

[1836] The credit for this approach goes to Sławomir Gawlas; see S. Gawlas, *O kształt zjednoczonego Królestwa. Niemieckie władztwo terytorialne a geneza społecznoustrojowej odrębności Polski*, Warszawa 1996.

[1837] *Ibidem*, p. 49–58; recently, also in reference to East Saxon burgwards: K. Fokt, *Organizacja grodowa a grodowo-kasztelańska na przykładzie Śląska*, "Historia Slavorum Occidentis" 21, 2019, p. 96–115.

[1838] For the most complete discussion, see S. Gawlas, *Komercjalizacja jako mechanizm europeizacji peryferii na przykładzie Polski*, [in:] *Ziemie polskie wobec Zachodu. Studia nad rozwojem średniowiecznej Europy*, ed. *idem*, Warszawa 2006, p. 25–116; also see M.R. Pauk, *Money Makes the World Go Round. Some remarks on ducal power, coinage and society in Central Europe (1050–1200)*, [in:] *Economies, Monetisation and Society in the West Slavic Lands 800–1200 AD*, ed. M. Bogucki, M. Rębkowski, Szczecin 2013, p. 149–156, with reference to a late 12th-century breakdown of the Hungarian monarch's income items, pointing to a prevalent role of minerals and mintage over the benefits/performances traditionally associated with the 'ducal law' system.

scholars also largely pertains to the form and ways of functioning of the castellany organization[1839]. In contrast to the Gawlas model, it is highly static and offers no reference to comparative contexts. Libor Jan, the main critic of the hitherto-prevalent paradigm, has identified a dichotomous split within the castellanies into the "beneficiary" part – the one that was bestowed to the powerful noblemen by the ruler as a form of benefice (although without association with fief) and the part belonging to the ducal/royal domain, administered by the royal officials, most of whom were not of aristocratic descent, referred to as the *villici* (i.e., "bailiffs" or "stewards"). This concept has to be countered by a number of doubts as it assumes the possibility of a strict division of competencies within local power structures under the conditions of a non-bureaucratic and non-literate administration and management system. Moreover, it underestimates the dynamism of thirteenth-century transformations, with the birth of the concept of royal domain as one of their major features.

As becomes apparent, the problem of forms and functions of territorial administration – that is, in the first place, the origins and chronology of the castellan organization, its fiscal and judicial competencies, the position of castellans and other local officials in the power elite – has not ceased to be central to the above-outlined discussions and polemics. Early west Pomeranian sources may only provide a few contributions. Nonetheless, the fact that the title *castellanus* appears in west Pomeranian charters in parallel to Bohemia and much earlier than in the indigenously Piast lands, where it is first seen not until the early thirteenth century in Silesian documents, seems to be

[1839] This particular issue has become an object of tempestuous polemics among Czech mediaevalists, triggered by Libor Jan's monograph: L. Jan, *Václav II. a struktury panovnické moci*, Brno 2006, and the direct polemic with his arguments: see D. Třeštík, J. Žemlička, *O modelech vývoje přemyslovského státu*, "Český časopis historický" 105, 2007, 1, p. 122–64; then came: L. Jan, *'Skrytý půvab "středoevropského modelu'*, "Český časopis historický" 105, 2007, 4, p. 873–902; J. Žemlička, *Kastelaní, vilikové a beneficia v netransformované transformaci*, "Český časopis historický" 106, 2008, 1, p. 109–136; an attempt to refer to the older model from the standpoint of Great Moravian period's archaeology, incl. methodological remarks: J. Macháček, *Středoevropský model a jeho archeologické testování*, "Český časopis historický" 106, 2008, 3, p. 598–626; the discussion was summarized in a supra-local perspective: R. Antonin, *Model stredoevropského typu stredovekého státu jako interpretacní problém ceské a polské medievistiky*, "Historia Slavorum Occidentis" 1, 2011, p. 65–76; L. Jan, *Ovlivnilo raně přemyslovské správní a ekonomické ústrojí piastovské Polsko?*, "Historia Slavorum Occidentis" 2, 2012, p. 74–87.

essential, though not easy to interpret[1840]. Hence, the question whether the new term appearing in the documents used by the local dictators actually stood for the old or a new structure of power becomes a paramount, and tough-to-tackle, dilemma.

In a charter for the Premonstratensians of Grobe, issued by Pomeranian Bishop Adalbert at the Usedom castle-town in June 1159, the figure of Ostrobod appears, described as a "castillanus predicti castri". He is featured, alongside his brother Domislav, in an exclusive group of witnesses to a legal action, whose names are specified, along with Dukes Bogusław I and Kazimierz (Casimir) I. The other mighty men, who (as may be conjectured) attended the ducal assembly, are hidden under the descriptions "nobiles terre ipsius" and "ceteri quam plures tam ipsius provincie quam aliarum, qui eodem tempore presentes erant"[1841]. Although the other mighty men have been regarded as worthy or adequate enough (*idonei*) to testify to the legal action performed by the bishop, it was the socially exposed position and scope of authority of the local castellan and his brother that was responsible for the fact that only their names, apart from those of the dukes, were specified in the document.

The earliest confirmations of the Grobe Premonstratensians' estates are instrumental in determining the relationships within the west Pomeranian early-state power elite. Another diploma, issued by Pomeranian Bishop Conrad I in the presence of dukes and "totius populi terre" at an assembly in Ückermünde in 1168, contains a more extensive list of witnesses who are precisely titled according to their political and social rank. It opens with the dukes Jaxa of Köpenick, Bogusław I, and Kazimierz, described as *domini* and *principes*; then comes Wartislaw, Castellan of Szczecin, also referred to as a "lord" (*dominus*), succeeded by four secular mighty men to whom the title of castellan is attached. They came from the main political centres of hither-Odra and trans-Odra Pomerania – namely, Kamień, Wolin, Usedom, and Demmin. This precise social gradation of the participants of the legal action makes one believe that the term *castellanus* was not randomly used by the scribe; on the contrary, it pointed to a precisely determined marker of a social status.

[1840] M.R. Pauk and E. Wółkiewicz, *Struktury administracyjne Śląska jako czynnik spójności prawnoustrojowej (XII–XV w.)*, "Sobótka" 67, 2012, p. 56–59.

[1841] PUB, vol. 1, no. 48: "Acta sunt hec in castro Uznam coram principibus Bogozlauo et Kazimero fratre eius et aliis nobilibus terre ipsius, Ostrobodo scilicet castillano predicti castri et Dommizlao fratre eius ceterisque quam plurimis tam ipsius provincie quam aliarum, qui eodem tempore presentes erant, omnes idonei ad perhibendum acte rei testimonium".

The appearance as early as in 1159 of the title of castellan in west Pomeranian documents and, subsequently, its quite regular reappearance in lists of witnesses until the mid-thirteenth century, became the basis for accepting the view whereby the castellany organization did exist within the Griffin dominion. Polish scholars, who tend to focus on rather secondary details of territorial divisions and the reaches of the areas of individual "castellanies", accepted as an obvious that the model for the said organization was the analogical structure of the castellan organization in the Piast state. The model was apparently taken over as a result of Duke Bolesław the Wrymouth's conquest of Pomerania[1842]. The list of the main castles of Pomerania in the description of the Pomeranian bishopric's endowment contained in Pope Innocent II's bull of 1140 was accepted as the earliest evidence that such an organization existed, though this laconic record does not imply that a regular administration system of ducal rulership actually functioned[1843]. In contrast to the Gniezno bull's enumeration of castles, which tends to be indicated as an analogous list and which itemizes the *naturalia* based on which the tithe was owed to the bishop, it is notable that the bull of Wolin gives no indication whatsoever of any similar duties enforced at the Pomeranian castles.

Written records from the period of fifty years between 1175 and 1225 more frequently take note of the castellans of Demmin, Kamień, Kołobrzeg, Wolin, and Usedom, and only sporadically those of Szczecin; mentions of Gützkow, Prenzlau, Pasewalk, Sitno, and Ückermünde are sparse[1844]. There are certain regularities following from analysis of the witness lists in ducal and episcopal documents; let us illustrate them using the example of Demmin, one of the leading centres of power in the trans-Odra part of the Pomeranian duchy.

[1842] K. Ślaski, *Podziały terytorialne Pomorza w XII–XIII wieku*, Poznań 1960; J. Spors, *Organizacja kasztelańska na Pomorzu Zachodnim XII–XIII w.*, Słupsk 1991.

[1843] PUB, vol. 1, no. 30; J. Spors, *Organizacja kościelna Pomorza Zachodniego w połowie XII w. w świetle bulli protekcyjnej dla biskupstwa pomorskiego z 1140 r.*, [in:] *idem*, *Studia nad wczesnośredniowiecznymi dziejami Pomorza Zachodniego…*, p. 205–207.

[1844] For a complete list of West Pomerania's castellans, see J. Walachowicz, *Landwójtostwo na Pomorzu Zachodnim. Kształtowanie się zarządu terytorialnego w dobie pokasztelańskiej*, Poznań 1969, p. 12–15.

The local castellan Dzierżek, together with his kinsman Budziwój, are first mentioned in as early as 1168 by the aforementioned Bishop Conrad's diploma[1845]. In the subsequent episcopal diploma, dated 1175 and containing an extensive list of Pomeranian castellans, we meet Dzierżek again, now in the company of his son John. The ducal diploma from the following year informs about a group of seven powerful men, referred to as "nobiles viri castri Diminensis" and headed by Dzierżek himself, now without being named castellan, whereas the very same document uses this title in reference to magnates from the other centres[1846].

The subsequent records are from the late 1180s; it was then that John, Castellan of Demmin, doubtlessly son of Dzierżek, was noted down for the first time. In another document from the period, the same John appears as "Ianic de Timin", along with Jarogniew [Yarognev] (described in exactly the same way) who reappears in other contemporaneous diplomas as well.[1847] As of 1208, Sławimar is mentioned as Castellan on Demmin, who appears along the other noblemen of Demmin in other diplomas, too[1848]. More information on John, son of Dzierżek, appears in the records only some twenty-five years later: in 1214, as per Bishop Siegwin's diploma, he appeared as a witness together with a certain Rochil and Sławimar (described as *Diminenses* again); in 1215, he issued a document wherein he would title himself, again, Castellan of Demmin – albeit at the same time a magnate named Rochil (Rokiel?) was known as the castellan, with several diplomas attesting this fact[1849].

Based on this list of appearances of Demmin castellans and their context between the years 1168 and 1225, only four magnates held the office in this long period (among them, a father and his son). The appearances of castellans in ducal or episcopal diplomas, in almost all the cases surrounded by the other members of the local elite, referred to as *Diminenses*, and their strict association with the elite, lead to the question about the source of legitimization of their position. Was it the appointment by the duke, or perhaps, the consensus of the other magnates who came

[1845] PUB, vol. 1, no. 51a.

[1846] *Ibidem*, no. 70; the mighty, named *Diminenses*, are featured also in another Kazimierz I's diploma from the same year; *ibidem*, no. 71.

[1847] *Ibidem*, no. 106, 108.

[1848] *Ibidem*, no. 126, 146, 161.

[1849] In the years 1215–1225; see *ibidem*, no. 161, 167, 209, 213, 222, 227.

from a given centre of power or province, and thus were anchored in it – politically and in terms of property? While no definite answer is at hand, given the context of the present analysis, I would incline toward the latter option.

Observations made on the example of the Demmin elite confirm the analogous data for the other important Pomeranian centres. The above-quoted lists of witnesses tell us, for example, that the office of castellan was long held in Kołobrzeg by a certain Barsz (mentioned 1176–1189); in Kamień, by Zawisza (mentioned 1168–1176); in Szczecin, by Rozwara (mentioned 1208–1224). Analogously to those of Demmin, these documents confirm that there existed a whole group of magnates or nobles of Kamień – the *nobiles de castro Caminensi*[1850]. Among them, Unim, mentioned for the years 1176–1214, but only once distinguished as a castellan (in 1208), must have played a role of importance[1851]. The groups of powerful men from a specified centre, among whom castellans tend to appear quite often, do not resemble strictly hierarchical arrangements, as otherwise might be expected if a head of the castellany and the officials reporting to him were referred to in each case. Assuming that there existed a regular system of castle-town administration, the appearance in one diploma, dated 1176, of two Kołobrzeg castellans is difficult to explain[1852].

The aforementioned Wartislaw of the Świętobor dynasty [Świętoborzyce], who appeared once, in 1168, and bearing the title of Castellan of Szczecin, is described in Saxo Grammaticus's chronicle as a "prefectus urbis". Among the other castellans he excels with his dynastic background and close kinship with the ruling Griffins. According to the Danish historiographer, Szczecin essentially became his sovereign dominion – a benefice bestowed to him by the Danish monarch Valdemar. Furthermore, after Bogusław I's death, Wartislaw was promoted to regent of the duchy during the minority of Bogusław's sons. The Świętobor dynasty's landed property in the Lands of Szczecin and Pyrzyce is also well identifiable based on the records, thanks to Wartislaw's Cistercian foundation in Kołbacz[1853].

[1850] *Ibidem*, no. 70; see also no. 71, 161.

[1851] *Ibidem*, no. 70, 71, 108, 146, 161.

[1852] *Ibidem*, no. 66: "Bars castellanus de Cholberch, Thworis secundus castellanus".

[1853] H. Chłopocka, *Powstanie i rozwój wielkiej własności ziemskiej opactwa cystersów w Kołbaczu w XII–XIV wieku*, Poznań 1953, p. 24–27.

These conclusions prompt one to ask about the modernization potential and degree of institutionalization of west Pomerania's office of castellan in the second half of the twelfth century. Literally all of them were, as can be concluded based on onomastics, magnates of Slavic origin, firmly settled in the local traditional power structures[1854]. Their appearance in ducal and episcopal documents, oftentimes issued on the occasion of assemblies, can be regarded as a symptom of the Griffin rulership's political consolidation after the middle of the twelfth century. All the same, their position in the structure of power probably did not significantly divert from that of the old aristocracy; the ruler's obligations with respect to the latter were described somewhat earlier by Cosmas of Prague who stated that the duty of a duke who cares about an appropriate relationship with the magnate elite is to entrust them with "urbes et populum ad regendum"[1855]. The differences, the status, and the sources of the social power of the aristocracy in the period of consolidation of the Griffin rulership, compared to the information on the Pomeranian elite from the Lives of Saint Otto, do not seem to be significant. The elitist quality of the former was ensured by numerous clienteles and wealth acquired resulting from commercial undertakings and plundering military activity in the sea[1856]. Thus it seems that the elite maintained a strict association (over the subsequent generation as well) with large urban centres, and not with the rural surroundings. In the case of the Griffins' duchy, it is therefore difficult to speak of a power apparatus entirely dependent upon the rulers, one that implemented only their own interests.

A separate question is whether a system of territorially assigned benefits from the people, which were enforced by castellans on behalf of the duke, existed in the twelfth century. Early immunity formulae used in west Pomeranian documents, being the main source for historians investigating the issue in the Polish context, seem to suggest that such a system did exist. Kazimierz I's foundation document for the Chapter of Kamień from the year 1176 does not specify castellans as those to whom the ban on enforcing duties

[1854] L. Leciejewicz, *Początki nadmorskich miast…*, p. 186–190; *idem*, *Miasta Słowian północnopołabskich…*, p. 174–179.

[1855] Cosmas I, 42.

[1856] L. Leciejewicz, *Społeczne i polityczne warunki chrystianizacji Pomorza…*, p. 262.

from the canons' subjects would have extended, using the general formula of *homines seculares* and *seculares exactores* instead. Yet the diploma renders it irrefutably apparent that those peasants were subjected to castellanies as territorial units in whose areas they were continuously bound to construct or repair river crossing facilities[1857]. The list of fiscal duties and services from which the men of the Kamień Church were exempt, some of which are described with familiarly sounding Slavic names (such as *narzaz*, *osep*, or *gościtwa*), or the duty to transport the ruler's chattel with use of one's own horses (called *przewód*) and to construct ducal courts, do not look like having been strictly related to the structures of a castellany organization.

The appearance of analogous vernacular terms with which to denote benefits and peasants' labour-service duties in Poland and in Pomerania in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries cannot in itself be evidence of a simple reproduction of the Polish castellany organization, since the same or very similar terms can be met in Bohemian records, whereas the argument that the (alleged) Great Moravian model was commonly drawn upon can be regarded as completely out-of-date. What is more, the similar immunity formulae, encompassing a concession upon construction and repair of castles and bridges as well as all the fees and easements owed to the duke can also be found in the contemporaneous diplomas from Rugia (Rügen), where no castellany organization similar to the west Pomeranian one ever emerged, in the concordant opinion of scholars[1858].

A reliable, though not-quite-evident proof of the castellans' competencies in respect of enforcement of dues owed to the ducal treasury is the mandate of Dukes Bogusław II and Kazimierz II from the early thirteenth century, calling upon their duchy's officials ("prefecti sive castellani sive in aliis officiis sub nostra potestate positi") to exert control and coercion upon innkeepers (*tabernarii*) who were unwilling to pay their rent in wax – a levy established in honour of St. Otto, to the benefit of the Michelsberg abbey. The document would not tell us, though, whether the castellans were thoroughly, as if ex officio, responsible for collecting the said duty from *tabernae* (taverns), their

[1857] PUB, vol. 1, no. 70; also, see *ibidem*, no. 63, with *iudices seculares* appearing in the same role.

[1858] *Ibidem*, no. 148.

special privileges having been based on a special instruction reconfirmed by the ducal seal[1859].

The problem of *tabernae* and the income received from them, very often encountered in the Griffins' earliest bestowals to Church institutions, alongside the receivables from fairs, customs duties, and salt, brings into question the actual significance of these fluent forms of income in the treasury of the early Pomeranian state[1860]. Addressed here should also be the early ducal mintage: taking into account the number of hitherto recognized types, it most probably provided income from renovation of currency, beginning with the eighth decade[1861]. All these premises enable one to pose questions and express well-informed doubts as to the real functionality of the expanded forms of tributes, duties, and levies from the common people and their actual contribution to the economic foundation of the ducal power and authority. All the more so that from the beginning of the incorporation of Pomeranian urban centres, i.e., the 1230s, a parallel process began of the decline of the castellany organization and its replacement by landvogtship districts[1862].

[1859] *Ibidem*, no. 140.

[1860] For a breakdown and analysis of information on West Pomeranian fairs, inns, and mints, based on written records, see L. Leciejewicz, *Miasta Słowian…*, p. 133–147; for a thorough monograph of regalia-based income in the 13th c., see J. Walachowicz, *Monopole książęce w skarbowości wczesnofeudalnej Pomorza Zachodniego*, Poznań 1963.

[1861] Recently, B. Paszkiewicz, *Denary zachodniopomorskie z drugiej połowy XII wieku na nowo zbadane*, [in:] *Pieniądz i banki na Pomorzu*, ed. W. Garbaczewski, R. Macyra, Poznań 2017, p. 41–96.

[1862] The chronology of this phenomenon has been determined by J. Spors, see above; also see J. Walachowicz, *Landwójtostwo na Pomorzu Zachodnim…*, *passim*.

V

The Discovery and Perception of Pomerania by Latin-Language Authors up until the Late 12th Century

Andrzej Pleszczyński

It was only at the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries that the territory of today's Pomerania became better examined, recognized as more or less civilized, and incorporated into the European sphere in written sources. Prior to that, it was subject to wide-ranging quasi-geographical speculations, ones often stylized and inspired by literary imagination drawing on cultural archetypes. The two key factors impacting the perception of the region, its assessment, as well as its description in the mental geography of the Christian West were: the medieval authors' foundation in antique tradition and their observations built upon it, in particular *via* imagination.

In both antique and early-medieval reports the region, whose name in the 11th century was recorded in the form referring to the people *Pomerani* (Pomeranians)[1863], was presented as savage and barbarian. Gradually, however, medieval literature began to introduce certain differences as regards clichés of antiquity that softened images of old. Over time, such increasingly frequent details changed into a new quality, which in this case meant a taming of the land and recognizing it as part of European civilization.

[1863] *Annales Altahenses maiores*, under the year 1046 (p. 41); *Annales Pegavienses et Bosovienses…*, p. 234.

The aim of this article is to show successive narrative structures concerning descriptions of Pomerania in the early Middle Ages, their transformations resulting from the development of human knowledge, as well as the changes in the region's standing in terms of politics and civilization vis-à-vis the Latin Catholic West. Given the existing literature, an added value of this text is as follows: firstly, it analyzes only those sources where Pomerania is at all presented, with territory the territory generally being seen in conjunction with Poland[1864]; secondly, this paper above all sets out to capture a certain stereotypical mental picture of the region, rather than to exclusively carry out a source-study and historical analysis of the mentions made in texts, which is the standard for studies about the matters discussed here as have been published to date.

The source base of the deliberations will be primarily the written records of medieval historiography, but also the oldest epic works containing certain interesting information.

Since medieval authors were drawing on the antique tradition, the starting point of our analysis must be a concise presentation of the image of the southern shores of the Baltic Sea as recorded in antique texts, with special attention given to late-Roman works. It is obvious that antique reminiscences of the region as the world's edge surrounded by the waters of an ocean encompassing the ecumene had exerted an impact on all attempts made up until the mature Middle Ages at locating Pomerania in a space more or less known to intellectuals of the medieval West. It is worth noting that in patterns of locating territories known to the Greeks and Romans, Pomerania, together with its neighbours, was to be found in the north of a space described in treatises and imagined on ideology-influenced maps[1865]. Also, it was frequently referred to as Scythia[1866] or Sarmatia, which characterized it even more as an area of extraordinary barbarity,

[1864] A.F. Grabski, *Polska w opiniach obcych…*, *passim*; A. Krawiec, *Die gelehrten Vorstellungen und ihre Vermittlung in Mitteleuropa um 1400*, "Biuletyn Polskiej Misji Historycznej", November 2016, p. 19–49; A. Pleszczyński, *Przekazy niemieckie o Polsce i jej mieszkańcach w okresie panowania Piastów*, Lublin 2016.

[1865] P. Kochanek, *Schematy ekumeny w literaturze patrystycznej w kontekście klasycznych schematów zamieszkałej ziemi*, "Vox Patrum" 30 (55), 2010, p. 307–340; more on the subject, *idem*, *Die Vorstellung vom Norden und der Eurozentrismus. Die Auswertung der patristischen und mittelalterlichen Literatur*, Mainz 2004.

[1866] E. Zwolski, *Kasjodor i Jordanes: historia gocka czyli scytyjska Europa*, Lublin 1984.

hence the Baltic Sea was called *Barbarum fretum* or *Sarmaticos Okeanos* (Sarmatian Ocean)[1867]. Terms referring to the entire region did not prevent authors from locating in later Pomerania a variety of peoples, mainly the Baltic Veneti, the Goths, but also others, as well[1868].

In the process, names were sometimes mistaken and their forms changed out of recognition, so it is sometimes hard to say which people is meant[1869]. In general, ancient authors had only nebulous knowledge about the territories on the Baltic Sea, although their merchants did pay visits to those areas – for example, in search of amber, a highly valued good in the south[1870]. Yet antiquity developed its own model of presenting some sort of anthropological geography for Europe beyond the Danube, which, in terms of nature, praised its abundance and riches, despite the stereotypical writing about the awful cold that allegedly reigned across what they called the "North"[1871]. As regards the inhabitants of those territories – who, despite their ethnicity, were collectively ascribed the same features – they were supposed to be obstreperous and belligerent and thus prone to anarchy and cruelty. On top of that, their numbers were purportedly extraordinarily great as a result of untamed sexuality[1872]. Of course, that model was not

[1867] Claudii Ptolemaei, *Geographia*, III, 5: "In the north, European Sarmatia's limit is the Sarmatian Ocean along the Bay of the Venedae *(Sinus Venedicus)*"; cf. J. Kolendo, T. Płóciennik, *Vistula amne discreta. Greckie i łacińskie źródła do najdawniejszych dziejów ziem Polski*, Warszawa 2015, p. 244–248.

[1868] Claudii Ptolemaei, *Geographia*, III, 5: "Sarmatia is inhabited by large peoples: the Baltic Veneti along the Bay of Venedae [...] As regards smaller ones living in Sarmatia, the Gythones populate areas on the Vistula river, below the Baltic Veneti [...] Eastwards from the aforementioned below the Veneti live: the Galindae, the Sudini and the Stavanoi all the way to the Alans; *Jordanis Romana et Getica*, 36: 'At the Ocean itself, where the sea drinks up the waters of the Vistula by means of three throats, settled the Vidivarii, a mixture of various tribes. Behind them, also on the shores of the Ocean, live the Ests, a peaceful people by all means"; cf. J. Kolendo, T. Płóciennik, *Vistula amne discreta. Greckie i łacińskie…*, p. 244–248. *Tabula Peutingeriana*, a Roman map dated 2nd-4th century AD, features the name 'Surrounding Sea' putting on its shores the people of *Venadi Sarmatae* (Sarmatian Venedi?) – *Tabula Peutingeriana. Codex Vindobonensis 324, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien*, ed. E. Weber, Graz 2004. See: J. Strzelczyk, *Odkrywanie Europy*, Poznań 2000, p. 267–277.

[1869] L. Leciejewicz, *Słowianie zachodni…*, Wrocław–Warszawa [1]1989, p. 25.

[1870] D. Quast, M. Erdlich, *Die Bernsteinstrasse*, Stuttgart 2013; T. Baranowski, J.A. Splitt, *Kalisia na bursztynowym szlaku – wspólne dziedzictwo kulturowe Europy*, Kalisz 2011.

[1871] D. Fraesdorff, *Der barbarische Norden…*, *passim*; K. von See, *Europa und der Norden im Mittelalter*, Heidelberg 1999, p. 99 ff.

[1872] A. Pleszczyński, J. Sobiesiak *et al.*, *Historia communitatem facit. Struktura narracji tworzących tożsamości grupowe w średniowieczu*, Wrocław 2016, p. 21 ff.

applied at all times. Sometimes it was incorporated into texts indirectly and partially, as when its aspects were needed by the author to show something important in line with the main message. Yet the model was there and it did project narratives, which means that it can be a vital tool for us when interpreting texts.

Using that model, one can analyze the words from *History* (VI, 2, 15) by Theophylact Simocatta, a Byzantine author from the first half of the 7th century, about three Slavs captured in the Balkans by imperial guards. They supposedly came from a country lying "at the far end of the Western Ocean and did not carry any iron on them, or any weapons, but held gusles in their hands"[1873]. Questioned by the Greeks, the men explained that they were envoys of their people to the khan of the Avars, whom they were to tell that they would not provide him with any warriors for his campaigns against the Greeks as the peoples living on the shores of that *Ocean* were said to be uniquely peace-loving, did not know weaponry, and carried musical instruments instead[1874]. Although one may surmise that a clever trick was being used by those Slavs in order to avoid being associated with other Slavs (who at the time, together with Avars, often fought against Byzantines), the fact that such a story was believed by those around the emperor speaks volumes about a certain fairy-tale and even exotic understanding of the southern Baltic shores by the Byzantines. For those Slavs were associated with a motif known from ancient literature of the noble savage, seemingly a barbarian, yet cultivating Arcadian qualities and evincing a natural goodness[1875].

However, treating the Baltic Slavs in this way in the Middle Ages was truly rare. Customary descriptions, although several centuries later than the one cited above, highlighted their particular belligerence, which is also a certain stylization, about which I shall say more below. Still, up until the mid-11th century no country name appears, with writers mentioning only peoples whose location is defined in a very imprecise manner. The first relatively extensive description of southern Baltic territories comes from the account of Wulfstan, the Anglo-Saxon traveler who in 890 arrived at the port of Truso not

[1873] *Teofilakt Simokata (ok. 629)*, [in:] MPH 1, ed. A. Bielowski, Lwów 1864, p. 3 f.

[1874] M. Wołoszyn, *Teofilakt Simokatta i Słowianie znad brzegu Oceanu Zachodniego – najstarsze świadectwo obecności Słowian nad Bałtykiem?*, Kraków 2014.

[1875] T. Ellingson, *The Myth of the Noble Savage*, Berkeley e.a. 2001.

far east from where the Vistula flows into the Baltic[1876]. He merely noted that before the territories of the old Prussians (*Witland*), whom he called Ests, there lay the land of the Baltic Veneti (Slavs), with the estuary of the Vistula river posing the border between the two[1877]. Those terms do not distinguish Pomerania at all as the name "Baltic Veneti" was typically applied to Slavs living in Central Europe. This was the same with successive authors writing about the southern littoral of the Baltic Sea who did not recognize the existence of the Pomeranian people or their land.

One very interesting mention somehow related to Pomerania is included in the famous account by Ibrahim ibn Yaqub, where he notes the North Ocean marking the border of Slavic countries as well as tribes living across the Odra river, such as the *W^eltāba* people, linked to the Veleti with whom Mieszko I was to fight over Prus' (*B^urūs*). Of most interest, however, is the following passage: "West of Prus' lies a Town of Women. It has its land and slaves, while they [i.e., the women] become pregnant by means of their slaves. If a boy is born, the woman kills him. They ride horseback and personally take part in wars while they are characterized by strength and severity"[1878]. The traveler was to have learnt such revelations from Otto I himself. The case of those Pomeranian (?) Amazons has been discussed a number of times, sometimes their existence was believed, sometimes their location was variously interpreted. The case was finally settled, as it seems, by Paweł Żmudzki, who by structural analysis of mythical narratives proved that the point was simply to indicate areas lying beyond the civilized world, where the norms of contemporary social life did not apply[1879]. That interpretation connects with the general ignorance about the region in the sources of the time.

Writing around 970, the Saxon chronicler Widukind notices only the people of Wolin (*Vuloini*), and in a vague manner the existence

[1876] J. Jesch, *Who was Wulfstan?*, [in:] *Wulstan's Voyage. The Baltic Sea region in the early Viking Age as seen from shipboard*, ed. A. Englert, A. Trakadas, Roskilde 2009 (= Maritime culture of the North 2), p. 29–36.

[1877] *Źródła skandynawskie i anglosaskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny*, ed. G. Labuda, Warszawa 1961, p. 85.

[1878] Ibrahim ibn Yaqub, p. 50.

[1879] P. Żmudzki, *Mieszko I i Amazonki. Wspólnoty wojownicze i normy życia rodzinnego w relacji Ibrahima ibn Jakuba*, [in:] *Tekst źródła. Krytyka – interpretacja*, ed. B. Trelińska, Warszawa 2005, p. 99–126.

of barbarians in the region of our interest here[1880]. Even Thietmar, after all very much interested in matters related to Saxony's eastern neighbours, wrote about Pomerania only in the context of the appointment of Reinbern to the post of the bishop of Kołobrzeg (*Salsa Cholbergiensis*) without naming the country or its people[1881], and only laconically mentioned the existence of Wolin (*Livilni civitas magna*)[1882]. Another source mention linked to Pomerania, in this case East Pomerania, is that of excerpts from *The Life of St. Adalbert* about Gdańsk (*Gyddanyzc, Guddanize*), from where the future martyr set off to the land of the old Prussians[1883]. Yet again, these sources lack geographical details and any fuller descriptions.

Even the sagas concerning the Slavic troops from the southern shores of the Baltic who took part in intra-Scandinavian fights did not mention the Pomeranians, but rather associated those warriors with the Poles[1884].

It was only the anonymous author of the earliest of the *Annals of Niederalteich* who noted for the first time, under the year 1046, that the attendees of the meeting of the nobles in Merseburg (or Meissen) in June that year had included the Czech Prince Břetislav, the Polish Prince Kazimierz, and the Pomeranian Prince *Zemuzil*[1885]. It is telling that the outside observer put those rulers next to one another in a single line, which may suggest their similar political standing. However, this is pure speculation, just like musings about who that Pomeranian prince was, what the borders of his country were, or even how his name correctly sounded. Generally, Polish historiography reads that name as Siemomysł, which has given rise to a wealth speculation, including about his family links with the Piast dynasty, where that name existed[1886]. It is a fact that no other source offers any more

[1880] Widukind III, 66, 68, 69.

[1881] Thietmar VII, 72; more about him: S. Rosik, *Reinbern…*, p. 85–93.

[1882] *Ibidem*, VI, 33.

[1883] Vita Adalberti I, chap. 27; Vita Adalberti II, chap. 24.

[1884] J. Banaszkiewicz, *"Lestek" (Lesir) i "Lechici"…*, 2, p. 3–23.

[1885] *Annales Altahenses maiores*, under the year 1046 (p. 41): "Bratizlao dux Boemorum, Kazimir Bolaniorum, Zemuzil Bomeraniorum advenerunt atue regem donis decentibus honoraverunt"; see also: *Regesten zur Geschichte der Slaven an Elbe und Oder (vom Jahr 900 an)*, ed. Ch. Lübke, vol. 4, p. 237, no. 682.

[1886] E. Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich…*, Szczecin ²2005, p. 72–79; J. Sochacki, *Relacja roczników altajskich o księciu pomorskim Zemuzile*, "Średniowiecze polskie i powszechne" 4, 2007, p. 83 f.

information concerning that prince or his children. However, 12th-century texts reporting the conquest of Pomerania by the Polish duke Bolesław do mention other dynastic rulers with no links to *Zemuzil* whatsoever. Furthermore, the name of that prince is unknown even to the native Pomeranian tradition in the form of the *Protocol* of Augustine of Stargard written in the 14th century[1887] and later texts. Consequently, one need harbour doubts about any Polish beginning of a Pomeranian dynasty[1888]. Yet the very name of the people, Pomerania, later applied to its land, does seems Polish (it is an obviously Slavic term) and defines as if from the outside the location of the various territories (there has never been a single ruler of both East and West Pomerania) extending all the way "up to" (Polish: "po") "the sea"(Polish: "morze"). The trend to describe Pomerania this way can be seen already in the famous document *Dagome iudex* (circa 990, summarized transcript circa 1070), where the northern borders of Mieszko I's state were to be a *long sea = longum mare*[1889].

In any case, throughout the 11th century European authors considered both the Baltic Sea and the land lying on its southern shores as something exotic, if not to say barbaric. It is in these terms rather than those of a real event[1890] that the Hungarian tradition, written down not until the 12th and 13th centuries, should be treated[1891]. This pertains to a fight between Bela I and a Pomeranian (possibly a Pomeranian prince) during the Hungarian prince's stay in Poland (before 1048). The hero's endeavours, particularly if successful, against someone from the savage zone, outside of the civilized area, were elevated as a fight of the good and righteousness led by the supernatural against natural and demonic evil[1892]. That sort of dichotomy is a frequent means of expression applied by medieval authors wishing to underline the value of the communities to which they belonged. This is the case, for instance, with Gallus Anonymus, in whose chroni-

[1887] Augustyn ze Stargardu zwany niegdyś Angelusem, *Protokół…*, *passim*.

[1888] B. Śliwiński, *Pomorze w polityce i strukturze państwa…*, p. 3–40.

[1889] G. Labuda, *Słowiańszczyzna starożytna i wczesnośredniowieczna. Antologia tekstów źródłowych*, Poznań 1999, p. 159–161.

[1890] E. Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich…*, Szczecin ²2005, p. 72, 79.

[1891] D. Bagi, *"…Quamvis sim nobilior quam paganus ille, tamen pugnabo pro regni vestri commodo et honore domini ducis". Zur Kritik eines Kapitels der 'Ungarischen Chronikkomposition*, [in:] *Historia narrat: Studia mediewistyczne ofiarowane Profesorowi Jackowi Banaszkiewiczowi*, ed. A. Pleszczyński *et al.*, Lublin 2012, p. 101–114.

[1892] J. Banaszkiewicz, *Młodzieńcze gesta Bolesława Krzywoustego…*, p. 11–29.

cle written in the early 12th century one finds a mention of Poland as the end of the Christian and civilized world – and beyond it, in the wicked North, *ferocissime nationes barbarorum gentilium* were bearing their teeth. And even further on, beyond those pagan savage territories of Pomerania (and Prussia) there were supposedly desert islands covered with perpetual snow and ice[1893]. Additionally, that text obviously features many mentions of various advantages held by the work's chief protagonist Bolesław III the Wrymouth over mischievous Pomeranians who come to fight in countless numbers. This is a constant motif in the narrative of not just the first known chronicler working in Poland, but generally all medieval (and possibly not only) authors who intended to show a confrontation between civilized people and barbarians.

Yet for Adam of Bremen, the chronicler of the second half of the 11th century, Pomeranians, of whose conversion he knew, were already an obvious part of the geographical and political landscape of the southern shores of the Baltic Sea (*sinus Balticus*), although mentions of them are rare and laconic. In his chronicle, they never became a subject of description, always merely supplementing the characteristic of other peoples. He knew that they were Slavs, of the same language and customs as the Poles, Czechs, and Slavs beyond the Odra river, which he also named the western border for Pomeranians, yet never mentioning their land or any political organization existing in its territory[1894].

The chronological order of the argumentation presented here would now require a discussion of what Gallus Anonymus says about the conquest of Pomerania by Bolesław III the Wrymouth, and then the entire literary tradition related to the mission of Otto of Bamberg[1895]. That, however, is a slightly different issue for a number of reasons, which is why the concise overview of which this article is part, is going to contain a separate paragraph about the matter.

[1893] Gall, Prohemium I (p. 7); see also a broader context of the matter: J. Banaszkiewicz, *Gumpold, Vavřinec a Kristián, čili krátce o tom, jak se sněžná a severní Bohemia stávala součástí "požehnané" Evropy*, [in:] *Dějíny ve věku nejístot. Sborník k příležitosti 70. narozenin Dušana Třeštika*, ed. J. Klápště, E. Plešková, J. Žemlička, Praha 2003, p. 49.

[1894] Adam II, 22; more about the author: D. Meyer, *Adam von Bremen*, [in:] *Weltbild und Realität. Einführung in die mittelalterliche Geschichtsschreibung*, ed. U. Knefelkamp, Pfaffenweiler 1992, p. 103–110.

[1895] Recently on the subject: S. Rosik, *Bolesław…*, p. 155–190; see also: *idem*, *Conversio…*, *passim*.

Our task is to trace back the main stages of the intellectual recognition of the land in question and its understanding in terms of certain narrative structures, yet it must be noted here that the armed activity of the Polish ruler coupled with the country's Christianization, effected with the major participation of the Bamberg Bishop Otto, was a milestone in the process of interest to us. Yet the consequences of that process in European writings (with some exceptions) are visible only decades later. The situation is well reflected by the fate of a crusade in Polabia in 1147, which, pushed back by Slavs beyond the Odra river, reached the walls of Christian Szczecin, whose inhabitants had to make a demonstration of banners with a cross on the town's ramparts in order to avoid an armed attack by the Christianizers[1896].

For now, let us look at the possibly most extensive and structurally cohesive mention of Pomerania and Poland made in the entire medieval literature prior to the 13th century, obviously with the exception of works produced in Poland and Pomerania. We will find such a record in the work known as *Gesta Frederici* (*Deeds of Emperor Frederick*) written by the great historiographer of the German Middle Ages Otto of Freising[1897]. The excerpt of interest to us was actually written by his disciple Rahewin[1898], a fact of secondary importance. What matters is that the case is of much significance for understanding the subject discussed here.

Although our author did not use the term "Pomerania", he did write that the inhabitants of the northern territories of Poland (which he did not separate from the rest of the country) on the seashore, were to have eaten one another when faced with a plague of hunger. Yet according to the chronicler, it was so cold in the region that it was not possible to cultivate land. As a result, the locals were to live exclusively off hunting, but also banditry. And so they were highly dangerous pirates mounting armed raids on "oceanic isles" (*insulae oceani*),

[1896] F. Lotter, *Die Konzeption des Wendenkreuzzugs…*, *passim*; J.-Ch. Herrmann, *Der Wendenkreuzzug von 1147*, Frankfurt am Main 2011.

[1897] *Gesta Frederici seu rectius chronica*, ed. A. Schmidt, F.-J. Schmale, Berlin 1965.

[1898] Basic information about the author and his work: R. Deutinger, *Rahewin von Freising. Ein Gelehrter des 12. Jahrhunderts*, Hannover 1996 (= MGH Schr. 47); H.-W. Goetz, *Das Geschichtsbild Ottos von Freising. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Vorstellungswelt und zur Geschichte des 12. Jahrhunderts*, Köln 1984; see also: M. Giese, *Über die "Gesta Frederici" Ottos und Rahewins von Freising. Anmerkungen zur Editions- und Überlieferungsgeschichte*, "Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung" 119, 2011, 3–4, p. 311–330.

and in this context the author lists Britain, Ireland, and Denmark as the victims of their raids – although he must have noticed the great distance between Pomerania and those areas[1899].

The excerpt referred to above has a number of interesting meanings placing Pomerania, and to a lesser degree the entirety of Poland, in a certain sphere of the imagined geography of the time. Before we define this more closely, let us note that according to the author quoted here the cold country unfit for cultivation is so populated that its inhabitants are able to produce large armies of warriors who can pester not just their closest neighbours, but also even the unnamed "oceanic isles". This paradox corresponds with another – namely, the fact that the supposed basis of the existence of those groups of bloodthirsty savages was hunting, which means that in the author's imagination the country in question was not an ice-covered wasteland but a place abundant with animals.

It would seem from reading the sentences above that Rahewin made avail of an extraordinary imagination in describing Pomerania. Yet in actual fact the author did not have to build any intellectual structure for the needs of that fragment of his work in order to logically combine the incoherent factors he needed for making his case more broadly – of which I shall soon say more. After all, there existed an archetype for the content presented above that originated from antique writings, and which were thus more reliable, as it was perceived back then[1900].

1899 *Gesta Frederici…*, III, 1: "Aiunt enim eius maris, quod illius terrae litus alluit, tales esse provinciarum habitatores, qui famis tempore semet devorent, et cum perpetuis rigeant algoribus ideoque nullam possint agriculturam in quibusdam locis exercere, venationibus et mortibus dediti sunt. Omnes autempyraticam exercent et insulas occeani, Hyberniam et Brittanniam, Datiam quoque inquietant, licet in alio littore reperiantur. Talium, ut assolet,nationum vicinia nonnichil atrocitatis tamquam de rubiginoso ferro cariem sibi Polani affricuere". That note may be an echo of raids made by Pomernians on Scandinavia, most spectacular in 1135, which ended in Ratibor I conquering Danish Roskilde and Norwegian Konungahela – J. Wójcicki, *Dzieje Polski nad Bałtykiem*, Warszawa 1989, p. 27; R. Zaroff, *Slavic Raid on Konungahella*, "Collegium Medievale", 2014, p. 6–21; or also a general association of Pomoranians with their still earlier raids of Scandinavia.

1900 D. Fraesdorff, *Der barbarische Norden…*, *passim*; P. Kochanek, *Die Vorstellung vom Norden…*, *passim*; also: M. Keller, *Konturen: Die Darstellung der Ostslawen in Chroniken und Annalen des 9.-13. Jahrhunderts*, [in:] *Russen und Rußland aus deutscher Sicht. 9.-17. Jahrhundert*, ed. M. Keller, München 1985, p. 76 f.; and: A. Pleszczyński, *Mieszko I i jego państwo w opisie Ibrahima ibn Jakuba a archetyp "dzikiej Północy"*, [in:] *Mundus hominis – cywilizacja, kultura, natura*, ed. S. Rosik, P. Wiszewski, Wrocław 2006 (= Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis 2966), p. 209–220; see also: A.A. Lund, *Die Erfindung Germaniens und die Entdeckung Skandinaviens in Antike und Mittelalter*, [in:] *Ultima Thule. Bilder des Nordens von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. A. Engel-Braunschmidt *et al.*, Frankfurt am Main 2001, p. 29–45.

The issue at hand is related to the very persistent structures of what is called anthropological (cultural) geography, which tended to link – regardless of the existing state of things – geographical territories with certain features intended to characterize them in simple terms[1901]. And so medieval authors tended to associate the term "North" not with actual geography but rather with the perception and specific categorizations of the nature of the peoples living, actually or just supposedly, in that part of the world.

The oldest traces of the motif of interest to us can be found in ancient Greece, where the people of the "North" were first Thracians, and forever thereafter Scythians. Still, the term "northern barbarians" was willingly applied to all little known nations, often identifying them with Scythians, although in reality they were considerably removed from that people in terms of distance[1902]. In antique sources, Scythia became the proverbial land of cold[1903]. All "peoples of the North" were characterized as uncouth "barbarians" and they were reproached for not just their lack of civilized customs and manners, but generally for all possible cruelty and wild belligerence, which was not associated with the virtue of gallantry but an unbridled will to kill. The entire life of the "barbarians" was supposed to be filled with anarchy, also in the broad sphere of morality, including sexual morality, which linked the archetype of the "barbarian North" with visions of early humankind and the period of the "primeval chaos"[1904].

The nature-driven and sexually barbaric "North" was to be characterized by abundant nature and food as well as – which is somehow understandable – a multitude of inhabitants. Here, then, is the explanation of Rahewin's paradoxical and "illogical" – as it would seem –

1901 On the long duration of the phenomenon: H. Lemberg, *Zur Entstehung des Osteuropabegriffs im 19. Jahrhundert. Vom "Norden" zum "Osten" Europas*, "Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas" 33, 1985, p. 48–91.

1902 E. Zwolski, *Kasjodor i Jordanes…*, p. 15 ff., p. 40 f.

1903 On antique visions of the world, e.g.: J. Strzelczyk, *Odkrywanie Europy…*, p. 26, 84, 250; on mythological considerations: P. Grimmal, *Słownik mitologii greckiej i rzymskiej*, Warszawa 1987, p. 54 f.; also: Ch. Hünemörder, *Boreas*, [in:] *Der neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike*, vol. 2, ed. H. Cancik, H. Schneider, Stuttgart 1997, col. 748 f.

1904 See e.g. *Dudonis sancti Quintini*, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. J. Lair, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie 3/1, Caen 1865, p. 129; also: Cosmas I, 3 – commentary: A. Pleszczyński, *"Schönheit vergeht – Tugend besteht" albo o modzie i racji w nauce: przykład analizy wstępnych części "Kroniki Czechów Kosmasa" oraz Dudona z St Quentin "Librorum tres de moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum"*, [in:] *Historia narrat…*, p. 129–144.

perception of Pomerania. Yet it should be noted for the sake of clarity that in the period of our interest the term "North" was applied not only to the territories inhabited by Pomeranians, but also by Polabian Slavs, and for quite some time Scandinavians[1905], as well as Slavs of Central and Eastern Europe, and that the consequences and reminiscences of this topos persisted centuries after the region's Christianization[1906].

The issue of how Rahewin presented Pomerania can be better interpreted in the context of analyzing a broader fragment of the chronicle devoted to reporting on Frederick I Barbarossa's trip to Poland in 1157 and generally the description of the region. As the task of the entire work *Deeds of Emperor Frederick* was to stylize the monarch as a great warrior and a true hero, the opponents of the Reich's ruler had to be portrayed as truly dangerous. Here, the author is helped by fictional solutions of which above. And so Rahewin stressed that the inhabitants of the country (*Polanii*) the emperor dared to enter were entirely barbarian (*plene barbara*) and consequently very belligerent. That feature of the local inhabitants resulted from the natural wildness of the land, but also its neighbourhood populated by peoples even more barbarian and more remote from civilization, because just as "iron gets rusty from rusty iron"[1907] the Poles (and Pomeranians were counted as such), although back then they were already Christian, would still acquire bad features (i.e., pagan ones) from some of their surroundings[1908].

Let us add to the close of these considerations that some geographical details featured in the work of Otto of Freising, with some interventions by Rahewin, that better show the state of both authors' knowledge of Pomerania and its location within the region.

In the invoked fragment of the work it was noted that Poland had naturally defensive borders, marked in the west by the Odra river (*Oddera*), in the east by the Vistula (*Iustula*), and in the north by the Scythian Sea (as the Baltic Sea was called[1909]) and Ruthenia. Referring to the Baltic Sea in this way clearly shows a trace of the antique archetype referred to above. On top of that, other details of the description are a clear indication that neither of the authors had much practical knowledge of the region's geography. They do not use the names Pomerania, Prussia or Parthia, yet the Poles mounted a large army comprising also old Prussians (*Prusci*), antique Parthians (*Parthi*)[1910], Pomeranians (*Pomerani*), and the Rus' people (*Rutheni*)[1911].

There is still another work by Otto of Freising, much larger and more important for historiography than that already mentioned – namely, the monumental *Chronicle or History of the Two Cities*[1912]. Interestingly, in both his works Otto mentions Pomerania merely several times, very laconically, and always with relation to German matters. Nor is there any information, about the Pomeranian mission of Otto of Bamberg[1913]. The historiographer merely reported an event that in a sense was a consequence of Pomerania's conquest by a Polish ruler. Specifically, he described a meeting between Lothair of Supplinburg with Bolesław III the Wrymouth in Merseburg in 1135[1914]. Yet he did that in a particular manner. According to the historiographer

[1905] A missionary area in the earlier Middle Ages – V. Skånland, *Calor fidei*, "Symbolae Osloenses" 32, 1956, p. 98, also: Rimbert, *Vita Anskarii*, [in:] *Quellen des 9. und 11. Jahrhunderts zur Geschichte der Hamburgischen Kirche und des Reiches. Rimbert Leben Ansgars. Adam von Bremen, Bischofsgeschichte der Hamburger Kirche. Wipo Taten Kaiser Konrads II*, ed. W. Trillmilch, Darmstadt 1978, chap. 12–13 (p. 43–48) – commentary: L.E. von Padberg, *Die Christianisierung Europas im Mittelalter*, Stuttgart 1998, p. 112 f.

[1906] Adam III, 24, IV, 20–24; Helmold I, 86.

[1907] *Gesta Frederici…*, III, 1.

[1908] *Ibidem*.

[1909] And not only he, incidentally – K. Maleczyński, *Sarmatae i Scytae w pismach Gerberta z Aurillac*, [in:] *Europa – Słowiańszczyzna – Polska. Studia ku uczczeniu Profesora Kazimierza Tymienieckiego*, ed. J. Bardach *et al.*, Poznań 1970, p. 59–69.

[1910] It is unknown why this people is mentioned. It may have been only the knowledge of antiquity and linking Frederick's empire with old Rome that Parthians (opponents of the Romans) were listed there as (antique) inhabitants of the East. For Rahewin, it was quite typical to stylise the activities of Frederick Barbarossa in an antique-Roman fashion, e.g., he described a war in north Italy (1158–1159) just like Josephus described the Jewish war – H.-W. Goetz, *Die Gegenwart der Vergangenheit im früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Geschichtsbewußtsein*, "Historische Zeitschrift" 255, 1992, 1, p. 75.

[1911] On the Rus' people in German medieval wrtitten sources: M. Keller, *Konturen: Die Darstellung der Ostslawen…, passim*.

[1912] *Ottonis episcopi Frisingensis chronica sive historia de duabus civitatibus*, ed. A. Schmidt, W. Lammers, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 16, Berlin 1960.

[1913] Although the Pomeranian mission found relatively many commentaries in the German texts – see e.g., S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 47–68.

[1914] *Ottonis episcopi Frisingensis chronica…*, VII, 19; details and political context of the meeting in: Z. Dalewski, *Zjazd w Merseburgu w 1135 roku*, [in:] *Ludzie – Kościół – Wierzenia. Studia z dziejów kultury i społeczeństwa Europy Środkowej (średniowiecze – wczesna epoka nowożytna)*, ed. W. Iwańczak, S.K. Kuczyński, Warszawa 2001, p. 429–443; or *idem*, *Kaiser Lothar III., Soběslav I. von Böhmen und Bolesław III. von Polen auf dem Hoftag in Merseburg im Jahre 1135*, "Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung" 50, 2001, 3, p. 317–336; also: G. Labuda, *O stosunkach prawnopublicznych między Polską a Niemcami…*, p. 25–60.

of Freising, the monarch of the Reich – somewhere in Saxony and in passing – met a nameless Polish prince (*Polanorum ducem*). The latter came to Lothair with expensive gifts yet Lothair refused to see him before the prince agreed to belatedly pay a tribute for twelve years (500 *marks* a year). Only once the Polish prince had done that, did the German monarch offer his grace and allow Bolesław to pay him homage from Rügen and Pomerania; he also secured "a permanent control over the Polish prince"[1915].

Let us now see how in the 12th century the region of interest to us was perceived in European writings other than historiography – namely, in epic poems, which started to be written in that very century, although they had obviously originated before and had functioned earlier in the form of oral transmission[1916]. This is a special form of sources, difficult to analyze by classic historiography due to its fictitious content. However, in the case at hand that is unimportant since the point here is not to document "historical facts" but to explore the sphere of images, and epics reflect them very well. Obviously the question always remains of interpretation of each mention in the context of each work's broader meaning; also vital is defining the time, even if only indicative, when a given epic was created: after all, we are seeking to build a historical argumentation. This problem is not however a serious one in this particular case as mentions of Pomerania are rare.

The oldest ones can be found in the arguably most famous German epic of the Middle Ages *The Song of the Niebelungs*, its Ratisbon version written after 1150[1917]. Let us remember that – in general terms – the topic of the work is an expedition to Rome mounted by Etzel, the leader of the Huns, the people with whom the narrator identifies. In that army, we find Dietrich, the most popular protagonist of German epics. Different regiments with such heroes come in various configurations, a highly interesting research field. For us, of great importance is one certain fact – namely, that despite some reshuffles and transformations in the peoples supporting Etzel and Dietrich we will always find ones from eastern and southern Europe. The Poles were usually placed next to the Rus' people (*Riuzen*), Vlachs (*Valven, Wlâchen*) and Prussians (*Priuzen* – who were, incidentally, quite often combined with *Riuzen*). The slightly exotic nature of those troops was only enhanced by the presence of Pechenegs (*Petsenaere*) and Pomeranians (*Pomerân*)[1918], or even Greeks (*Kriechen*) and Turks (a group sometimes including various nomadic peoples). Today, we may be stunned by putting Pechenegs, Turks, and Pomeranians next to one another. However, such an arrangement can be found in early German epics and it very well reflects the state of the general awareness of their authors living in central Germany in the mid-12th century as to the location and character of the people and region of our interest here.

It is worth stressing in this context that in another well-known work of that time, *Kaiserchronik*, all peoples of the "East" were identified as Slavs, yet – importantly – that did not entail any comments that would stress their cultural inferiority. Slavs march in Etzel's army on a voluntary basis and with vigour (*Sclavenie kômen willeclîche*)[1919]; they are referred to as manly (*manic man*) and good horse riders (*kreften riten*)[1920]. This is surely a stylization more than objective observation, but we know very well that the world of imagination does not come from nowhere and has relevant cultural foundations[1921].

Let us also have a look at the slightly later epic, Biterolf and Dietleib[1922], whose titular protagonists are a father and a son, separated in the past – as has been happening until today in soap operas – and unknown to each other. The father Biterolf had joined the leader of the Huns Etzel. Coming from Toledo, the son Dietleib had distinguished himself in the ranks of the army led by Hornboge, a Polish

[1915] "De Pomeranis et Rugis dominium sibi faceret subiectionemque perpetuam sacramento firmaret" – *Ottonis episcopi Frisingensis chronica…*, VII, 19; commentary to historiography: J. Hauziński, *Polska a Królestwo Niemieckie w II połowie XII wieku*, [in:] *Polska – Niemcy w średniowieczu*, ed. J. Strzelczyk, Poznań 1986, p. 138 ff.; J. Petersohn, *Prawnopaństwowy stosunek Pomorza Zachodniego…*, p. 109 ff.

[1916] *Oral Tradition in the Middle Ages*, ed. W.F.H. Nicolaisen, Binghampton–New York 1995.

[1917] *Das Nibelungelied. Mittelhochdeutscher Text und Übertragung*, vol. 1–2, ed. H. Brackert, P. Wapnewski, Frankfurt am Main 1997, general information about the source: L. Voetz, *Daz ist der Nibelunge Liet*, [in:] *Uns ist in alten Mären… Das Nibelungenlied und seine Welt*, ed. J. Krüger, Darmstadt 2003, p. 12–19, and: J. Heinzle, *Von der Sage zum Epos*, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 20–29.

[1918] G.T. Gillespie, *A* catalogue of persons named in German heroic literature (700–1600), including named animals and objects and ethnic names, Oxford 1973; more about Polish matters: *Deutsche Polenliteratur*, ed. G. Koziełek [Kosellek], Wrocław 1991.

[1919] *Deutsche Kaiserchronik eines Regensburger Geistlichen*, [in:] MGH Deutsche Chroniken und andere Geschichtsbücher des Mittelalters 1/1, ed. E. Schröder, Hannover 1895, v. 14021 ff.

[1920] *Das Nibelungelied. Mittelhochdeutscher Text…*, vol. 2, p. 46, v. 1339–1341.

[1921] P.L. Berger, T. Luckmann, *Social Construction of Reality. A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*, London 1991.

[1922] "Biterolf und Dietleib" in: *Deutsches Heldenbuch*, vol. 1, ed. O. Jänicke, Berlin 1866.

prince, a commander of great warriors i.e., *stoltze helde jounge* (v. 3541) fighting on the side of the Huns.

At that time, another Polish prince called Herman was fighting with extraordinary bravery against the Huns led by Biterolf (v. 3578 ff.). His warriors, including the Rus' people again, had killed more than 3,000 of Etzel's people (v. 3767) before Dietleib entered the stage. That courageous fighter not only defeated the enemy's army and recognized his father in its ranks, but also won Pomerania for the king of the Huns, a land Etzel subsequently offered him as a fief. What matters to us in this medieval *Pulp Fiction* are certain details. Initially, one can be quite stunned by the liberty taken when juggling with geographical puzzle pieces that do not match, also those concerning western Europe. Of most interest, however, is one highly interesting fact; namely, although the authors of the epic knew next to nothing about the peoples of the "East", they do not describe them as out-and-out barbarians, contrary to what was written in texts of "learned" historiography based on the antique tradition. Granted, one can sense a patronizing tone here and there[1923], yet warriors from the East feature in Etzel's army with which the authors of the German epics show solidarity – the only western European army with Slavs. One could argue why this is so – possibly the manner of writing about real and alleged Slavs could have been supported by the view, frequently expressed in both historiographic and other texts, particularly German[1924], that the Central and Eastern Europe of that time had been part of the state of Charlemagne[1925], or at least that of Henry II[1926], and

[1923] *Kudrun. Mittelhochdeutsch – Neuhochdeutsch*, ed. U. Störmer-Caysa, Stuttgart 2010, p. 96 f.: "…sô wir hœren sagen,/daz er herre wære/ze Pôlân lasterliîche,/si liegent tobelîche;/ez <en>ist dem mære niht gelîche"; see also: R. Bloch, *Verwandschaftliche Beziehungen des sächsischen Adels zum russischen Fürstenhause im XI. Jahrhundert*, [in:] *Festschrift Albert Brackmann*, ed. L. Santifaller, Weimar 1931, p. 185–206.

[1924] The motif of Poland as one of the countries incorporated into Charlemagne's empire appears exclusively in the Old French *Song of Roland – La chanson de Roland. Texte établi d'après le manuscrit d'Oxford*, ed. G. Moignet, Paris 1969, p. 174.

[1925] *Das Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad*, ed. C. Wesle, P. Wapnewski, Tübingen 1985, p. 92, v. 1772; p. 248, v. 6849; more on the source and the report: G. Labuda, *Źródła, sagi i legendy…*, p. 206 f.

[1926] *Die Vita sancti Heinrici regis et confessoris und ihre Bearbeitung durch den Bamberger Diakon Adelbert*, ed. M. Stumpf, MGH SSrerGerm 69, Hannover 1999 p. 234–239; see also: D. Schlochtermeyer, *Heiligen Vita als Exponenten lines 'zeitlosen' Geschichtbewußseins?* [in:] *Hochmittelalterliches Geschichtsbewußtsein im Spiegel nichthistoriographischer Quellen*, ed. H.-W. Goetz, Berlin 1998, p. 161–177.

so – as it was understood – were civilized, or at least tamed. In the case of Pomerania, such a threshold was definitely its Christianization and its echoes reverberating across the whole of Europe[1927].

Let us now return to our main source, i.e., historiography. As this contribution is not meant as a register of all mentions of Pomerania, but focuses solely on extracting the key features of its perception, let us have a look at just two works: *Chronicle of the Slavs* by Helmold[1928] of the late 12th century and *Deeds of the Danes* (*Gesta Danorum*) by Saxo Grammaticus, which was written a few decades later[1929].

Helmold wrote his opus after 1171 and it is an invaluable source of the history of the Polabian Slavs. The author was a parish priest in Bosau in Wagria, a land to a large extent still Slavic back then, and he had a lot of understanding for the fate of the people whose history (of conquest and Christianization) he described. There is not much about Pomerania in the text as the author focused on Slavs living beyond the Odra/Oder, yet the little there is matters for our argumentation. Still, we are not going to analyze those few mentions in depth, either, the point being only the presentation of their nature and juxtaposing them with accounts of older authors.

What is important and interesting in the case of Helmold is the fact that although he does recognize the affinity of the Pomeranians and the Poles, he distinctly separates them: "Where Poland's territories end, one enters an extensive land of Slavs, namely the people called Vandals by antiquity, now called Vinits or Vinuls. The first of them are Pomeranians, who populate the area as far as the Oder"[1930]. Then, the chronicler moves to Slavs living beyond the river. That formulation suggests that for Helmold, the Pomeranians, the Lutici, and the Obodrites made up a single group of Slavs, while the Poles were somewhat different although they belonged to the same ethnos, which he knew very well. This was clearly influenced by his

[1927] See e.g.: Cosmas, p. 405; *Vincentii Pragensis Annales…*, p. 663; *Annales Magdeburgenses…*, p. 186 f.; *Die Reichschronik des Annalista…*, p. 581; *Frutolfs und Ekkehards Chroniken…*, p. 366.

[1928] More on this work: H.-W. Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewußtsein im hohen Mittelalter*, Berlin 1999 (= Orbis mediaevalis 1), p. 392–395; S. Rosik, *The Slavic Religion…*, p. 256 ff.

[1929] A. Muceniecks, *Saxo Grammaticus: Hierocratical Conceptions and Danish Hegemony in the Thirteenth Century*, Kalamazoo–Bradford 2017; T. Riis, *Einführung in die Gesta Danorum des Saxo Grammaticus*, Odense 2006.

[1930] Helmold I, 2.

knowledge of Poland's century-old transition to Christianity which helped separate the Poles from their kinsmen from beyond the Odra in Helmold's understanding. Although aware that the Pomeranians had been baptized, the chronicler takes a slightly different approach to them than in the case of Slavs beyond the Odra who adhered to paganism. Naturally, he forever stressed the superiority and some sort of moral right of German princes to extend their rule over the entire Slavic area on the Baltic, yet his words on Pomeranian rulers are kinder, as exemplified by the following passage about Wartislaw: "He was the first of the Pomeranian princes to have accepted the holy faith from the hands of saint Otto, the bishop of Bamberg, and he himself established the bishopric of Usedom and introduced Christianity in the Pomeranian territory"[1931]. Generally, however, Helmold did not beautify the reality of the cruel world he lived in and so in his rare mentions of Pomeranians we find information about their lack of mercy for their kinsmen from beyond the Odra fleeing into their land to avoid hunger and being sold off as slaves[1932].

Similarly dispassionate descriptions by Helmold pertain to, for instance, a war on the Germans waged by the Obodrites' Prince Pribislav supported by the Pomeranian princes Kazimierz and Bogusław[1933], or their later alliance with Denmark's King Valdemar and their joint attack on the people of Rügen[1934].

Pomeranian affairs were of little importance also for Saxo Grammaticus[1935]. The spectrum of interests of the Danish chronicler was much broader than that of Helmold and one cannot really compare these two works at all. Yet if Saxo wrote about Slavic matters, he, just like Helmold, focused on the lands beyond the Odra while Pomerania featured only if its rulers or the region somehow related to the activities of Danish kings. There are just very few of such occurrences. In such cases, the narrator's favour naturally lies with the Danish side, which, incidentally, was obvious for traditional historiography.

1931 *Ibidem*, II, 100 (obituary note); about the prince's conversion itself – *ibidem*, I, 40.
1932 *Ibidem*, II, 101.
1933 *Ibidem*, II, 102. W.H. Fritze, *Probleme der abodritischen Stammes- und Reichsverfassung*, [in:] *Siedlung und Verfassung der Slawen zwischen Elbe, Saale und Oder*, ed. H. Ludat, Giessen 1960, p. 169 ff.
1934 Helmold II, 102 and 108.
1935 Saxo Grammaticus, *passim*.

In the text by Saxo Grammaticus, however, one will not find any particular references to the alleged barbarity or civilizational inferiority of the Pomeranians. Additionally, they feature exclusively as either opponents or allies of the Danes[1936]. The author expresses no interest whatsoever in either the country or its rulers.

This concise overview of selected written records of West-European historiography – represented in the early Middle Ages mostly by German sources as it was primarily that historiography that would take note of Pomerania – documents a certain process of perceiving the region and its people in terms of culture and geography. First, we have observed that only a certain area was perceived, one referred to by antique names, which in actual fact carried no real geographical content but rather only a sense that its people were alien, ignorant, and distant barbarians, as the inhabitants of that country were seen. Somewhat interchangeably, and much more rarely, that territory would be also referred to as the world's edge inhabited by Slavs (the Baltic Veneti). Such terms would not be accompanied by any more precise names, at most the estuary of the Odra river was seen as a border between Pomerania and the land of the Veleti/Lutici. Even rarer were reports that the region's eastern border was the estuary of the Vistula. That was all.

It was only just before the mid-11th century that the first prince of the Pomeranians is mentioned – and we know nothing else about his country. Still, the region begins to be seen by interested intellectuals, and most frequently that perception is related to mentions of Poland.

The threshold of the cultural perception of Pomerania in the early Middle Ages is Christianization, after which there was a spate of brief reports about the event that somehow broke the silence. Pomerania then finds its way into epic poems, then the mass culture medium. Still, more often than not, their authors know next to nothing about the country, with the exception of associating it with Poland. In the late 1100s, the region of Pomerania for the first time gains a certain autonomy in the consciousness of West European authors and appears independently of Poland, yet typically with relation

1936 Saxo Grammaticus – see index at the end of Volume 2.

to the Reich or Denmark, which, incidentally, reflects the changes in its political situation. Most importantly, a certain odium disappears in regard to the extreme barbarity previously associated with the region and its people. Thus did the Pomeranians and their land become one of many actors seen by the intellectual world of Europe at that time.

GENS POMERANORUM ON THE SCENE OF HISTORY: THE ADOPTION OF THE POMERANIANS TO THE COMMON MEMORY OF LATIN *CHRISTIANITAS* (11–12TH C.)

Stanisław Rosik

To date, the oldest known source referring directly to Pomeranians is the *History of the Hamburg Bishops* by Adam of Bremen[1937], written in the 1170s[1938]. The author presents them as neighbours of the Veleti/Lutici, thus emphasizing the border role of the Odra[1939]. In the river's mouth he located the most famous town of the Slavs – *Iumne*, which nearly a hundred years later – in the narrative by Helmold of Bosau – would have already become the legendary Vineta[1940]. Today, a hypothetical belief prevails that *Iumne* referred to Wolin[1941], to which Helmold never associated the name. The oldest attempts to connect *Iumne* with Wolin were not confirmed until the mid-14th c., and what is important, they never became a canon of modern historiography, which eventually fashioned *Iumne* into a Slavic Atlantis, sunk near the island of Usedom[1942].

In this way, the legend of the world's metropolis of Slavs was formed. In his description of its non-Slavic inhabitants, Adam used the expression *Greci et Barbari*[1943], which he made more specific by enumerating Saxons among the strangers; however, Saxons were neither

[1937] Let us recall that the oldest mention of the Pomeranians appears in *Annales Altahenses maiores* (under the year 1046); see above footnote 914.

[1938] Adam II, 22.

[1939] An open question arises whether Adam still perceived Pomeranians as inhabitants of the lands by the sea, or – as Gallus Anonymous in the early 12th c. – lands up to the Noteć river. It bears stressing that this narrower understanding of the territorial scope of Pomerania still functioned in the late Middle Ages in western Pomerania parallel to the historical concept of Pomerania. On the border of Pomerania with Poland in the 12th c., see above, p. 535 ff.

[1940] Helmold I, 2. See S. Rosik, *The Slavic Religion…*, p. 226 ff., 266 f.

[1941] See e.g., W. Filipowiak, H. Gundlach, *Wolin – Vineta…*, *passim*; and above, p. 85, 99.

[1942] R. Kiersnowski, *Legenda Winety…*, *passim*; M. Rusakiewicz, *Wineta…*, *passim*.

[1943] Adam II, 22.

Greeks nor barbarians, which suggests the expression functions here as a certain whole – as all of humanity in the New Testament, to which the gospel is addressed[1944]. Adam also calls *Iumne* a port, apparently open onto the whole world. The very location of the city reveals also a Scythian element, characteristic of ancient cosmography[1945], by which the Odra reaches *Scythicas paludes*[1946], or the Scythian marshes or bogs. It is also possible the term referred to the name of the Baltic Sea, as known from later records[1947].

What is important is that this city lay – using the Latin after Adam – in the *ostium*, or in the "doorway"[1948] into the Odra, which as "the most abundant of the Slavic rivers", presents itself as Slavdom's central axis. Thus, *Iumne*/Vineta appears as a gateway to the entire Slavic region, while at the same time it is considered its legendary capital, also indicated by the consonance of the name Vineta with the ethnonym *Veneti*/Slavs[1949]. No wonder such an attractive thread was inscribed into the legendary *origines* of Pomerania in the mid-14th c.[1950]; however, in the era of Helmold, this interpretation of the meaning of the city

[1944] See above, footnote 1235. These missionary connotations are not surprising, given the message of Adam's work, which presents the Hamburg-Bremen metropolis as the main missionary hub among the peoples of the North. See e.g., V. Scior, *Das Eigene und das Fremde. Identität und Fremdheit in den Chroniken Adams von Bremen, Helmolds von Bosau und Arnolds von Lübeck*, Berlin 2002 (= Orbis mediaevalis/Vorstellungswelten des Mittelalters 4), p. 56 ff.; R. Bartlett, *From Paganism to Christianity in Medieval Europe*, [in:] *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy…*, p. 48; S. Rosik, *The Slavic Religion…*, p. 204 ff.

[1945] Adam II, 22. The reference to the Scythian element also appears in the New Testament in the depiction of the global horizon of evangelization (cf. Col 3, 11).

[1946] Adam II, 22.

[1947] One of the hypotheses derives the name of the Baltic from the Slavic word for "mud", i.e., "błoto". See M. Vasmer in: *Этимологический онлайн-словарь русского языка Макса Фасмера*, "Балтийское море" and "болото" (https://lexicography.online/etymology/vasmer); cf. R. Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Baltic Inherited Lexicon*, Leiden 2015 (= Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series 13), p. 80. However, Adam (IV, 10) was of a differing opinion; he derived the name of the Baltic from the Latin *balteus* (belt, girdle): "Sinus ille ab incolis appellatur Balticus, eo quod in modum baltei longo tractu per Scithicas regiones tendatur usque in Greciam…".

[1948] It is worth noting that in Latin, the *ostium* (entrance), which also means the estuary of the river, marks its beginning in a way.

[1949] Referring to the Slavs as Venedi has an early-medieval origin, see e.g., L.A. Tyszkiewicz, *Słowianie w historiografii wczesnego średniowiecza…*, p. 118 ff.

[1950] See Augustyn ze Stargardu zwany niegdyś Angelusem, *Protokół…*, p. 44 f.; cf. M. Rusakiewicz, *Wineta…*, p. 59 ff.; S. Rosik, *Orbis Romanus – Christianitas – Pomerania. Pomorze w "świecie" Ottona z Bambergu: pamięć współczesnych i początki tradycji Apostoła Pomorzan (rekonesans)*, [in:] *Biskup Otton i jego świat…*, p. 47 f.

at the mouth of the Odra functioned primarily in the context of the debate on the Christianization of the Slavs, to which the author dedicated his entire work.

Actually, it would be hard for Helmold not to situate Vineta in the distant past, since in his time the estuary of the Odra was already included within *Christianitas*, as evidenced by his very chronicle. He dedicated a digression on the conversion of Pomerania, brought about by Otto of Bamberg, and Helmold's voice already took part in the shaping of this missionary's *memoria*, especially in Church circles in Germany. From the first reports of Otto's activities on the Baltic Sea between 1124 and 1125, the conversion of the "Pomeranian tribe" (*gens Pomeranorum*) was treated as his individual endeavor[1951]. However, in this context it is all the more worth emphasizing that Adam of Bremen, taking into account the specificity of his work, had already placed Pomeranians in the missionary field, and even more so did Gallus Anonymous, treating the people as the social space of the Christianization mission when writing around 1115 that Bolesław III the Wrymouth had fought against the Pomeranians and their neighbours, precisely with the aim to convert them[1952].

In the 12th c., the success of these conquests and the subjugation of the Pomeranians to Poland favored the shaping of St. Vojtěch, the patron of the Gniezno metropolis, into the apostle of Pomerania, which is confirmed by his hagiography called *Tempore illo*, written probably in the second half of the century. This tradition contributed to the consolidation of the ecclesiastical sovereignty of Gniezno over Gdansk Pomerania[1953], as well as the claim to include also the principality of west Pomerania[1954]. What validates Wartislaw I's recognition of the sovereignty seems to be the message about the gift in money he made in honour of St. Vojtěch in Gniezno Cathedral in 1128. Although Ebo, who wrote about it more than two decades later, explained that the gift had been meant as a subsidy for the local rule of canons[1955],

[1951] Cosmas III, 58; Ekkehard of Aura, under the year 1125 (p. 263 f.); and see above, p. 289 f.

[1952] Gall, Prohemium I.

[1953] According to *Tempore illo* (chap. 12), St. Vojtěch baptized the Duke of Pomerania; more broadly, see above, p. 358.

[1954] Gniezno raised these claims with varying intensity until the 14th c.; see e.g., G. Labuda, *Historia Kaszubów…*, p. 385 ff.

[1955] Ebo III, 13.

the context of the events he described is conducive to a hypothetical interpretation of this act as an expression of recognition of the ecclesiastical sovereignty of Gniezno over western Pomerania of the time[1956].

In turn, Ebo's interpretation in this matter resonates well with his unambiguous creation of Otto of Bamberg as the Apostle of Pomerania[1957]. This does not change the fact that St. Vojtěch appeared on the pages of his work – in a very interesting thread implying the fraternity of pagan peoples by imputing to them a common memory of the past. According to Ebo, the Pomeranians supposedly remembered the mission of St. Vojtěch to "their brothers", the Prussians, and even knew the contents of the teaching addressed to them. Pomeranians themselves were supposed to hold that a similar message had been addressed to them in Wolin by Otto's unfortunate predecessor in the Pomeranian mission, Bishop Bernard the Spaniard. The fiasco of his efforts to convert the Wolinians was sealed by the failed axe attack on the greatest holiness of their city, a column dedicated to… Julius Caesar[1958].

The legend attributing the founding of the city to Julius Caesar (allegedly it was named *Iulin* after him)[1959] raised its rank as a bishop's capital[1960], and at the same time built up an ideological bond between Pomerania and the Roman Empire, then *de facto* the German Reich[1961]. Ebo also consistently emphasized the patronage of Lothair III over Otto's activities and the cooperation between the Emperor and the duke of Pomerania Wartislaw I, who invited the missionary, which was to take place during Otto's second missionary expedition (1128)[1962] that Ebo saw as superior over the first one. He emphasized that during the mission Otto converted another people – the "Usedomians" (*gens Uznoim*)[1963]. The decision to convert all of Wartislaw's

[1956] See above, p. 487 f.

[1957] See Ebo II, 12; cf. J. Petersohn, *Apostolus Pomeranorum…*, *passim*.

[1958] Ebo II, 1.

[1959] Vita Priefingensis II, 5; Ebo, II, 1, III, 1.

[1960] S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 239 ff., 519, 524. Similarly, the legendary Roman roots are attributed to e.g., Magdeburg and Merseburg; cf. Thietmar I, 2; *Chronica episcoporum ecclesiae Merseburgensis*, ed. R. Wilmans, [in:] MGH SS 10, Hannover 1852, Prooemium, p. 163. For more on such an issue see: R. Michałowski, *Zjazd gnieźnieński…*, p. 23–53.

[1961] According to Ebo (III, 6), Wartislaw I was also baptized on the territory of the empire, when held captive as a child in Merseburg.

[1962] *Ibidem*.

[1963] Previously, in Vita Prieflingensis (III, 4), the centres associated by Ebo with *gens Uznoim* were presented as "Wanzlow" province.

country was to have been taken in the town of Usedom, the capital for the *gens Uznoim*. This decision was taken during the convention to celebrate Pentecost, transformed in Ebo's narrative into another "descent of the Holy Spirit", which begins the apostolic activity of Otto and his companions[1964].

Ebo's work was used by Herbord, his confrere from Michelsberg Abbey, to create the third hagiography of St. Otto – what is important: one with a clearly different ideological program. And so Herbord, like the monk from Prüfening in the first of Otto's hagiographies, considered Otto's first expedition to be the real breakthrough and more important than the second. No wonder then that the founding moment of the Church of Pomerania, corresponding to Pentecost, was already situated in the episode dedicated to Pyrzyce, the first station in Otto's missionary itinerary in 1124[1965]. He also omitted the thread of Wartislaw's cooperation with Lothair III, and showed Bolesław III the Wrymouth as the main initiator of the Pomeranian conversion – in the crusading spirit, incidentally. He was the one who conquered the Pomeranians and imposed on them the decision to convert, and then invited Otto to undertake a mission to them during the first expedition, and during the second, he intervened to summon the apostates in Szczecin to return to the Church[1966].

What is more, Herbord gave up introducing *gens Uznoim* to the scene of history, treating the whole of Wartislaw's principality as one country and one community: *Pomerania*, with Wolin as its centre, in the context of mentioning the establishment of a bishopric there. However, he never cited the legend of the town's Caesarian *origines*, but only referred to them in passing when he mentioned the ban on Julius' spear worship, as imposed on the city's inhabitants by Otto[1967]. Herbord attributed some Roman roots also to Szczecin – by mentioning that the local priest of idols walked with a spear in "the custom of Quirites"[1968]. Here, in line with his predecessors, he

[1964] Ebo III, 6–7; for more see S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 409–416.

[1965] Herbord II, 14–18, esp. 18; see S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 211–221.

[1966] Herbord III, 10.

[1967] *Ibidem*, III, 26.

[1968] Ebo III, 16. These Roman traits in the legend of Pomeranian origins correspond to Otto's hagiographers' conviction of the proximity of Slavic speech and Latin, and strictly speaking, with the derivation of the Slavic term for a temple – "kontina" – from Latin *continere* – "to contain" (statues, for example); see Vita Prieflingensis II, 11; Herbord II, 31.

also placed the Pomeranian antithesis of the cult of Christ, i.e., the cult of Triglav[1969], interpreting its recurrence – after *Vita Prieflingensis* – as a repetition of the "Samaritan sin"[1970]. This is an excellent example of interpreting history in Biblical terms, emphasizing the moral and theological evaluation of events.

In this way, the history of the Pomeranians was inscribed into the universal vision of divine history, whose important element was not only the past but also the future – up to the Parousia. The aim of history in this perspective is to reunite in one faith all of humanity originating from their forefather Noah. In this perspective, the origins of the Pomeranians – already belated, from the rigorous historical standpoint – disappeared altogether from the field of view[1971], which was consistent with treating their origins as a continuation of post-diluvian divisions of humanity[1972]. In the legend included into Otto of Bamberg's *memoria* in the first years after his death, the Pomeranians entered the scene of history already as an archaic people, still remembering Julius Caesar, only to ultimately join the Christian community, after the initial stage of hostility against Christianity. This was due to Otto of Bamberg, whose inclusion among the Apostles also expresses a specific feature of the theological interpretation of history. In this case, it is based on the conviction that even at the end of history, when the "world" has already "aged"[1973], it is still possible

On the trail of Otto's second expedition there was also Wolgast – as the city of Iarovit-Mars (Herbord II, 6; for more see S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 382 f., 419 ff.; *idem*, *Jarowit Mars i Czarny Bóg Diabeł…*, *passim*), whose name according to Helmold (I, 38) means *Iulia Augusta*: "Woligost, apud urbaniores vocatur Iulia Augusta propter urbis conditorem Iulium Cesarem". It is worth mentioning this to show that the legendary Romanization of Otto's mission space is a cultural phenomenon in the 12th c. with a wider scope than the sphere of his memory. See also M. Cetwiński, *"Per totam civitatem ludos scenicos agi". Teatr na Pomorzu w XII wieku?*, [in:] *Pomorze słowiańskie i jego sąsiedzi w X–XV w.*, ed. J. Hauziński, Gdańsk 1995, p. 19–24.

1969 Triglav, like Christ, was supposed to rule over heaven, earth, and the underworld, but by contrast, not only by worshiping him as an idol, but also by attributing to the deity an indifference to human sins, see above, p. 379 f.

1970 See above, p. 379 f.

1971 See above, p. 281 ff.

1972 In this context, it is from the beginning of the 12th c. that Pomerania enters the scene of history in the *Tale of Bygone Years*, created in Rus'. The author presents the mythical beginnings of humankind since the times of Noah, and when describing the Slavs, he leads the Pomeranians – next to the Poles, Mazovians and Lutici – out of the branch of the Lechites (cf. *The Russian Primary Chronicle*..., p. 53).

1973 Ebo II, 1; por. Herbord I, 18.

during a mission to the Gentiles to be holy to the measure of the first disciples of Christ[1974].

Granting Otto the title of the Apostle of the Pomeranians – though not without initial controversy[1975] – has been preserved in the Church tradition since his canonization in 1189. The west Pomeranian community was also involved in its preparations[1976]. A few years earlier, also the annual delivery of wax from the duchy of the Griffins to the eternal light at the saint's grave at Michelsberg Abbey was established[1977], which was supposed to have been the saint's own idea anyway, in connection with his patronage of the abbey[1978]. This contribution was the expression of the idea of worshipping Otto posthumously as the founder of the new Church established right there, in Pomerania. Moreover, cultivating the memory of him as the Apostle of Pomerania at that time corresponded well with the aspirations of the bishopric in Kamień to build a position independent of the neighbouring metropolises, which was consolidated by obtaining the privilege of exemption, traditionally dated 1188[1979].

On this occasion, the paths of Kamień and Gniezno also parted in the ideological dimension, as the Polish metropolis, let us recall, promoted then the idea of the Pomeranian apostolate of St. Vojtěch. The temporary coexistence of both these threads of remembrance of the conversion of Pomerania is superbly reflected in the 13th-c. attempt to reconcile them in the *Annales Kamenzenses*, containing an apocryphal story of the joint conversion of Pomerania by both

1974 S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 535 ff. See also: S. Sigler, *Anselm von Havelberg…*, p. 267–274.

1975 The community debate on this issue was held at Michaelsberg, as evidenced by the work of Herbord. He was not an enthusiast of giving Otto the title of Apostle (of the Pomeranians), and he saw Otto entitled to his sanctity – apart from his personal attitude – primarily in his charity, and especially in the care for monasteries and monks. See J. Petersohn, *Apostolus Pomeranorum…*, *passim*; E. Demm, *Reformmönchtum und Slawenmission im 12. Jahrhundert. Wertsoziologisch-geistesgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Viten Bischof Ottos von Bamberg*, Lübeck–Hammburg 1970; S. Rosik, *Conversio…*, p. 532–543.

1976 See e.g., J. Petersohn, *Jubiläum, Heiligsprechung und Reliquienerhebung Bischof Ottos von Bamberg im Jahre 1989*, "Bericht des Historischen Vereins Bamberg" 125, 1989, p. 46 ff.

1977 In 1182 – see: PUB, vol. 1, no 91. For more see: M. Rusakiewicz, *Donation of Wax…*, *passim*; and also above, p. 455, 465 ff.

1978 The monk of Prüfening mentions this, pointing out that Otto had allocated the income from certain estates to this purpose (Vita Prieflingensis I, 24). What is significant, supposedly Otto was also to order the burning of such eternal light in honour of Henry II as the founder of the monastery at Michaelsberg, which, by analogy, indicates that he created himself as the founder-renewer of this Abbey (*ibidem*, I, 29).

1979 See above, p. 434 f.

saints, Adalbert and Otto[1980]. However, this anachronistic "compromise" was not accepted more widely. And thus the canonical image of the conversion of the "Pomeranian tribe" (*gens Pomeranorum*), sealing their presence in the common remembrance of the history Latin *Christianitas*, was closely and permanently connected with St. Otto of Bamberg.

[1980] *Rocznik kamieniecki*, [in:] MPH 2, ed. A. Bielowski, Lwów 1872, p. 778: "…sanctus Otto […], qui cum sancto Adelberto post conversionem Polonorum ad fidem, Pomoraniam ad Christum convertit, sed postea solus sanctus Adelbertus Pruzziam predicando invasit et *ibidem* martyrium sumpsit". See: W. Mrozowicz, *Ślady kultu św. Ottona z Bambergu na Śląsku…*, p. 322 ff.

Conclusions

Stanisław Rosik

We have seen how in the 10th–12th centuries Europe's civilizational scope, as it was emerging in the early Middle Ages, reached the lands on the Baltic between the Vistula and the Odra. Let us summarize the studies synthesizing the picture of these historical processes – ones often including an essential analytical element – as a process representatively comprising stages, aspects, and various political, economic, and religious mechanisms whose ultimate effect was the inclusion of Pomeranian communities into the political system focused on the Roman empire of the time, and thus within the cultural and religious community of *Christianitas*:

[1] Even though there are premises confirmed in written sources indicating the relative permanence of tribal communities and their seats situated between the arch of the Carpathians and the Sudetes on the one hand and the Baltic on the other (e.g., the Ślężanie/*Silensi* or the Dziadoszanie/*Diedesi*), until the emergence of states as political entities, the whole area was characterized by the lack of settlement stabilization and poor population density. In the 8th–9th c. early towns emerged in the lands along the Baltic, thus commencing a revolutionary process in the tribal world. Their beginnings may be found in other parts of the discussed area (e.g., Chodlik), yet the centres of tribal communities were absorbed (and often eliminated) by the Piast state coming into being in the first half of the 10th c., whose foundation was comprised of centres participating in long-distance exchange. In the times of the first Piasts their state joined the political and reli-

gious compass of *Christianitas* and remained there despite the crisis of the 1030s. And thus two neighbouring areas emerged around the mid-11th c.: Poland, comprising the structures of the Piasts' monarchy and its ecclesiastical organization, and Pomerania – let us emphasize it: reaching the lower Odra and its estuary, and constituting a conglomerate of various political entities and persisting in pre-Christian beliefs and cults.

[2] In tribal times the Vistula and the Odra river basins were penetrated by Scandinavian invaders and traders, while the coastal areas even drew settlers (e.g., Bardy-Świelubie). The role of these contacts with Scandinavia in the development and functioning of the towns of the Baltic Slavs (with Wolin leading the way) cannot be underestimated. The example of Wolin reveals the significance of economic, political-military, and ideological-religious contacts between the Slavdom of the time and the Vikings, which in the 8th–9th c. significantly contributed to the development of the Polish Interior. The emergence of statehood was a pivotal process initiated by the elites who benefitted from the contacts developing along the routes leading from Scandinavia via the Baltic to the south and east. Together with the Scandinavians they practiced the custom of hiding hoards underground, which is interpreted not solely as an attempt to store wealth, but also as cult and magical practices after the Scandinavian fashion. A separate issue in this context is the fact of hiring Nordic warriors by the first Piasts.

[3] Pomeranian lands, separated by the morainic belt, forests, and the Noteć swamps – differing in their agriculture but at the same time attractive for their rich resources (fish, salt, amber, etc.) and urbanization – were from the beginning of Piast statehood an area offering valuable economic contacts and inviting military expansion. As early as during the reign of Mieszko I, Polish suzerainty reached the Baltic (on the Parsęta and Vistula, while the Odra remains a riddle). The momentum of the Piasts' plans to build a Christian monarchy well corresponded with Otto III's idea of *Renovatio Imperii Romanorum*, which materialized in 1000 when an archdiocese was established in Gniezno – the place where the relics of St. Voytěch were laid. On his way to the Prussians, where he was martyred in 997, Voytěch was active on the Baltic in "Gyddanyzc" (Gdańsk?) subordinated to Bolesław I the Brave. The effect of the baptisms administered on

a massive scale was not lasting, but in the long run the very tradition linking him with Pomerania became important, even essential for ideological justification of the ecclesiastical subordination of this land to Gniezno.

The archbishopric in Gniezno first reached the Baltic at the moment of its establishment in 1000. Its constituent, the bishopric in Kołobrzeg (*Aecclesia Salsae Cholbergiensis*), was situated in the Parsęta estuary. It was entrusted to Reinbern, who had to undertake the task of eradicating the temples of idolatry, and in the institutional and theological perspective he even had to establish a new order in its cosmic dimension (the act of founding the new Church involved a special ritual of "baptizing" the sea). It is hardly possible to assess the scope of his effort in achieving individual conversions, but in any event his diocese proved to be an ephemera, which was ultimately confirmed by the loss of the Piasts' control over Pomerania. This was consolidated by the crisis of the Polish monarchy in the 1030s. The annihilation of Reinbern's efforts proved that the success of the mission essentially depended on support from the structures of political power.

[4] At the stage of the restoration of the Polish monarchy by Kazimierz (Casimir) I the Restorer in the 1040s, its northern neighbours were already perceived as Pomeranians, this being confirmed in the sources. Thus, Pomerania as a historical land formed as part of the sphere of Polish expansion – between the Lutici and Prussians – whose identity was defined by the location along the sea, which is hardly surprising when we consider how important the seaside centres were, especially Kołobrzeg and Gdańsk (*Gyddanyzc*). It should be emphasized that in this case the name of the coastal belt, i.e., "pomorze"/ "pomerania" as a general name, was extended further south – all the way to the territories on the Noteć river. This is an important premise supporting the hypothesis that this meaning of the name of Pomerania – denoting an extensive area reaching up to the seacoast – was coined outside that land itself, i.e., in Poland. However, such forming of territorial identity necessarily involved the participation of the coastal elites who remained under Piast rule and, subsequently, were keeping in touch with them and their neighbours.

Thus, in the 11th c. Pomerania became an area perceived in terms of a single ethnicity (*gens, natio*) and at least in the circles of local elites this identification gained significance, if not internally, then

it did in the external dimension (see the case of *Zemuzil*). This view of Pomerania is thus a testimony to its assimilation within the compass of *Christianitas*, in this case as a notion of a territorial and social entity that ultimately became the area of a Christianizing mission and political expansion. This is pertinently rendered by Gallus' chronicle in the second decade of the 12th c.: Bolesław III the Wrymouth fights with the Pomeranians to convert them and – significantly – the chronicle's wider context reveals that in this case he continues the work of his predecessors, especially Bolesław I the Brave. Efforts to reinstate suzerainty over Pomerania may have been made by Mieszko[1981] II and further events are reflected in Gallus Anonymous' sinusoid: Kazimierz I the Restorer subordinates the Pomeranians, Bolesław II the Generous (the Bold) loses control, but Władysław I Herman regains it briefly, at least over a part of Pomerania. However, in the 11th c. Pomerania constitutes not only an area of Polish expansion, but at the same time a dangerous neighbour.

On the other hand, there were peaceful mutual contacts, even sealed by marriages within the dynasty, and short-term alliances. In this way the distinctly northward direction of the Piasts' policy consolidated, where the lower Odra became an especially attractive focus of trade and political contacts. Here Polish aspirations confronted the political influence of Germany (Saxony), the Obodrites co-operating with them, and Denmark. In the times of Bolesław III the Wrymouth the momentum of Polish plans and military action exceeded Pomerania, reaching Transodrania and Rugia and the Prussians in the east. However, Pomerania was traditionally the main target of the northward expansion of the Piasts and of the trade contacts indispensable for the functioning of the national economy. In this context particularly significant were the gateways to Pomerania, especially Santok – opening the way towards the lower Odra – and Ujście on the route to Parsęta. The system of strongholds on the Noteć and partly on the Vistula acquired crucial military significance for both sides as a base for military incursions and a line of defence.

[5] The expansion of the Piasts in the 11th–12th c. stimulated state-building processes in Pomerania, which commenced there during

[1981] This would be substantiated by an incident from the youth of the Hungarian king Bela I, who took part in the Polish expedition led by Mieszko II against the Pomeranians, see above, p. 287 f.

the reign of the first Piasts. *Zemuzil*, mentioned in the sources devoted to the imperial assembly in 1046 as "the duke of the Pomeranians", probably came from the elite having earlier co-operated with the Piasts. The territorial range of his rule remains unknown, but we should be aware that throughout the 11th c. and at the beginning of the 12th c. a greater number of centres of ducal power formed in Pomerania, which consolidated in the face of external aggression and their own offensive actions, e.g., plundering raids. In the case of the western part of Pomerania, attracting most of Wrymouth's Pomeranian invasions (described by Gallus), the Parsęta axis lost its significance in favour of the areas on the lower Odra and its estuary, where the main centres of the west Pomeranian duchy functioned on the eve of the Christianizing turn-around in the 1120s[1982].

At that time the structure of power in Pomerania was based on assemblies tightly connected with the pre-Christian religion. Its institutions became especially important in the towns of the Baltic Slavs; in the Pomeranian zone especially significant in this respect in the 11th and the beginning of the 12th c. were the centres in the Odra estuary: Szczecin and Wolin. They belonged to the wide sphere of contacts focusing on Rugia (Arkona). Thus the town-building processes developing in the Baltic compass of the *Barbaricum* (Wolin, Szczecin, Kołobrzeg, Gdańsk) contributed to creating new social and economic conditions favouring an intensification of external contacts that included the compass of *Christianitas* (e.g., the annual fish market in Arkona). Indeed, in the case of Wolin a pattern of cohabitation with Christians had emerged, although they were explicitly forbidden to profess their faith publicly.

Similarly as in Rugia/Rügen the binding system of power had a theocratic (hierocratic) character, which consolidated the social impact of paganism[1983]. Thus, quite paradoxically, the development of urban communities constituting an optimal environment for mass conversion to Christianity not only due to the size of the population but also its openness to contacts with its circle, entailed the creation of institutions effectively preventing the change of religion in pub-

[1982] See also: M. Rębkowski, *Jak powstało Pomorze?…*, *passim*.

[1983] The phenomenon of consolidation of cults aiming at monolatry deserves attention. Creation of cults of omnipotent beings as patrons of individual communities (e.g., Svantevit or Triglav) was also useful in resisting Christianity, see above, p. 332 f.

lic life. Quite importantly, even the emergence of the elites of ducal power in Pomerania that integrated politically, culturally, and religiously with the sphere of Christian neighbours failed to create sufficient foundations for Christianizing the whole country. Pagan priests lost their rule over people's hearts and minds only after the missions of Otto of Bamberg in 1124–1125 and 1128; those missions became possible due to the external military pressure, i.e., Bolesław III the Wrymouth's invasions.

[6] In the case of Bolesław the Wrymouth's conquests we should take into account the consistent policy of subordinating Pomerania, but its individual parts were not treated equally. The strongholds situated in the border zone were most probably incorporated into the Polish state, which decidedly facilitated the control of the lands on the Baltic. As far as eastern Pomerania is concerned, the condition of the sources renders purely hypothetical the conviction accepted in older historiography that it was incorporated into Poland as early as in the second decade of the 12th c. It is quite possible that at that time, or a little later, it was merely subordinated, but its local structures of power were unaffected. The plans of closer integration with Poland are in this case substantiated by the fact that the Gdańsk area of Pomerania was embraced within the Kuyavian diocese (ca. 1124); however, the existence of Polish administration as such is confirmed only as late as in the second half of the 12th c. Thus its introduction was a prolonged process (no unequivocal conclusions can be drawn *ex silentio*).

What is certain in the case of western Pomerania is the subordination of Wartislaw I's duchy in ca. 1120. The subordination had a tributary character, involving the duty of providing military assistance. Wrymouth's aspirations included imposing ecclesiastical subordination, but the Pomeranian bishopric in Wolin (from 1140), created at his initiative but finally established only after his death, was ultimately subordinated neither to the archdiocese in Gniezno nor to the Polish rulers. Additionally, we should also consider the option that the rule of the progenitor of the Griffins consolidated in the time of Polish conquests in co-operation with Wrymouth. Either way, the Polish ruler backed a strong player on the political arena, the consequences of which he felt himself, having to make an effort to maintain his control over him. Even after the first, in every respect crucial mission

of St. Otto on the Baltic in 1124–1125, a military effort was needed to maintain Polish suzerainty there.

Thus Wrymouth's conquests did not result in permanent control over Pomerania; therefore the key element of the plan of Polish expansion was to bring about the lasting conversion of local communities. The adoption of Christianity in itself helped introduce peaceful relations with Christian neighbours – hitherto the religious barrier had fueled mutual hostilities. However, a chance to consolidate influence in the area was offered by establishing ecclesiastical structures directly subordinate to the Polish monarch (even if not directly to the archdiocese in Gniezno). In this context greater significance should be attributed to the idea that the Christianization of Wartislaw I's duchy was not a consequence of the conquest, but was an action parallel to military and diplomatic efforts integrating Pomerania with a Poland supporting the mission. It is quite possible that Bolesław III the Wrymouth implemented the same pattern in eastern Pomerania. The sources remain silent, which prevents us from adopting the traditional hypothesis assuming prior incorporation on the lands into Poland, later followed by Christianization.

[7] The details of the process of the Christianization of eastern Pomerania remain unknown (there is insufficient information in our sources). The bishopric in Kuyavia, established ca. 1124, comprising this portion of the land on the Baltic, constituted the basic structure responsible for spreading Christianity, which in the second half of the 12th c. was adopted at least by local elites. It is quite possible that initially churches were built in the locally most important and most populous centres, where the priests carried out missionary work in parallel to their pastoral and religious duties. Such a model is known from western Pomerania from the times of St. Otto of Bamberg's expeditions; they constituted an element of Christianization work conducted under his supervision and implemented *cura exteriorum* for fifteen years after the crucial mission undertaken in 1124 at the initiative and with the support of Bolesław III the Wrymouth. The missionary also received assistance from Wartislaw I, at that time subordinate to Poland; the duke and a considerable part of his entourage had already been baptized.

Otto's strategy consisted in eradicating public paganism in the main centres in western Pomerania, including the populous

towns in the Odra estuary (Wolin and Szczecin) and establishing Christianity, usually following an official decision made at an assembly (*veche*, *wiec*). It was important that at the time of the mission Christian communities formed, they were led by a priest who practiced the new religion according to the rules meticulously introduced by Otto. He adopted the identical strategy during the second mission (1128) in the Lutician centres remaining under Wartislaw's control; he also eradicated apostasy, which in the form of a dual faith spread in Szczecin. The effect of Otto's efforts was to establish an ecclesiastical network in at least twelve centres of the west Pomeranian duchy situated from the Parsęta to the Peene rivers. It became an organizational and social foundation for the (western) Pomeranian diocese led by Adalbert, nominated in 1140. Indeed, the crusaders attacking the north Polabian pagans (Elbslavs) in 1147 got as far as Szczecin, but the bishop mentioned above managed to persuade them that they were attacking a Christian town. This is the time that the first Christian cemeteries are dated to; they were situated next to the churches possibly erected by Otto of Bamberg himself (see Lubin on the island of Wolin).

The Griffins soon assumed the supervision of the Christianization of their duchy, taking over, if not from Wrymouth himself, then certainly from his successors. Testimony to the advancement of Christianization was seen in the foundations of monasteries in Grobe, Stolpe, and Kołbacz. The developing integration of the Griffins' duchy with *Christianitas* increased their significance on the Empire's political stage. This advancement was accompanied by the increased significance of the diocese in the western Pomeranian duchy; initially known as Pomerania, after its seat was transferred to Kamień it was called the diocese of Kamień and as such received the privilege of exemption dated to 1188. This shows a distinct difference between the fates of western and eastern Pomerania; the first monastery in the latter was founded in Oliwa (1188), but the land was permanently subordinated to the archdiocese in Gniezno as part of the diocese of Włocławek.

[8] Subordination to Poland in the third decade of the 12th c. offered Wartislaw I not only the possibility of successfully completing the conversion of his country and the consolidation of power; he also strengthened his position in towns, which – especially in the case of the "republics" – such as Wolin or Szczecin – lost their political significance and liberties, having been forced to observe ducal laws. At the same time the western Pomeranian rulers incorporated the lands of the Lutici. During Otto's second mission Wartislaw's attempts at liberation from subordination to Poland and undertaking direct co-operation with Lothair III became evident. Ultimately Wrymouth managed to rein in Wartislaw (suzerainty was formally confirmed by emperor Lothair III in 1135), yet the subsequent decades brought about a permanent weakening of the ties between the western Pomeranian duchy and Poland. Thus diverged the paths of western and eastern Pomerania[1984]; during the 12th c. the latter became a part of the Piasts' state, even though it regained its independence in the first part of the 13th c. in the context of the fall of the duchy in Poland[1985].

As we see, Wrymouth's conquests gave impetus to the ultimate inclusion of Pomerania in the compass of *Christianitas*, constituting a community both in a religious and political sense. With the emergence of the Griffins' rule in western Pomerania a new political subject entered the scene of history, one which soon strove to evade Polish subordination and join the Empire's political circle, assuming a position in many respects equaling that of Poland or Denmark. This to a great extent contributed to the treatment of this area from the times of St. Otto's missions as a community of ancient origins: *gens Pomeranorum*.

[9] The seat of the bishopric in Wolin basked in the glory of the legend of its Roman origins (Wolin is *Iulin* – a town claiming to have been established by Julius Cesar and named after him) confirmed in writing as early as in the first years of its functioning. It was included in the *memoria* of Otto of Bamberg, who was promoted as the Apostle of the Pomeranians; the latter as the *gens* were seen on a par with the peoples awaiting the gospel: the Jews, Greeks, or Angles. These manifestations of adoption of the Pomeranians into the common memory of Latin *Christianitas*

[1984] We should mention here the controversial hypotheses "complicating" the division of Pomerania in the 12th century, which proposed the existence of the duchy of Sławno. See e.g., G. Labuda, *Historia Kaszubów…*, p. 141 ff.; and also above, p. 77, 83, 87.

[1985] Eastern Pomerania (Pomerelia) significantly contributed to the fall of the duchy: the local duke Świętopełk II supported with his troops Władysław Odonic (son of Odo) in his successful attempt on the life of the last princeps, Leszek I the White, in Gąsawa. See M. Smoliński, *Świętopełk Gdański*, Poznań 2016, p. 143 ff.

became an important factor outwardly defining Pomeranian identity, but also within the environments of new Pomeranian elites, commencing with the clergy remaining in touch with the circles cherishing the memory of St. Otto (especially Bamberg). Over the centuries this narrative was included in the canon of Pomeranian *origines*, but on the stage of history discussed here it crowned the phase of perceiving the Pomeranian lands and their inhabitants in terms characteristic of the *Barbaricum*, long before the name emerged in the 11th c.

We should refer here to the early-Byzantine reports on the Baltic Slavs and then follow the creation of their image, marked with the rhetoric of the severe North, based also on ancient imagery from Latin historiography reaching up until the 12th c. This perception of "the barbarians", combining stereotypical views of their wildness or cruelty with a number of positive features, such as hospitality, were instrumental in forming the attitudes toward them prevailing among their Christian neighbours, especially in terms of military or missionary action. The inclusion of the history of "the barbarians" in the sphere of common memory in the compass of *Christianitas* testified to "adopting" them into its culture, which – following the Christianization turn-around – they were destined to participate in, developing local threads of *memoria*, which is clearly exemplified by the rudiments of Pomeranian annals written as early as in the 12th c. in the monastery in Kołbacz.

[10] During this whole period we may identify a few driving forces stimulating the process of including the Baltic communities within the compass of the coalescing European civilization. During the initial stages, leading to the emergence of early-urban centres on the Baltic and the centres in the Polish Interior which were the focus of statehood origins, the functioning of long-range contacts in the sphere of the *Intermarium* was of key significance. These differences in development also correspond with the forming of the Baltic sphere (Viking penetration), which participated in these contacts, especially with the emerging Poland or Rus', at the same time enjoying specific social and political relations manifesting themselves in the great power of local communities and relative resistance to centralization efforts made under the aegis of ducal rule. The proof of this system's resilience may be seen in the transitory nature of the first Piasts' territorial conquests on the Baltic and ultimately in the belated emergence of local state structures incorporated into the compass of *Christianitas*.

This was determined only by thoroughgoing social and political transformations in the first half of the 12th c. when – faced with permanent military pressure and the growing participation of Pomeranian elites in political and economic contacts with Christian neighbours – the unity of Pomeranian communities in their attachment to local religion and forms of public life broke down and the elements favouring conversion to Christianity prevailed. Especially in western Pomerania the elites were well prepared to participate in the life of this political and religious community, which is substantiated by their quick liberation from Polish subordination and adoption of their own path on the arena of the empire. Additionally, the Griffins and Pomeranian elites, including ecclesiastical ones, seized the initiative in forming new social relations by introducing ducal law, continuing Christianization, imposing new legal and social norms, promoting cultural development and a culture of writing, and this is well exemplified by the foundation of churches and monasteries. Thus, primarily on their own – though admittedly aided by clergy from outside Pomerania – they integrated the sweep of the *Barbaricum* with the civilizational community of European *Christianitas*.

In general terms the breakthrough in western Pomerania was initiated in a similar way: while the "avalanche" of changes could begin only after the elites and the duchy's most important centres were persuaded that they were inevitable, it all happened with the key participation of an external factor. The most spectacular example in view of our written sources was the political and military expansion of the neighbours, primarily the Piasts, both in the short- and long-term perspective – from the beginnings of Polish statehood. Its vital interest was the development of economic ties with the Baltic zone and the aspirations to subordinate it, which resonated with social and political changes in Pomerania even after the decline of Polish rule introduced by Bolesław I the Brave. It is thus politics that seems to be the main driving force behind the mechanism creating conditions for civilizational changes and stimulating their development. Naturally, at that time it was closely linked with the sphere of religion and custom both on the side of *Christianitas* and *Barbaricum*.

On the one hand we should take into account here the development of an ecclesiastical organization tightly connected with the structures of the monarchy, and on the other – the competition for people's

hearts and minds with the systems of local cults and Slavic beliefs[1986]. In this context the factor of the religious formation of the propagators of Christianity became important, while their personal zeal, including the heroism of St. Voytěch, St. Bruno of Querfurt, and perhaps also Reinbern and St. Otto of Bamberg, acquired great significance. No less important was the involvement of the rulers in the Christianization effort by providing patronage for the Church and bringing whole communities to the decision to convert.

After the first Piasts, the missionary ideals were implemented especially by Bolesław III the Wrymouth, whose conquests built his political and economic power as well as international prestige (confirmed in Merseburg in 1135). The influence of the idea of crusades on his actions is still a matter of debate, yet their assessment should take into consideration the idea of the war with infidels as a missionary endeavour persisting from the early Middle Ages (following the example of Charlemagne or – in Gallus Anonymous' creation – Bolesław I the Brave). It was interpreted in terms of just war (*bellum licitum*) and this interpretation was combined with the implementation of knightly ideals, the fight to expand the mother country's borders and to acquire fame, which concerned not only the ruler but also the knighthood emerging at that time. The key notion was the conviction that "the barbarians" were fighting a morally losing battle even if they were fighting for their lives and freedom. These attitudes and views had their antithesis on the side of the Pomeranians, who – similarly as the Lutician and the Rans – fought the enemy under the auspices of their own gods and treated the Christian God as a "tribal" patron of, e.g., the Germans. Thus, the military motivation of both sides was greatly affected by strictly religious and axiological factors.

In conclusion:

Access in the 11th–12th c. of the Poland of the first Piasts – and, subsequently, the Pomerania forming along its northern peripheries – to the political and ecclesiastical system ideologically focused on Rome, both empire and papacy, was tightly connected with the turning point wrought by Christianization, which has been emphasized by scholarly

[1986] Therefore the whole sequence of the Christianization effort is best described by the combination: mission – conversion, concerning both whole communities and individuals, in theological perspective leading to the spread of Christ's rule in the spirit of the missiology of the time (*abrenuntiatio diaboli – confessio fidei*); see above, p. 263 f., 374 ff.

reflection since the 19th c. Thus it highlights the role of the monarchy of the first Piasts in stimulating these processes, following the pattern combining conquest and Christianization, which has been re-assessed by the Europeanization model implemented in medieval studies. The new axiology consolidated the pattern of reflection practiced for generations based on a relay principle: Poland conquers the land and imposes Christianity and in the 12th–13th c. a wave of colonization from Germany puts a seal on the incorporation of western Pomerania into Europe. A roughly similar scenario took place in eastern Pomerania a century later.

The present study provides this research strategy with an important "supplement"[1987], primarily because it takes into account Pomerania's subjectivity in the processes discussed. To a large extent this resulted from the emphasis placed in the presented overview on civilizational changes, examined in relation to the foundations of social, political, and religious life. The tribal world was coming to an end and the time of Christian monarchies was emerging, the time of a community of culture based on literacy and the essential ideological unity resulting from religious change. In this context archaeological material is very helpful for this angle of reflection as in many respects it predominates over the laconic written sources, especially in the research of the beginnings of the processes in question.

What is striking in this case is the coexistence of closely linked but disparate cultural and religious circles[1988], which differ also in civilizational terms – let us emphasize the significance of urbanization on the Baltic and importance of the state in the Interior. Essentially, the civilizational development of tribal communities in Pomerania proved their ability to compete effectively with the advancing compass of *Christianitas* for nearly one and a half centuries[1989]. Ultimate-

[1987] This direction of research corresponds with the outlines of the postcolonial criticism of Europeanization perspective; see above, p. 28 ff.

[1988] This naturally concerns public life as the Christianization of Poland (understood as all social strata) was a long-lasting process (until the 13th c.). See e.g., classical works: J. Dowiat, *Chrzest Polski*, Warszawa 1960; W. Dziewulski, *Postępy chrystianizacji i proces likwidacji pogaństwa w Polsce wczesnofeudalnej*, Wrocław 1964.

[1989] The power of the *Barbaricum* noted here opens a new perspective for further research of its long-lasting effects and ways of substituting it in Pomerania in the 13th and subsequent centuries. See e.g., K. Modzelewski, *Barbarzyńska Europa…*, *passim*; and also: S. Rosik, *Barbari et Greci w Iumne. "Europa barbarzyńska" jako koncepcja w studiach nad formowaniem się kulturowego oblicza Kontynentu (wokół przekazu Adama z Bremy)*, [in:] *Europa barbarica, Europa Christiana…*, p. 191–197.

ly, however, with the significant contribution of external contacts, especially with Poland, Pomerania became an area where political structures capable of joining the system of Christian monarchies emerged. It is important in this case that social circles appeared, especially ducal elites, who were open to religious and political change.

Yet the fact remains that the key impetus for the breakthrough was Polish expansion in Pomerania lasting until the 1120s. However, its transitory nature casts a shadow over the assessment of Bolesław III's conquests in the historiography of the last two centuries. This is one of the effects of perceiving the history of Poland *via* a model indicating the optimal direction of the development of the state with its border (seen as a "natural" one) on the Baltic, which renders such a narration a kind of mirror reflecting geopolitical problems in the 19th and 20th c. A similar anachronistic burden in the description of the history of Pomerania may be seen in a reference to the concept of the German drive to the East, grafting culture and, ultimately, a Europeanization strategy (not by analogy to the 20th c. but due to the fact that Europe "Europeanized" in this way did not appear in the Middle Ages until the 14th c. and thus the ultimate benefits resulting from the process of this integration were beyond the intellectual horizon of the people of the 12th c.).

In this situation it is worthwhile to intentionally accompany individual generations in reflection on the historical processes discussed – and in this perspective Bolesław III the Wrymouth leaves the stage of history in a blaze of glory for his victories in Pomeranian policy. The benefits which the success of his expeditions to the Baltic brought to the development of his rule cannot be underestimated. A critical review of his – or other Piasts' – actions, similarly as those of Wartislaw I and his successors, from the perspective of the subsequent centuries entails the risk that we will fail to appreciate the essence in the characteristics of the factors affecting the actions of individual generations accomplishing particular political, religious, and economic aims – as well as the ethos which eventually brought about the discussed civilizational turn-around in Pomerania. As far as its origin is concerned we cannot ignore the parallel nature of the civilizational development of *Christianitas* (Poland) and the *Barbaricum* (Pomerania), ultimately resulting in a rapid development of civilizational transformations in Pomerania in the 12th c. and the fact the Griffins quickly found their own way in »Europe«, which at that time finally reached the Baltic, with their duchy alongside the Pomeranian sway of land on the lower Vistula subordinated to Poland.

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Abbreviations

MGH – Monumenta Germaniae Historica
 Lib. Mem. – Libri Memoriales et Necrologia
 SS – Scriptores
 SSrerGerm – Scriptores rerum Germanicarum
 SSrerMerov – Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum
MPH – Monumenta Poloniae Historica
NS – Nova Series
PUB – Pommersches Urkundenbuch
SSS – Słownik starożytności słowiańskich
UB Magdeburg – Urkundenbuch des Erzstift Magdeburg
UB Naumburg – Urkundenbuch des Hochstifts Naumburg

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